HERODOTUS

THE PERSIAN WARS

TRANSLATED BY

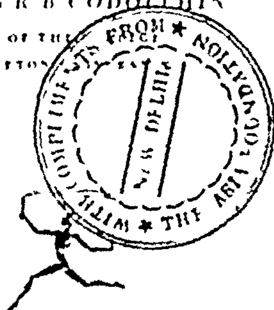
GEORGE RAWLINSON

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

FRANCIS R. B. GODOLPHIN

DEAN OF THE

PRINCETON



THE MODERN LIBRARY · NEW YORK



Random House IS THE PUBLISHERS OF

THE MODERN LIBRARY

D 8

Manufac ured i th U ted tates of America

B H Wolff

Contents

Introduction

by Francis R. B. Godolphin

THE HORIZONS of our modern world have been enormously extended in every way during the last hundred years. New scientific knowledge, new industrial techniques, new historical knowledge, anthropological knowledge of races and civilisations previously unsuspected, all combine to open up new intellectual vistas. But, strangely enough, all these new avenues lead back to the Greeks, the temporal and spiritual initiators of the great movements of Western European culture. The eager curiosity of the Greek mind speculating on every subject under the sun made man something he had never been before and made him something he has not ceased to be, whatever his particular race and period, if only the influence of Greece has touched him however remotely. Interesting and important as the other races are, there is an intellectual and spiritual difference which conditions all our relationships with them. This is not true of our relationship to Greece, and it is this underlying kinship which makes it possible for us to return to the Greeks in one generation and another, finding new and [illegible] inspiration from each renewal of contact. The [illegible] that the

period of time brought out certain continuing characteristics of human behavior in a fashion intelligible and interesting to a variety of people living under quite different circumstances Our understanding of ourselves is increased by understanding these Greeks and we feel that this is important to u just as men felt in other periods that they could predict their own future by following the course of Greek history or receive a sound vocational training in military science by studying the campaigns in Greek history or obtain sound moral training by learning the rewards of virtue or the consequences of vice as portrayed by the Greek historians For others the pleasure and delight in a good story well told is freely offered to satisfy the aesthetic taste as well as that *curiositas* about one s fellow man which is the source of so much human activity

Much of this interest in Greek history is closely connected with the fact that the men who wrote that history were men like ourselves who were interested in many of the subjects which interest us often subjects which we would say were not properly history if we were trying to be narrow and technical in our use of the term However one cannot help wondering whether interest and curiosity alone would have preserved the works of Herodotus Thucydides Xenophon and Arrian had they been unable to present their accounts of the life of the Greeks in a literary form which had an appeal beyond that of a bare list of facts whatever the intrinsic interest of those facts Such lists of facts did exist in the ancient world we have some fragment of them important to our knowledge of ancient history but seldom consulted except by scholars The appeal of the Greek historians then must mean that they have had something to say and a way of saying it which ha e found them audiences for nearly ,400 years Both of these aspects of history must be considered in any effort to appraise the existing evidence on the life process known to us as Greek history

The belief that the proper study of mankind is man may be subject to justifiable attack by philosophy and theology but it does succeed in expressing one aspect of human activity admirably Man s interest in his fellows and in his predecessors

is a persistent element in the human scene and the term history, used to describe both the process of life and the product of studying that life, is in constant danger of so great extension in use that it may confuse the unwary. As we tend to think of history, in the broader sense, everything, as well as everyone, has a history. Furthermore, as far as man himself is concerned, everyone is an historian, if only to collect and present to his own mind a history of himself. This wide range of possible subject matter for history, however, is not really the cause of the greatest difficulty and confusion for the historian. The real problem is how the historian should deal with his subject matter once he has determined upon it and worked out a technique to investigate it. What are the limits of his responsibilities as an historian in the presentation and interpretation of the evidence obtained by his research?

The Greek word [illegible] from which our word history is derived, originally seems to have meant research or investigation. This fact will account for the sense in which it may properly be applied to the sciences. A natural extension of the term results in its use to describe the product of the investigation. At this point the long-standing debate on the nature of history as art or as science arises, since presentation of the results of investigation which cannot be formulated in strictly [illegible] terms necessarily involves the problem of form and interpretation. In practice we must note that much of the [illegible] may have been [illegible] by a sort of [illegible] induced through [illegible] of certain key terms and the [illegible] of the [illegible] really beside the point.

torian must be vitally concerned with the findings of the scientists Realisation that the fact must be respected is axiomatic both in science and history but not less so is the realisation that the fact must be respectable It is always difficult to respect the fact which blocks the development of a pet hypothesis but thanks to modern science the historian has been forced to a more rigorous standard of re pect for evidence He can no longer ignore or avoid the inconvenient fact For example Herodotus has a long and very interesting account of the relations between Croesus and Solon Even in antiquity it was known that a meeting of the two was chronologically impossible Herodotus ought to have known this if he had had a modern historian s conception of the necessity for investigation of evidence On this count then he fails to measure up to modern standards in determining the validity of evidence Quite possibly however he did know it but this meeting was so well adapted to the reflections he wished to introduce on the subject of the mutability of human life and divine retribution that he felt under no obligation to respect the fact that the meeting was impossible As a result he has written a very interesting passage which cannot qualify as history in the ense that Herodotus intended it to be history despite its importance for other reasons

In cience the respectable fact is the fact which on further investigation proves to have certain inherent qualities by virtue of which it cannot be disregarded in any effort to interpret a given event a fact in short which is a crucial instance or if it can be tested statistically a fact which is corroborated by repeated experiment not a fact which is singular or exceptional in its occurrence

The problem of respectability may be most diff cult for the historian since two facts may be relevant to a situation and not mutually exclu ive Under these circumstances it is easy to overvalue the fact which coincides with the historian s theory and undervalue the fact which is in conflict regardless of the inherent respectability of the two facts This problem is an essential part of Herodotus account of the relation between the

any unity to history along with the denial of any moral or didactic value This particular form of the old problem of the one and the many is the chief obstacle which must be over come by any valid philosophy of history To obtain objectivity by tressing uniqueness is to lo e significance to obtain value and si nificance by stressing the unity of history and history as instructive is to risk falling into some ystematic error In any case the historian is working according to some hypothesis his task is to evolve an hypothesis which will neither lead him into the systematic error of interpretation according to a gen eral principle unsupported by evidence or in ufficiently com prehensive nor leave him with *disiecta membra* which cannot be brought into any intelligible relation with the actualities of human life

The story of Croesus and Solon exhibits a sy tematic error in a form which today we can easily i olate and make allowance for What leads Herodotus to give the account he does is his view of the world his conception of the nature of divinity and the status of mankind in the phenomenal world His account is determined by his belief in the power of Nemesis or divine retribution just as the astronomers acco ints of the motions of the planets were determined by their acceptance of the Ptole-maic system when they had to resort to cycles and epicycles to make those motions intelligible The modern cientist is likely to claim only that he has found certain hypotheses which ac count more accurately for observable phenomena or account for hitherto unexplainable phenomena Since there is no pretence of finality in his accepted hypotheses of the present his atti tude is of great importance to he historian in devising an ap-proach to his subject not only in discerning sources of error in earlier historians but also in his effort to define the nature and scope of history

If the historian has tested his evidence and demonstrated that he is dealing with facts if he has tested those facts to determine which are respectable facts and as such basic to his presen tation of the subject he is treating there is no absolute assur

ance that the product will convince his readers of the soundness of his interpretation Or, to put it another way, propaganda, which has no factual basis in terms of the scientific approach, may be convincing where history is ignored The presentation *of the evidence must be considered an integral part of the job* since it involves the use of a medium, words, which cannot be brought into combination without creating an emotional response because of the connotations of the words which must be used in the interpretation placed upon a fact, or because an aesthetic reaction of satisfaction or displeasure is inevitable whenever words are brought into grammatical relation Occasionally historians have tried to avoid the contamination of art by sheer dullness in their effort to avoid being 'popular" or literary This was a part of the confusion between the technique of the historian as scientific, and the communication of his results to others, where inevitably the historian is in the position of T S Eliot's Sweeney, "I gotta use words when I talk to you " Unless the historian is prepared to work only for his own satisfaction with no effort to communicate, he must recognise the importance of his manner of expression and realise that his work is only half done if no one else is able to understand him A chemical formula is intelligible to anyone who knows the language, an isolated historical fact may correspond to a chemical symbol, but an historian's formula requires a great deal more than the juxtaposition of several such symbols to be intelligible Some of the later ancient historians may have become so absorbed in their manner of presentation that they forgot the importance of the matter, but at least they never lost sight of their audience, and never forgot that an important part of their effectiveness lay in the emotional and artistic responses they were able to evoke Certainly we should not allow any pleasure in literary form, desirable as that is, to blind us to historical faults Yet so strong is interest in form among the ancients that the inferior historians are likely to turn history into a series of rhetorical display pieces, building up an impressive mass of antitheses and arguments from probability to the exclusion of the

facts just as the orators argued cases from probability instead of citing the facts even when the facts were in the orator s favour

Our understanding of the importance of the ancient historians is complicated by added subjects such as archaeology which loom large in the interests of the man of today and the added techniques which provide information unknown to the Greeks It is necessary therefore to suggest some of the information available now and the techniques of study developed in mod ern times as a part of the background against which to read and understand just what the Greeks contributed If the fifth century Athenian knew the sites of earlier cities in Greece he certainly did not think it worthwhile to excavate them and study the remains When a statue was broken it was no longer able to stand in its former place so after the Persian invasion the Athenians used the broken statues to fill in a part of the Acropolis instead of building a museum to house the fragments as we have done since modern excavation brought them to light The whole study of archaeology with the great light it can throw on certain phases of Greek life was practically unknown o them Much of the material for the knowledge of pre history in Greece and Asia Minor was more accessible then than now *yet the Greeks were content to rely on folk tales and poetic* accounts of their own earlier history For the majority of the Greeks indeed the myth was history They never bothered to find evidence of living conditions religious customs and artis tic development which the spade can uncover The relative un importance to them of such detailed knowledge of the past is also brought out by the evidence we can gather from epigraphy and numismatics The inscriptions and coins which we can use to reconstruc treaties and tribute-lists which provide evidence of trade and wealth were necessarily available then but it is surpris n to see how seldom the ancient historian with the ex ception of Thucydides used these sources directly This fact should perhaps warn us against some of our own tendencies many subjects of interest to us were simply irrelevant both to the historians and their readers and we may wonder whether

some classical archaeologists' passion for the exact measurement of every potsherd may not be a pseudo scientific delusion The character and distribution of potsherds is important for dating and showing trade relations, entirely apart from the artistic value of Greek vase painting, but it may be that much which can be measured, and hence appears to be a scientific occupation today, is really less important than the written records which can convey human insights and aspirations together with an expression of the values and limitations of human life

Certain it is, and archaeology is responsible for the certainty, that the length of time and variety of races which make up the pre Greek background of the eastern Mediterranean is a subject of infinitely greater complexity than the Greeks realised Homer, despite the fact that he was writing poetry, and not history, provides many indications of the artistic development, interrelations, and prosperity of a variety of races and peoples in a period antedating his own To a considerable extent the achievements of the classical archaeologists are based on a careful observance of Homer's hints as to the cities which were great, and the beautiful works of art found in these cities are those Homer said they possessed What archaeology has not found is anything to equal Homer s portrayal of the confusion and difficulty attendant upon early man s effort to reach a coherent and worthy conception of the nature of the gods, or the human importance of the conflict of pride, loyalty, and honour These subjects are still important to mankind, but it is not very important to know that Homer does not have any real conception of the chronological structure and relationships of what we call Minoan and Mycenaean civilisations It is an excellent thing and very much worthwhile to the historian that we can now tell pretty accurately many of the stages of civilisation from about 2500 B C to 1200 B C In addition to many other Mediterranean races which were outside the sphere of interest of the early Greeks, we know a good deal about the Hittites for instance, who indirectly took part in the whole movement which resulted in the decline and disappearance of the flourishing city of Troy in Asia Minor We can also trace som

of the movement which led to the decline of Tiryns and Myce nae on the mainland of Greece For this knowled e the hi torian is indebted to the archaeolog t and to techniques of tudy *which simply did not exist for the Greeks*

No source has been found which will add much to our knowl edge of the centuries of Dark Age which follow the decline of Mycenaean civilisation and precede the re-emergence of an organised society in the eighth century Within this period the one startling phenomenon is of course the poetry of Hom r Although few scholars today would hold the extreme patch work theory of the eparatists of the last century no one I think would suppose that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* prang from the brain of Homer without the previous development of a trong poetic tradition Numerous poems on heroic themes must have provided Homer with material which he incorporated into his whole structure In these so-called Dark Ages life mu t have gone on in some reasonably ordered fashion which enabled folk lays and folk traditions to survive for otherwi e how could the actual poetry picture a society so l'ke that con firmed by the work of the archaeologists The art of this pe riod shows little evidence of vitality and very little can be learned of the development of political institutions Within this period the earlier races and newcomers from northwest Greece were fused into a new racial complex whatever interpretation is to be placed on the so-called Dorian Invasion The art of writing was acquired or re-acquired and the stage et for the historical period of Greek civilisation

While these developments were taking place on the mainland of Greece the new oriental empires of Asia Minor were advanc in to power and the Greek cities of the Asia Minor coast were *increasing in import n e It is gnificant that Greek culture* first hows s ns of life on the Eastern coast of the Aegean and that He odotus p esents us with more facts if facts they are about these cities than about the cities of Greece proper so far as the early period is concerned From scattered evidence in later authors and from inference we gather that in many c ties the ol garchic rule which followed the period of the kings was

replaced by an era of tyrants in the seventh century Hesiod's picture of the constant tasks and frustrations of agricultural life on the mainland is in sharp contrast to the fragments of the lyric poets from the Greek cities of Asia Minor, filled with their reactions to the political upheavals in the separate cities In the lyric poets we also find evidence of continued incursions of barbarian races into the prosperous cities of Asia Minor The only lyric poet from the mainland in this period, Tyrtaeus in Sparta, demonstrates the existence of the Spartan Kings and the elite group of warrior citizens who maintained the closest approach to a stable and strong society which Greece ever knew

With the beginning of the sixth century we know a little more about the life in the chief cities Certain distinct characteristics can be made out, and what we know of Solon's legislation for Athens in 594 B C enables us to infer with some confidence the steps which preceded it The necessity of relieving debtors proves that the maladjustment of the economic order had reached considerable proportions In the previous period extensive colonisation proved by various types of evidence had evidently provided an outlet for surplus population The accumulation of land in the hands of the few powerful families points toward the development of an oligarchy of wealth in conflict with a large group of impoverished farmers who were forced to cultivate the less fertile land The wide distribution of Euboeic coins shows that at this period the Athenians had not yet shifted their economy to one based on trade, but that the cities of Euboea, along with Corinth, as shown by the distribution of Corinthian pottery, were the centres of trade and commerce In this period likewise we can trace the growth of the powerful Greek cities of Magna Graecia and Sicily by means of the archaeological remains In fact we can set the stage for the problems of the fifth century without having to depend very much on Herodotus and Thucydides who will be the chief interpreters of that period from the historical point of view The Persian empire was expanding and adding to its subject races, many Greek city states by the end of the th

century had with the aid of the tyrants developed trade and ommerce to supplement their agricultural economy With the exception of Sparta whose political and social structure was almost static the period of the tyrants had passed without permanently settling the political and economic struggle between the haves and have nots

In Athens at least the Pisistratids had exercised the tyranny in such a fashion that political reforms could be managed after their expulsion without the violence which seems in the ancient accounts characteristic of the period of transition Consequently Cleisthenes was able to establish liberal policies essential to the development of Athenian democracy It was the rapid development of the new constitution which enabled Athens to play such a large part in the struggle to repulse the Persian and maintain free institutions

Athenian control of the Delian Confederacy after the Persian Wars brought Greece face to face with another great problem of the fifth century the conflict between an imperialistic democracy ba ed on maritime power and a conservative aristocracy based on n ilitary superiority The exhaustion produced by the Peloponnesian War the inadequacy of any Greek state as leader combined with the failure of Pan hellenism and the chronic inability of the Greeks to create a genuine federation leads to the political solution of the fourth century A strong centralised control under Alexander maintained peac in Greece and foreign conquest using the professional soldiers developed in the long period of particularistic wars between the city states provided activity for surplus manpower After Alexander s death the long depression of the fourth century partly caused by the loss of foreign markets combined with the impossibility of genuine political activity made the Greek cities subservient to one or another of Alexander s successors

Alexander may have had a great conception of the pos ibility of a world state mbracing Greeks and Barbarians but the result of the process is a Greece under the power of a ruler whose control is symbolised by his adoption of the style and attributes of the Persian King It is an ironic circumstance that

originally the Persian alone had been able to arouse sufficient enmity in the Greek cities to lead them at least momentarily to submerge their passion for individual freedom and unite to defend that freedom

Much of interest and importance is still being learned from Greek history between the death of Alexander and the final conquest by Rome Most of the fundamental historical issues, however, are raised in the fifth and fourth centuries and, with the exception of the light Polybius throws on the later period in his treatment of Rome's destiny, the best extant work of the Greek historians is concentrated within this area Consequently the period from the Persian Wars to the death of Alexander continues to be a most fascinating and profitable subject of study This is above all true when one realises how much of the world's great literature and philosophy was created by this same race within this same period Any epoch within which Aeschylus, Sophocles, Euripides and Aristophanes produced their drama, and Plato and Aristotle their philosophy, demands the historian's consideration

Since any modern interpretation of the sixth and early fifth centuries must frequently depend on analysis of evidence presented and interpreted by Herodotus, it is necessary to learn what we can of his background and training to understand his conception of the aims and methods of history Although we possess only scattered fragments of Herodotus' predecessors, it is possible to learn something of them and of one, Hecataeus, in particular Herodotus frequently follows or corrects the account of Hecataeus so that we can be sure that geography and ethnology played a large part in the latter's work We can be reasonably sure that the primary purpose of these earlier prose writers was narrative, and that they sought to entertain their audience and satisfy its curiosity The present opening chapters of Herodotus show definitely that he has a new and different purpose, even though many passages in his history indicate that he had commenced his work simply to record his observations from extensive travel for the entertainment of his au

ence He tates flatly that he does not believe everything he has reported (Bk VII 152) but that it is his duty to recount everything that is said It is also clear that from Hecataeus and the Ionian philosophers Herodotus had started with an idea of systematising geography and chronology and of rationalising the myths The typical Greek willingness to accept poetic accounts of the earlier period of the race is an indication of the difficulty they never quite outgrew in distinguishing myth from fact This circumstance made it very hard for Herodotus to conceive himself as in any way bound by any laws of evidence in his account of the conflict between the Greeks and Persians

To understand the influence of Hecataeus of Miletus and the Ionian philosophers we must go back to what can be learned of Herodotus life H was born in the Dorian city of Halicarnassus about 484 B C only four years before the battle of Thermopylae He spent a good deal of time in the island of Samos as the information in Book III indicates He travelled in parts of the Persian empire Scythia and Egypt He pent some time in Athens travelling to Thurii in Magna Graecia as an Athenian colonist in 443 B C according to the ancient tradition In Book VII 133 he mentions an epi ode which took place in 430/4 9 B C These facts though scattered provide a considerable basis for understanding Herodotus growth and development His interest in the Persian empire and its ramifications is to be attributed to his birth and early residence on he Asia Minor coast

The main structure of the early books apart from the introduction to the first book is in the tradition of his predecessors and his later realisation of the significance of the Persian Wars may be attributed to his wider acquaintance with the Greek world and the part played by conceptions of liberty and freedom in that world One can scarcely exaggerate the passion for autonomy which activated the Greeks on the mainland For them the *polis* or city was the only uni which could supply the intellectual and spiritual environment essential for the good life The Greek cities of Asia Minor had fallen away from their

earlier political ideals into a period of petty quarrels and weak compliance with the will of a tyrant or overlord Even the Ionian revolt shows few traces of devotion to a genuine ideal of political freedom Only in Greece proper could Herodotus learn the full value attached to membership in the *polis*

Since several different approaches to his subject are still evident, we may suppose that Herodotus revised his basic structure after considerable portions of his work had been written and that some elements, such as the geographical sections, are imperfectly assimilated to the new structure It would be unfair to describe the digressions as blemishes, however, for they are very skillfully worked in, and clearly a part of the tradition in which Herodotus was writing His changed attitude toward the political significance of the war did not involve a change in his literary technique In the same way he maintained a consistent religious attitude throughout the whole The tragic sequence of prosperity, wanton insolence, blind folly, and disaster is illustrated for Herodotus on a far grander scale in the fate of the Persian monarch, but the moral is the same as in his stories of Solon and Croesus, Atys and Adrastus, and Polycrates and Cypselus It is this dominating pattern previously characterised as "systematic error" in Herodotus which makes his work propaganda for the belief that the gods visit huge penalties on human arrogance

As a result of the existing tradition and his own interests Herodotus possesses a merit as an historian which has often been overlooked in the past, especially in the nineteenth century, when his failure to measure up to scientific standards loomed so large Herodotus was conscious of the influence of climate and social custom in racial development to such an extent that he often atones for weaknesses in his military and political accounts by supplying anthropological and sociological material of great importance Even the inclusion of myth and the oriental tales may be accounted for in terms of Herodotus' interest in the whole culture and civilisation of each race and not merely in the details of military and political history If the story has literary and artistic merit so much the better

Apart from all deficiencies of historical technique and all merits of intrinsic interest charm of literary style and more or less accidental preservation of important historical facts one solid and important achievement stands out in the work of Herodotus He has succeeded once and for all in expressing the conflict between the ideal of the free man defending his autonomy and basing his state on the rule of law and the despot who bases his rule on force and whose subjects have the status of slaves As he says of the Athenians (V 78) under the tyrants they were no better than their neighbours but when they obtained freedom they became the first of all That the conflict was between Greeks and Persians is an historical fact that it was a conflict between East and West as Herodotus saw it is an unwarranted assumption which comes from Herodotus hypostatisin the concepts East and West But in any case it is Herodotus great merit to have realised and presented in inescapable terms the conflict of two conceptions of man s relation to the state between which man must still choose

In this translation of Herodotus a number of passages omitted by Rawlinson have been restored to the text and the artificiality in diction in the speeches has been removed in favor of the direct and simple use of the second person

HERODOTUS

THE PERSIAN WARS

The First Book, Entitled

CLIO

THESE are the researches of Herodotus of Halicarnassus,[1] which he publishes, in the hope of thereby preserving from decay the remembrance of what men have done, and of preventing the great and wonderful actions of the Greeks and the Barbarians from losing their due meed of glory, and withal to put on record what were their grounds of feud

1 According to the Persians best informed in history, the Phoenicians began the quarrel This people, who had formerly dwelt on the shores of the Red Sea,[2] having migrated to the Mediterranean and settled in the parts which they now inhabit, began at once, they say, to adventure on long voyages, freighting their vessels with the wares of Egypt and Assyria They landed at many places on the coast, and among the rest at Argos, which was then pre eminent above all the states included now under the common name of Hellas Here they exposed

[1] This is the reading of all our MSS Yet Aristotle where he quotes the passage (Rhet iii 9) has Thurium in the place of Halicarnassus that is he cites the final residence instead of the birth place of the writer (See the sketch of Herodotus s Life prefixed to this volume) The mention of the author s name and country in the first sentence of his history seems to have been usual in the age in which Herodotus wrote The Genealogies" of Hecataeus commenced with the words, Εκαταιος Μιλησιος ὧδε μυθειται (Muller s Fragm Hist Gr vol 1 Fr 332) And the practice is followed by Thucydides

[2] By the Red Sea Herodotus intends not our Red Sea which he calls the Arabian Gulf but the Indian Ocean or rather both the Oce[illegible] and the Persian Gulf which latter he does not consider [illegible] Ocean being ignorant of its shape

their merchandise and traded with the natives for five or six days at the end of which time when almost everything was sold there came down to the beach a number of women and among them the daughter of the king who was they say agree ing in this with the Greeks Io the child of Inachus The women were standing by the stern of the ship intent upon their pur chases when the Phoenicians with a general shout rushed upon them The greater part made their escape but some were seized and carried off Io herself was among the captives The Phoeni cians put the women on board their vessel and set sail for Egypt Thus did Io pass into Egypt according to the Persian tory which differs widely from the Phoenician and thus com menced according to their authors the series of outrages

At a later period certain Greeks with whose name they are unacquainted but who would probably be Cretans made a anding at Tyre on the Phoenician coast and bore off the king s daughter Europe In this they only retaliated but afterwards the Greeks they say were guilty of a second violence They manned a ship of war [3] and sailed to Aea a city of Colchis on the river Phasis from whence after despatching the rest of the ousiness on which they had come they carried off Medea the daughter of the king of the land The monarch sent a herald into Greece to demand reparation of the wrong and the restitu tion of his child but the Greeks made answer that having re ceived no reparation of the wrong done them in the seizure of Io the Argive they hould give none in this instance

3 In the next generation afterwards according to the same authorities Alexander the son of Priam bearing these events in mind resolved to procure himself a wife out of Greece by vio lence fully persuaded that as the Greeks had not given satisfac tion for their outrages so neither would he be forced to make any for his Accordingly he made prize of Helen upon which the Greeks decided that before resorting to other measures they would send envoys to reclaim the princess and require rep aration of the wrong Their demands were met by a reference to the violence which had been offered to Medea and they were

Th s is the expedit n f J son l the Arg ts.

asked with what face they could now require satisfaction, when they had formerly rejected all demands for either reparation or restitution addressed to them[4]

4 Hitherto the injuries on either side had been mere acts of common violence, but in what followed the Persians consider that the Greeks were greatly to blame, since before any attack had been made on Europe, they led an army into Asia Now as for the carrying off of women, it is the deed, they say, of a rogue, but to make a stir about such as are carried off, argues a man a fool Men of sense care nothing for such women, since it is plain that without their own consent they would never be forced away The Asiatics, when the Greeks ran off with their women, never troubled themselves about the matter, but the Greeks for the sake of a single Lacedaemonian girl, collected a vast armament, invaded Asia, and destroyed the kingdom of Priam Henceforth they ever looked upon the Greeks as their open enemies For Asia with all the various tribes of barbarians that inhabit it, is regarded by the Persians as their own but Europe and the Greek race they look on as distinct and separate[5]

5 Such is the account which the Persians give of these matters. They trace to the attack upon Troy their ancient enmity towards the Greeks The Phoenicians, however, as regards Io vary from the Persian statements They deny that they used any violence to remove her into Egypt, she herself, they say, having formed an intimacy with the captain, while his vessel lay at Argos, and suspecting herself to be with child, of her own

[4] Aristophanes in the Acharnians (524 5 9) wittily parodies the opening of Herodotus history Professing to give the causes of the Peloponnesian war he says But now some young drunkards go to Megara and carry off the harlot Simaetha the Megarians hurt to the quick run off in turn with two harlots of the house of Aspasia and so for three whores Greece is set ablaze This is the earliest indication (425 B C) of a knowledge of the work of Herodotus on the part of any other Greek writer Herodotus uses Homer s Alexander for the more familiar Paris son of Priam

[5] The claim made by the Persians to the natural lordship of Asia was convenient as furnishing them with pretexts for such wars as it suited their policy to engage in with non Asiatic nations.

free will accompanied the Phoenicians on their leaving the shore to escape the shame of detection and the reproaches of her parents Which of these two accounts is true I shall not *trouble to decide I shall* proceed at once to point out the person who first within my own knowledge commenced aggressions on the Greeks after which I shall go forward with my history describing equally the greater and the lesser cities For the cities which were formerly great have most of them become insignificant and such as are at present powerful were weak in the olden time [6] I shall therefore discourse equally of both convinced that human happiness never continues long in one stay

6 Croesus son of Alyattes by birth a Lydian was lord of all the nations to the west of the river Halys [7] This stream which *separates Syria from Paphlagonia runs with a course from south* to north and finally falls into the Euxine So far as our knowledge goes he was the first of the barbarians who held relations with the Greeks forcing some of them to become his tributaries and entering into alliance with others He conquered the Aeolians Ionians and Dorians of Asia and made a treaty with the Lacedaemonians Up to that time all Greeks had been free For the Cimmerian attack upon Ionia which was earlier than Croesus was not a conquest of the cities but only an inroad for plundering

7 The sovereignty of Lydia which had belonged to the Heraclidae passed into the family of Croesus who were called the Mermnadae in the manner which I will now relate There was a certain king of Sardis Candaules by name whom the Greeks call Myrsilus He was a descendant of Alcaeus son of Heracles The first king of this dynasty was Agron son of Ninus grandson of Belus and great grandson of Alcaeus Candaules son of Myrsus was the last The kings who reigned before Agron sprang from Lydus son of Atys from whom the people of the

Thucyd d (I 10) rem k th small ize t wbl l Mycenae had dw d'ed compa ed w th its f m po

By Syria Herod t h re mean Cappadocia th I hab't ts f whl h h calls Syria Cappadocian Syrians. H od t s g d th w rds Syria nd Assyria Syria s dA yria s I reality th sam

land, called previously Maeonians, received the name of Lydians The Heraclidae, descended from Heracles and the slave-girl of Jardanus, having been entrusted by these princes with the management of affairs, obtained the kingdom by an oracle Their rule endured for twenty two generations of men, a space of 505 years,[8] during the whole of which period, from Agron to Candaules, the crown descended in the direct line from father to son

8 Now it happened that this Candaules was in love with his own wife, and not only so, but thought her the fairest woman in the whole world This fancy had strange consequences There was in his bodyguard a man whom he specially favoured, Gyges the son of Dascylus All affairs of greatest moment were entrusted by Candaules to this person, and to him he was wont to extol the surpassing beauty of his wife So matters went on for a while At length, one day, Candaules, for he was fated to end ill, thus addressed his follower, "I see you do not credit what I tell you of my lady's loveliness, but come now, since men's ears are less credulous than their eyes, contrive some means whereby you may behold her naked " At this the other loudly exclaimed, saying, "What most unwise speech is this, master, which you have uttered? Would you have me behold my mistress when she is naked? Remember that a woman, with her clothes, puts off her bashfulness Our fathers, in time past, distinguished right and wrong plainly enough, and it is our wisdom to submit to be taught by them There is an old saying, 'Let each look on his own ' I hold your wife for the fairest of all womankind Only, I beseech you, ask me not to do wickedly "

9 Gyges thus endeavoured to decline the king's proposal, trembling lest some dreadful evil should befall him through it But the king replied to him, 'Courage, friend, suspect me not of the design to prove you by this discourse, nor dread your mistress, lest mischief befall you at her hands Be sure I will so

[8] Herodotus professes to count three generations to the century (ii 142), thus making the generation thirty three and one third years In this case the average of the generations is but twenty three years Herodotus does not here calculate, but intends to state facts though the figure have no historic value

manage that she shall not even know that you have looked upon her I will place you behind the open door of the chamber in which we sleep When I enter to go to rest she will follow me There stands a chair close to the entrance on which she will lay her clothes one by one as she takes them off You will be able thus at your leisure to peruse her person Then when she is moving from the chair towards the bed and her back is turned on you be it your care that she see you not as you pass through the door way

10 Gyges unable to escape could but declare his readiness Then Candaules when night came led Gyges into his sleeping chamber and a moment after the queen followed She came in and laid her garments on the chair and Gyges gazed on her After a while she moved towards the bed and her back being then turned he glided stealthily from the apartment As he was passing out however she saw him and instantly divining what had happened she neither screamed as her shame impelled her nor even appeared to have noticed anything purposing to take vengeance upon the husband who had so affronted her For among the Lydians and indeed among the barbarians generally it is reckoned a deep disgrace even to a man to be seen naked [9]

11 No sound or sign of intelligence escaped her at the time But in the morning as soon as day broke she hastened to choose from among her retinue such as she knew to be most faithful to her and preparing them for what was to ensue summoned Gyges into her presence Now it had often happened before that the queen had desired to confer with him and he was accustomed to come to her at her call He therefore obeyed the summons not suspecting that she knew what had occurred Then she addressed these words to him Take your choice Gyges of two courses which are open to you Slay Candaules and thereby become my lord and obtain the Lydian throne or die this moment in his room So you will not again obeying all behe ts of your master behold what is not lawful for you It

Th tra t between th feeli g f th Greeks and th b baria n this po t is t d by Th cydides (i. 6) wh re w learn th t th exhibi u of the naked person was re t even with th G ks

must needs be, that either he perish by whose counsel this thing was done, or you, who saw me naked, and so did break our usages" At these words Gyges stood awhile in mute astonishment, recovering after a time, he earnestly besought the queen that she would not compel him to so hard a choice But finding he implored in vain, and that necessity was indeed laid on him to kill or to be killed, he made choice of life for himself, and replied by this inquiry, "If it must be so, and you compel me against my will to put my lord to death come, let me hear how you will have me set on him" "Let him be attacked," she answered, "on that spot where I was by him shown naked to you, and let the assault be made when he is asleep"

12 All was then prepared for the attack and when night fell, Gyges, seeing that he had no retreat or escape, but must absolutely either slay Candaules, or himself be slain, followed his mistress into the sleeping room She placed a dagger in his hand, and hid him carefully behind the self same door Then Gyges, when the king was fallen asleep, entered privily into the chamber and struck him dead Thus did the wife and kingdom of Candaules pass into the possession of his follower Gyges, of whom Archilochus the Parian, who lived about the same time, made mention in a poem written in Iambic trimeter verse

13 Gyges was afterwards confirmed in the possession of the throne by an answer of the Delphic oracle Enraged at the murder of their king, the people flew to arms but after a while the partisans of Gyges came to terms with them, and it was agreed *that if the Delphic oracle declared him king of the Lydians, he* should reign, if otherwise, he should yield the throne to the Heraclidae As the oracle was given in his favour he became king The Pythian priestess, however, added that, in the fifth generation from Gyges, vengeance should come for the Heraclidae a prophecy of which neither the Lydians nor their princes took any account till it was fulfilled Such was the way in which the Mermnadae deposed the Heraclidae, and themselves obtained the sovereignty

14 When Gyges was established on the throne, he sent no small presents to Delphi, as his many silver offerings at the

20 Thus much I know from information given me by the Delphians the remainder of the story the Milesians add The answer made by the oracle came to the ears of Periander son of Cypselus who was a very close friend to Thrasybulus tyrant of Miletus at that period He instantly despatched a messen er to report the oracle to him that Thrasybulus forewarned of its tenor might the better adapt his measures to the state of affair

21 Alyattes the moment that the words of the oracle were reported to him sent a herald to Miletus in hopes of concludin a truce with Thrasybulus and the Milesians for such a time as was needed to rebuild the temple Th herald went upon his way but meantime Thrasybulus had been apprised of every thin and conjecturing what Alyattes would do h contrived this artifice He had all the corn that was in the city whether belonging to himself or to private persons brought into the market place and issued an order that the Milesia s should hold themselves in readiness and when he gave the signal should one and all fall to drinking and revelry

The purpose for which he gave these orders was the following He hoped that the Sardian herald eeing so great stor of corn upon the ground and all the city given up to festivity would inform Alyattes of it which fell out a h anticipated The herald observed the whole and when he ha delivered hi message went back to Sardis This circumstance alone a I gather brou ht about the peace which ensued Alyattes who had hoped that there was now a great scarcity of corn in Miletus and that the people were worn down to the last pitch of suffering when he heard from the herald on his return from Mi e tus tidings so contrary to those he had expected made a treat with the enemy by which the two nations became close friends and allies He then built at Assesus two temples o Athena instead of one and shortly after recovered from his malady Such were the chief circumstances of the war which Alyattes waged with Thr sybulus and the Milesians

23 This Periander who apprised Thrasybulus of the oracle was son of Cyp elus and tyrant of Corinth In his time a very wonderful thing is said to have happened The Corinthian and

the Lesbians agree in their account of the matter They relate that Arion of Methymna who as a player on the harp was second to no man living at that time, and who was, so far as we know, the first to invent the dithyrambic measure,[10] to give it its name, and to recite in it at Corinth, was carried to Taenarum on the back of a dolphin

24 He had lived for many years at the court of Periander when a longing came upon him to sail across to Italy and Sicily Having made rich profits in those parts, he wanted to recross the seas to Corinth He therefore hired a vessel, the crew of which were Corinthians thinking that there was no people in whom he could more safely confide, and, going on board, he set sail from Tarentum The sailors, however, when they reached the open sea, formed a plot to throw him overboard and seize upon his riches Discovering their design, he fell on his knees beseeching them to spare his life and making them welcome to his money But they refused, and required him either to kill himself outright, if he wished for a grave on the dry land, or without loss of time, to leap overboard into the sea In this strait Arion begged them since such was their pleasure, to allow him to mount upon the quarter deck, dressed in his full costume, and there to play and sing, promising that, as soon as his song was ended, he would destroy himself Delighted at the prospect of hearing the very best harper in the world, they consented, and withdrew from the stern to the middle of the vessel while Arion dressed himself in the full costume of his calling, took his harp, and standing on the quarter-deck, chanted the

[10] The invention of the Dithyramb or Cyclic chorus, was ascribed to Arion not only by Herodotus but also by Aristotle by Hellanicus by Dicaearchus and implicitly by Pindar who said it was invented at Corinth Perhaps it is best to conclude that Arion did not invent but only improved the Dithyramb

The dithyramb was originally a hymn in honour of Dionysus with the circumstances of whose birth the word is somewhat fancifully connected It was sung by a band of revellers directed by a leader It is thought that Arion s improvement was to adapt it to the system of Doric choruses thereby making it anti strophic and substituting the accompaniment of the harp for that of the flute It was danced by a chorus of fifty men or boys round an altar

Orthian [11] His strain ended he flung himself fully attired as he was headlong into the sea The Corinthians then sailed on to Corinth As for Arion a dolphin they say took him upon his back and carried him to Taenarum where he went ashore and thence walked to Corinth in his musician s dres and told all that had happened to him Periander however disbelieved the story and put Arion in ward to prevent his leaving Corinth while he watched anxiously for the return of the mariner On their arrival he summoned them before him and asked them if they could give him any tidings of Arion They returned for an swer that he was alive and in good health in Italy and that they had left him at Tarentum where he was doing well Thereupon Arion appeared before them just as he was when he jumped from the vessel the men astonished and detected in falsehood could no longer deny their guilt Such is the account which the Corinthians and Lesbians give and there is to this day at Tae narum an offering of Arion s at the shrine which is a small figure in bronze representing a man seated upon a dolphin [12]

25 Having brought the war with the Milesians to a clo e and reigned over the land of Lydia for fifty seven years Aly attes died He was the second prince of his house who made of ferings at Delphi His gifts which he sent on recovering from his sickness were a great bowl of pure silver with a salver in iron curiously inlaid a work among all the offerings at Delphi the best worth looking at Glaucus the Chian made it the man who first invented the art of welding iron

26 On the death of Alyattes, Croesus, his son, who was in his thirty fifth year succeeded to the throne Of the Greek cities Ephesus was the first he attacked The Ephesians when he laid siege to the place made an offering of their city to Artemis by stretching a rope from the town wall to the temple of the Goddess which was distant from the ancient city then besieged

[11] Th Orthia is m nti d s a part cul so t of m lody p t h d in a high k y as th nam w ld imply a d w s l ly spirit d as

[12] Th t ry f th d lph is p ob bly nn t d with a f miliar c in type a be ridi g d lphin.

by Croesus, a space of about a mile They were, as I said, the first Greeks whom he attacked Afterwards, on some pretext or other, he made war in turn upon every Ionian and Aeolian state, bringing forward, where he could, a substantial ground of complaint, where such failed him, advancing some poor excuse

27 In this way he made himself master of all the Greek cities in Asia, and forced them to become his tributaries, after which he began to think of building ships, and attacking the islanders Everything had been got ready for this purpose, when Bias of Priene (or, as some say, Pittacus the Mytilenean) put a stop to the project The king had made inquiry of this person, who was lately arrived at Sardis, if there were any news from Greece, to which he answered, "Yes, sire, the islanders are gathering 10,000 horse, designing an expedition against you and against your capital" Croesus, thinking he spoke seriously, broke out, "Ah, might the gods put such a thought into their minds as to attack the sons of the Lydians with cavalry!" "It seems, O king," rejoined the other, "that you desire earnestly to catch the islanders on horseback upon the mainland, you know well what would come of it But what think you the islanders desire better, now that they hear you are about to build ships and sail against them, than to catch the Lydians at sea, and there revenge on them the wrongs of their brothers upon the mainland, whom you hold in slavery?" Croesus was charmed with the turn of the speech, and thinking there was reason in what was said, gave up his shipbuilding and concluded a league of amity with the Ionians of the isles

28 Croesus afterwards, in the course of many years, brought under his sway almost all the nations to the west of the Halys The Lycians and Cilicians alone continued free, all the other tribes he reduced and held in subjection They were the following the Lydians, Phrygians, Mysians, Mariandynians Chalybians, Paphlagonians, Thynian and Bithynian Thracians, Carians, Ionians, Dorians Aeolians and Pamphylians

29 When all these conquests had been added to the Lydian empire, and the prosperity of Sardis was now at its height, there

came thither one after another all the sages of Greece living at the time and among them Solon the Athenian [13] He was on his travels having left Athens to be absent ten years under the pretence of wishing to see the world but really to avoid being forced to repeal any of the laws which at the request of the Athenians he had made for them Without his sanction the Athenians could not repeal them as they had bound themselves under a heavy curse to be governed for ten years by the laws which should be imposed on them by Solon

30 On this account as well as to see the world Solon set out upon his travels in the course of which he went to Egypt to the court of Amasis [14] and also came on a visit to Croesus at Sardis Croesus received him as his guest and lodged him in the royal palace On the third or fourth day after he bade his servants conduct Solon over his treasuries and show him all their greatness and magnificence When he had seen them all and so far as time allowed inspected them Croesus addressed this question to him Stranger of Athens we have heard much of your wisdom and of your travels through many lands from love of knowledge and a wish to see the world I am curious therefore to inquire of you whom of all the men that you have seen you consider the most happy? This he asked because he thought himself the happiest of mortals but Solon answered him without flattery according to his true sentiments Tellus of Athens sire Full of astonishment at what he heard Cr us demanded sharply And wherefore do you deem Tellus happiest? To which the other replied First because his country was flourishing in his days and he himself had sons both beautiful and good and he lived to see children born to each of them and

[13] Sol isit t Croesu was r j ted as f b lous before the tim of Pl ta h (Sol c. 27) on cc u t f h olog cal diff culties It is p b bly be t to ew th t ry a popul r ph l sophy b se l n ethi al a d ot hist ri al gr nds. He od t fail e t me t S l t tut l f rms p b bly t be attrib ted to his lack of i t rest l ch mat ters n t i n ra c

[14] Amasis beg t ign 569 B C Sol might sail from Athe t Egypt thence t Cyprus, and from Cyprus to Lydia

these children all grew up, and further because, after a life spent in what our people look upon as comfort, his end was surpassingly glorious In a battle between the Athenians and their neighbours near Eleusis, he came to the assistance of his countrymen, routed the foe, and died upon the field most gallantly The Athenians gave him a public funeral on the spot where he fell, and paid him the highest honours "

31 Thus did Solon admonish Croesus by the example of Tellus, enumerating the manifold particulars of his happiness When he had ended, Croesus inquired a second time, who after Tellus seemed to him the happiest, expecting that, at any rate, he would be given the second place 'Cleobis and Bito," Solon answered "they were of Argive race their fortune was enough for their wants, and they were besides endowed with so much bodily strength that they had both gained prizes at the Games Also this tale is told of them There was a great festival in honour of the goddess Hera at Argos, to which their mother must needs be taken in a car Now the oxen did not come home from the field in time so the youths, fearful of being too late, put the yoke on their own necks, and themselves drew the car in which their mother rode Five miles they drew her, and stopped before the temple This deed of theirs was witnessed by the whole assembly of worshippers and then their life closed in the best possible way Herein, too God showed forth most evidently, how much better a thing for man death is than life For the Argive men stood thick around the car and extolled the vast strength of the youths, and the Argive women extolled the mother who was blessed with such a pair of sons and the mother herself, overjoyed at the deed and at the praises it had won standing straight before the image, besought the goddess to bestow on Cleobis and Bito the sons who had so mightily honoured her, the highest blessing to which mortals can attain Her prayer ended, they offered sacrifice and partook of the holy banquet, after which the two youths fell asleep in the temple They never woke more, but so passed from the earth The Argives looking on them as among the best of men caused statues of them to be made, which they gave to the shrine at Delphi'

32 When Solon had thus assigned these vouths the econd place Croesus broke in angrily What stran^er of Athens is my happiness then valued so little by you that you do not even put me on a level with private men?

Croesus replied the other you asked a question concerning the condition of man of one who knows that the power above us is full of jealousy [15] and fond of troubling our lot A long life gives one to witne s much and experience much oneelf that one would not choose Seventy years I regard as the limit of the life of man In these seventy years are contained without reckoning intercalary months 25 200 days Add an intercalary month to every other year that the easons may come round at the ri ht time and there will be besides the seventy years thirty five such months making an addition of 1 050 days The whole number of the days contained in the seventy years will thus be 26 50 [1] whereof not one but will produce events unlike the rest Hence man is wholly accident For yourself Croesus I see that you are wonderfully rich and the lord of many nations but with re pect to your question I have no answer to give until I hear that you have clo ed your life happily For assuredly he who possesses great store of riches is no nearer happiness than he who has what suffices for his daily

[15] Th jeal sy of God is l di g feat re i H od t pt f the De ty d d bt is f th hi f m l l i wh h he drew f m his wn urvey f h ma e t nd t d d t imp us by his hist ry Th idea of gı God is l d d i th H od t c cen b t t is f f m bei g th h l f it P pe ty t p ide emi ce t rr g p kes h m H loes t lk y t be er t h ppy b t himself
Wh t is m t ma kabl i th t with h pti f th D v t H rod ld maintain su h placid heerf l h ldi k t m per P s h h w seren be se h f lt secu h medi ocrit

[16] Herod t ha ma th l yea era 3 5 d y Tw i ccu racı p od th rr r I th fi t pl h m kes S l t hi m th t thirty day ea h wh rea th G eek m ths, ft th sy tem of L t real t w int od ced w lt rn t ly f t erty and thi ty days. By t is er h first n mbe i ra sed f m 4 t 5 oo d also his sec d mbe f m ,o33 t ,o5 S d h m t t m t on th t f m tım t t me th i tercalary m th wa mitted al geth

needs, unless luck attend upon him, and so he continue in the enjoyment of all his good things to the end of life For many of the wealthiest men have been unfavoured of fortune, and many whose means were moderate, have had excellent luck Men of the former class excel those of the latter but in two respects, these last excel the former in many The wealthy man is better able to content his desires, and to bear up against a sudden buffet of calamity The other has less ability to withstand these evils (from which, however, his good luck keeps him clear), but he enjoys all these following blessings he is whole of limb, a stranger to disease, free from misfortune, happy in his children, and comely to look upon If, in addition to all this, he end his life well, he is of a truth the man of whom you are in search, the man who may rightly be termed happy Call him, however, until he die, not happy but fortunate Scarcely, indeed, can any man unite all these advantages as there is no country which contains within it all that it needs, but each, while it possesses some things, lacks others, and the best country is that which contains the most, so no single human being is complete in every respect —something is always lacking He who unites the greatest number of advantages, and retaining them to the day of his death, then dies peaceably, that man alone, sire, is, in my judgment, entitled to bear the name of 'happy' But in every matter we must mark well the end, for oftentimes God gives men a gleam of happiness, and then plunges them into ruin"

33 Such was the speech which Solon addressed to Croesus, a speech which brought him neither largess nor honour The king saw him depart with much indifference, since he thought that a man must be an arrant fool who made no account of present good, but bade men always wait and mark the end

34 After Solon had gone away a dreadful vengeance, sent of God, came upon Croesus, to punish him, it is likely, for considering himself the happiest of men First he had a dream in the night, which foreshowed him truly the evils that were about to befall him in the person of his son For Croesus had two sons, one blasted by a natural defect, being deaf and dumb, the other, distinguished far above all his mates in every pursuit The name

of the last was Atys It was this son concerning whom he dreamed a dream that he would die by the blow of an iron weapon When he woke he considered earnestly with himself and greatly alarmed at the dream instantly made his son take a wife and whereas in former years the youth had been wont to command the Lydian forces in the field he now would not suffer him to accompany them All the spears and javelins and weapons used in the wars he removed out of the male apartments *and laid them in heaps in the chambers of the women* fearing lest perhaps one of the weapons that hung against the wall might fall and strike him

35 Now it chanced that while he was making arrangements for the wedding there came to Sardis a man under a misfortune who had upon him the stain of blood He was by race a Phrygian and belonged to the family of the king Presenting himself at the palace of Croesus he prayed to be admitted to purification according to the customs of the country Now the Lydian method of purifying is very nearly the same as the Greek Croesus granted the request and went through all the customary rites after which he asked the suppliant of his birth and country addressing him as follows Who are you stranger and from what part of Phrygia did you flee to take refuge at my hearth? And whom moreover what man or what woman have you slain? O king replied the Phrygian I am the son of Gordias son of Midas I am named Adrastus[17] The man I unintentionally slew was my own brother For this my father drove me from the land and I lost all Then fled I here to you

You are the offspring Croesus rejoined of a house friendly to mine and you have come to friends You shall want for nothing so long as you stay in my dominions Bear your misfortune as easily as you may so will it go best with you Thenceforth Adrastus lived in the palace of the king

36 It chanced that at this very same time there was in the Mysian Olympus a huge monster of a boar which went forth often from this mountain-country and wasted the corn fields of

[17] Adrastus is the doomed the man unable to escape Atys is the youth under the influence of Até the man judicially blinded.

the Mysians Many a time had the Mysians collected to hunt the beast, but instead of doing him any hurt, they came off always with some loss to themselves At length they sent ambassadors to Croesus, who delivered their message to him in these words, "O king, a mighty monster of a boar has appeared in our parts, and destroys the labour of our hands We do our best to take him, but in vain Now therefore we beseech you to let your son accompany us back, with some chosen youths and hounds, that we may rid our country of the animal" Such was the tenor of their prayer

But Croesus thought of his dream, and answered, "Say no more of my son going with you, that may not be in any wise He is but just joined in wedlock, and is busy enough with that I will grant you a picked band of Lydians, and all my hunting array, and I will charge those whom I send to use all zeal in aiding you to rid your country of the brute"

37 With this reply the Mysians were content, but the king's son, hearing what the prayer of the Mysians was, came suddenly in, and on the refusal of Croesus to let him go with them, thus addressed his father, "Formerly, my father, it was considered the noblest and most suitable thing for me to frequent the wars and hunting parties, and win myself glory in them, but now you keep me away from both, although you have never beheld in me either cowardice or lack of spirit What face meanwhile must I wear as I walk to the agora or return from it? What must the citizens, what must my young bride think of me? What sort of man will she suppose her husband to be? Either, therefore, let me go to the chase of this boar, or give me a reason why it is best for me to do according to your wishes"

38 Then Croesus answered, "My son, it is not because I have seen in you either cowardice or anything else which has displeased me that I keep you back, but because a vision, which came before me in a dream as I slept, warned me that you were doomed to die young, pierced by an iron weapon It was this which first led me to hasten on your wedding, and now it hinders me from sending you upon this enterprise I would like to keep watch over you, if by any means I may cheat fate ou

during my own lifetime For you are the one and onlv on that I possess the other whose hearing is destroyed I regard as if he were not

39 Ah father returned the youth I blame you not for keeping watch over me after a dream o terrible but if you are mistaken if you do not apprehend the dream rightly it is no blame for me to show you your error Now the dream you said foretold that I should die stricken by an iron weapon But what hands has a boar to strike with? What iron weapon does he wield? Yet this is what you fear for me Had the dream aid that I should die pierced by a tusk then you would have done well to keep me away but it said a weapon Now here we do not combat men but a wild animal I pray you therefore let me go with them

40 There you have me my son said Croesus your interpretation is better than mine I yield to it and change my mind and consent to let you go

41 Then the king ent for Adrastus the Phrygian and said to him Adrastus when you were smitten with the rod of affliction—no reproach my friend—I purified you and have taken you to live with me in my palace and have been at ever charge Now therefore you should requite the good offices you have received at my hands by consenting to go with my son on this hunting party and to watch over him in case you hould be attacked upon the road by some band of daring robbers Even apart from this it were ri ht for you to go where you may make yourself famous by noble deeds They are the heritage of your family and you too are stalwart and strong

42 Adrastus answered Except for your request O king I would rather have kept away from this hunt for it ill beseems a man under a misfortune such as mine to consort with his happier compeers and besides I have no heart to it On many grounds I had stayed behind but as you urge it and I am bound to pleasure you (for truly it does behove me to requite your good offices) I am content to do as you wish For your son whom you give into my charge be sure you shall receive

him back safe and sound, so far as depends upon a guardian's carefulness"

43 Thus assured, Croesus let them depart, accompanied by a band of picked youths, and well provided with dogs of chase When they reached Olympus, they scattered in quest of the animal, he was soon found, and the hunters, drawing round him in a circle, hurled their weapons at him Then the stranger, the man who had been purified of blood, whose name was Adrastus, he also hurled his spear at the boar, but missed his aim, and struck Atys Thus was the son of Croesus slain by the point of an iron weapon, and the warning of the vision was fulfilled Then one ran to Sardis to bear the tidings to the king, and he came and informed him of the combat, and of the fate that had befallen his son

44 If it was a heavy blow to the father to learn that his child was dead, it yet more strongly affected him to think that the very man whom he himself once purified had done the deed In the violence of his grief he called aloud on Zeus the Purifier, to be a witness of what he had suffered at the stranger's hands Afterwards he invoked the same god as Zeus the Protector of hearths and friendships, using the one term because he had unwittingly harboured in his house the man who had now slain his son, and the other, because the stranger, who had been sent as his child's guardian, had turned out his most cruel enemy

45 *Presently the Lydians arrived, bearing the body of the youth,* and behind them followed the homicide He took his stand in front of the corpse, and, stretching forth his hands to Croesus, delivered himself into his power with earnest entreaties that he would sacrifice him upon the body of his son, "his former misfortune was burden enough, now that he had added to it a second, and had brought ruin on the man who purified him, he could not bear to live" Then Croesus, when he heard these words, was moved with pity towards Adrastus, notwithstanding the bitterness of his own calamity, and so he answered, "Enough, my friend, I have all the revenge that I require since you give sentence of death against yourself But

indeed it is not you who have injured me except so far as you accidentally dealt the blow Some god is the author of my mis fortune and I was forewarned of it a long time ago Croesus after this buried the body of his son with such honours as fitted the occasion Adrastus son of Gordias son of Mida the destroyer of his brother in time past the destroyer now of his purifier regarding himself as the most unfortunate wretch whom he had ever known as soon as all was quiet about the place slew himself upon the tomb Croesus bereft of his son gave himself up to mourning for two full years

46 At the end of this time the grief of Croesus was inter rupted by intelligence from abroad He learned that Cyrus the son of Cambyses had destroyed the empire of Astyages the son of Cyaxares and that the Persians were becoming daily more powerful This led him to consider with himself whether it were possible to check the growing power of that people before it came to a head With this design he resolved to make instant trial of the several oracles in Greece and of the one in Libya So he sent his messengers in different directions some to Delphi some to Abae in Phocis and some to Dodona others to the oracle of Amphiaraus others to that of Trophonius others again to Branchidae in Milesia These were the Greek oracles which he consulted To Libya he sent another embassy to con sult the oracle of Ammon These messengers were sent to test the knowledge of the oracles that if they were found really to return true answers he might send a second time and inquire if he ought to attack the Persians

47 The messengers who were despatched to make trial of the oracles were given the following instructions they were to keep count of the days from the time of their leaving Sardis and reckoning from that date on the hundredth day they were to consult the oracles and to inquire of them what Croesus the son of Alyattes king of Lydia was doing at that moment The an swers given them were to be taken down in writing and brought back to him None of the replies remain on record except that of the oracle at Delphi There the moment that the Lydians en

tered the sanctuary, and before they put their questions, the priestess thus answered them in hexameter verse

I can count the sands, and I can measure the ocean,
I have ears for the silent, and know what the dumb man meaneth,
Lo! on my sense there striketh the smell of a shell covered tortoise,
Boiling now on a fire, with the flesh of a lamb, in a cauldron,
Brass is the vessel below, and brass the cover above it

48 These words the Lydians wrote down at the mouth of the priestess as she prophesied, and then set off on their return to Sardis When all the messengers had come back with the answers which they had received, Croesus undid the rolls, and read what was written in each Only one approved itself to him, that of the Delphic oracle This he had no sooner heard than he instantly made an act of adoration, and accepted it as true, declaring that the Delphic was the only really oracular shrine, the only one that had discovered in what way he was in fact employed For on the departure of his messengers he had set himself to think what was most impossible for any one to conceive of his doing, and then, waiting till the day agreed on came, he acted as he had determined He took a tortoise and a lamb, and cutting them in pieces with his own hands, boiled them both together in a brazen cauldron, covered over with a lid which was also of brass

49 Such then was the answer returned to Croesus from Delphi What the answer was which the Lydians who went to the shrine of Amphiaraus and performed the customary rites, obtained of the oracle there, I have it not in my power to mention, for there is no record of it All that is known is, that Croesus believed himself to have found there also an oracle which spoke the truth

50 After this Croesus, having resolved to propitiate the Delphic god with a magnificent sacrifice, offered up 3,000 of every kind of sacrificial beast, and besides made a huge pile, and

placed upon it couches coated with silver and with gold and golden goblets and robes and vests of purple all which he burnt in the hope of thereby making himself more secure of the favour of the god Further he issued his orders to all the people of the land to offer a sacrifice according to their means When the sacrifice was ended the king melted down a vast quantity of gold and ran it into ingots making them six palms long three palms broad and one palm in thickness The number of ingots was 117 four being of refined gold in weight two talents and a half the others of pale gold and in weight two talents He also caused a statue of a lion to be made in refined gold the weight of which was ten talents At the time when the temple of Delphi was burnt to the ground this lion fell from its place upon the ingots it now stands in the Corinthian treasury and weighs only six talents and a half having lost three talents and a half by the fire

51 On the completion of these works Croesus sent them away to Delphi and with them two bowls of an enormous size one of gold the other of silver which used to stand the latter upon the right the former upon the left as one entered the temple They too were moved after the fire and now the golden one is in the Clazomenian treasury and weighs eight talents and forty two minae the silver one stands in the corner of the ante-chapel and holds 600 amphorae[1] This is known because the Delphians fill it at the time of the Theophania It is said by the Delphians to be a work of Theodore the Samian and I think that they say true for assuredly it is the work of no common artist Croesus sent also four silver casks which are in the Corinthian treasury and two lustral vases a golden and a silver one On the former is inscribed the name of the Lacedaemonian and they claim it as a gift of theirs but wrongly since it was really given by Croesus. The inscription upon it was cut by a Delphian who wished to please the Lacedaemonians His name

[1] Abo 5,000 gall ns (cf I 81)

[2] Pa sa ias scribed t Th d e f S m th I ention f casting in bronz and spok of him also architect.

is known to me, but I forbear to mention it The boy, through whose hand the water runs, is (I confess) a Lacedaemonian gift, but they did not give either of the lustral vases Besides these various offerings, Croesus sent to Delphi many others of less account, among the rest a number of round silver basins Also he dedicated a female figure in gold, four and one half feet high, which is said by the Delphians to be the statue of his baking woman, and further, he presented the necklace and the girdles of his wife

52 These were the offerings sent by Croesus to Delphi To the shrine of Amphiaraus, with whose valour and misfortune he was acquainted, he sent a shield entirely of gold, and a spear, also of solid gold, both head and shaft They were still existing in my day at Thebes, laid up in the temple of Ismenian Apollo

53 The messengers who had the charge of conveying these treasures to the shrines, received instructions to ask the oracles whether Croesus should go to war with the Persians, and if so, whether he should strengthen himself by the forces of an ally Accordingly, when they had reached their destinations and presented the gifts, they proceeded to consult the oracles in the following terms, "Croesus, king of Lydia and other countries, believing that these are the only real oracles in all the world, has sent you such presents as your discoveries deserved, and now inquires of you whether he shall go to war with the Persians, and if so, whether he shall strengthen himself by the forces of a confederate " Both the oracles agreed in the tenor of their reply, which was in each case a prophecy that if Croesus attacked the Persians, he would destroy a mighty empire, and a recommendation to him to look and see who were the most powerful of the Greeks, and to make alliance with them

54 At the receipt of these oracular replies Croesus was overjoyed, and feeling sure now that he would destroy the empire of the Persians, he sent once more to Pytho, and presented to the Delphians, the number of whom he had ascertained, two gold staters apiece In return for this the Delphians granted to Croesus and the Lydians the privilege of precedency in consulting

the oracle exemption from all charges the most honourable seat at the festivals and the perpetual right of becoming at pleasure citizens of their town

55 After sending these presents to the Delphians Croesus a third time consulted the oracle for having once proved its truthfulness he wished to make constant use of it The question whereto he now desired an answer was Whether his kingdom would be of long duration? The following was the reply of the priestess

Wait till the time shall come when a mule is monarch of Media
Then thou delicate Lydian away to the pebbles of Hermus
Haste oh! haste thee away nor blush to behave like a coward

56 Of all the answers that had reached him this pleased him far the best for it seemed incredible that a mule should ever come to be king of the Medes and so he concluded that the sovereignty would never depart from himself or his seed after him Afterwards he turned his thoughts to the alliance which he had been recommended to contract and sought to ascertain by inquiry which was the most powerful of the Grecian states His inquiries pointed out to him two states as pre-eminent above the rest These were the Lacedaemonians and the Athenians the former of Doric, the latter of Ionic blood And indeed these two nations had held from very early times the most distinguished place in Greece the one being a Pelasgic the other a Hellenic people and the one having never quitted its original seats while the other had been excessively migratory for during the reign of Deucalion Phthiotis was the country in which the Hellenes dwelt but under Dorus the son of Hellen they moved to the tract at the base of Ossa and Olympus which is called Histiaeotis forced to retire from that region by the Cadmeians they settled under the name of Macedni in the chain of Pindus Hence they once more removed and came to Dryopis and from

* Th Cadm ians w re th Gra c Phoenicia race (th r nam m rely signifying th Easterns) who in th t Trojan times, occupi d the country which was afterwards called B eotia.

Dryopis having entered the Peloponnese in this way, they became known as Dorians

57 What the language of the Pelasgi was I cannot say with any certainty If, however, we may form a conjecture from the tongue spoken by the Pelasgi of the present day, those, for instance, who live at Creston above the Tyrrhenians, who formerly dwelt in the district named Thessaliotis, and were neighbours of the people now called the Dorians, or those again who founded Placia and Scylace upon the Hellespont, who had previously dwelt for some time with the Athenians, or those, in short, of any of the cities which have dropped the name but are in fact Pelasgian, if, I say, we are to form a conjecture from any of these, we must pronounce that the Pelasgi spoke a barbarous language If this were really so, and the entire Pelasgic race spoke the same tongue, the Athenians, who were certainly Pelasgi, must have changed their language at the same time that they passed into the Hellenic body, for it is a certain fact that the people of Creston speak a language unlike any of their neighbours, and the same is true of the Placianians, while the language spoken by these two people is the same, which shows that they both retain the idiom which they brought with them into the countries where they are now settled

58 The Hellenic race has never, since its first origin, changed its speech This at least seems evident to me It was a branch of the Pelasgic, which separated from the main body, and at first was scanty in numbers and of little power, but it gradually spread and increased to a multitude of nations, chiefly by the voluntary entrance into its ranks of numerous tribes of barbarians The Pelasgi, on the other hand, were, as I think, a barbarian race which never greatly multiplied

59 On inquiring into the condition of these two nations, Croesus found that one the Athenian, was in a state of grievous oppression and distraction under Pisistratus, the son of Hippocrates, who was at that time tyrant of Athens Hippocrates, when he was a private citizen, is said to have gone once upon a time to Olympia to see the games, when a wonderful prodigy

happened to him As he was employed in sacrificing the caul drons which stood near full of water and of the flesh of the vic tims began to boil without the help of fire and continued till the water overflowed the pot Chilon the Lacedaemonian who happened to be there and to witness the prodigy advised Hippocrates if he were unmarried never to take into his house a wife who could bear him a child if he already had one to end her back to her friends if he had a son to disown him Chilon s advice did not at all please Hippocrates who disregarded it and some time after became the father of Pisistratus This Pisis t atus at a time when there was civil contention in Attica be tween the party of the Seacoast headed by Megacles the son of Alcmaeon and that of the Plain headed by Lycurgus one of the Aristolaids formed the project of making himself tyrant and with this view created a third faction Gathering together a band of partisans and giving himself out for the protector of the Highlanders he contrived the following stratagem He wounded himself and his mules and then drove his chariot into the market place professing to have just escaped an attack of his enemies who had attempted his life as he was on his way into the country He besought the people to assign him a guard to protect his person reminding them of the glory which he had gained when he led the attack upon the Megarians and took the town of Nisaea at the ame time performing many other ex ploits The Athenians deceived by his story appointed him a band of citizens to serve as a guard who were to carry clubs in stead of pears and to accompany him wherever he went Thus strengthened Pisistratus broke into revolt and seized the cita del In this way he acquired the sovereignty of Athens which he continued to hold without disturbing the previously existing of fices or altering any of the laws He administered the state ac cording to the established usages and his arrangements were wise and salutary

60 However after a little time the partisans of Megacles and those of Lycurgus agreed to forget their differences and united to drive him out So Pisistratus having by the means described first made himself master of Athens lost his power

again before it had time to take root No sooner, however, was he departed than the factions which had driven him out quarrelled anew, and at last Megacles, wearied with the struggle, sent a herald to Pisistratus, with an offer to re establish him on the throne if he would marry his daughter Pisistratus consented, and on these terms an agreement was concluded between the two, after which they proceeded to devise the mode of his restoration And here the device on which they hit was the silliest to be found in all history, more especially considering that the Greeks have been from very ancient times distinguished from the barbarians by superior sagacity and freedom from foolish simpleness, and remembering that the persons on whom this trick was played were not only Greeks but Athenians, who have the credit of surpassing all other Greeks in cleverness There was in the Paeanian district a woman named Phya, whose height was almost six feet, and who was altogether comely to look upon This woman they clothed in complete armour, and, instructing her as to the carriage which she was to maintain in order to beseem her part, they placed her in a chariot and drove to the city Heralds had been sent forward to precede her, and to make proclamation to this effect, ' Citizens of Athens, receive again Pisistratus with friendly minds Athena, who of all men honours him the most, herself conducts him back to her own citadel " This they proclaimed in all directions, and immediately the rumour spread throughout the country districts that Athena was bringing back her favourite They of the city also, fully persuaded that the woman was the veritable goddess, worshipped her, and received Pisistratus back

61 Pisistratus, having thus recovered the sovereignty, married, according to agreement, the daughter of Megacles As however, he had already a family of grown up sons, and the Alcmaeonidae were supposed to be under a curse,[1] he deter

[1] The curse rested on them upon account of their treatment of the partisans of Cylon The archon of the time Megacles not only broke faith with them after he had by a pledge to spare their lives induced them to leave the sacred precinct of Athena in the Acropolis but also slew a number at the altar of the Eumenides

mined that there should be no issue of the marriage and he consequently had intercourse with her in an abnormal fashion His wife at first kept this matter to herself but after a time either her mother questioned her or it may be that she told it of her own accord At any rate she informed her mother and so it reached her father s ears Megacles indignant at receiving an affront from such a quarter in his anger instantly made up his differences with the opposite faction on which Pisistratus aware of what was planning against him took himself out of the country Arrived at Eretria he held a council with his children to decide what was to be done The opinion of Hippias prevailed and it was agreed to aim at regaining the sovereignty The first step was to obtain advances of money from such states as were under obligations to them By these means they collected large sums from several countries especially from the Thebans who gave them far more than any of the rest To be brief time passed and all was at length got ready for their return *A band of Argive mercenaries arrived from the Peloponnese* and a certain Naxian named Lygdamis who volunteered his services was particularly zealous in the cause supplying both men and money

6 In the eleventh year of their exile the family of Pisistratus set sail from Eretria on their return home They made the coast of Attica near Marathon where they encamped and were joined by their partisans from the capital and by numbers from the country districts who loved tyranny better than freedom At Athens while Pisistratus was obtaining funds and even after he landed at Marathon no one paid any attention to his proceedings When however it became known that he had left Marathon and was marching upon the city preparations were made for resistance the whole force of the state was levied and led against the returning exiles Meantime the army of Pisistratus which had broken up from Marathon meeting their adversaries near the temple of the Pallenian Athena pitched their camp opposite them Here a certain soothsayer Amphilytus by name an Acarnanian moved by a divine impulse came into the

presence of Pisistratus, and approaching him uttered this prophecy in the hexameter measure

Now has the cast been made, the net is out spread in the water,
Through the moonshiny night the tunnies will enter the meshes

63 Such was the prophecy uttered under a divine inspiration Pisistratus, apprehending its meaning, declared that he accepted the oracle, and instantly led on his army The Athenians from the city had just finished their midday meal, after which they had betaken themselves, some to dice, others to sleep, when Pisistratus with his troops fell upon them and put them to the rout As soon as the flight began, Pisistratus bethought himself of a most wise contrivance, whereby the Athenians might be induced to disperse and not unite in a body any more He mounted his sons on horseback and sent them on in front to overtake the fugitives, and exhort them to be of good cheer, and return each man to his home The Athenians took the advice, and Pisistratus became for the third time master of Athens [22]

64 Upon this he set himslf to root his power more firmly, by the aid of a numerous body of mercenaries, and by keeping up a full exchequer, partly supplied from native sources, partly from the countries about the river Strymon He also demanded hostages from many of the Athenians who had remained at home, and not left Athens at his approach, and these he sent to Naxos, which he had conquered by force of arms, and given over into the charge of Lygdamis He also purified the island of Delos, according to the injunctions of an oracle, after the following fashion All the dead bodies which had been interred within sight of the temple he dug up, and removed to another part of the isle Thus was the tyranny of Pisistratus established at Athens, many of the Athenians having fallen in the battle, and many others having fled the country together with the sons of Alcmaeon

[22] The probable dates of Pisistratid rule are as follows First tyranny, 561–560 first exile 559 second tyranny 559, second exile, 556, third tyranny 546, death 527 expulsion of Hippias 510

65 Such was the condition of the Athenians when Croesus made inquiry concerning them Proceeding to seek information concerning the Lacedaemonians he learnt that after passing through a period of great depression they had lately been victorious in a war with the people of Tegea for during the joint reign of Leo and Hegesicles kings of Sparta the Lacedaemonians successful in all their other wars suffered continual defeats at the hands of the Tegeans At a still earlier period they had been the very worst governed people in Greece as well in matters of internal management as in their relations towards foreigners from whom they kept entirely aloof The circumstances which led to their being well governed were the following Lycurgus a man of distinction among the Spartans had gone to Delphi to visit the oracle Scarcely had he entered into the inner fane when the priestess exclaimed aloud

O thou great Lycurgus that com st to my beautiful dwelling
Dear to Zeus and to all who sit in the halls of Olympus
Whether to hail thee a god I know not or only a mortal
But my hope is strong that a god thou wilt prove Lycurgus

Some report besides that the priestess delivered to him the entire system of laws which are still observed by the Spartans The Lacedaemonians however themselves assert that Lycurgus when he was guardian of his nephew Labotas king of Sparta and regent in his room introduced them from Crete for as soon as he became regent he altered the whole of the existing customs substituting new ones which he took care should be observed by all After this he arranged whatever appertained to war establishing the companies of thirty messmates and sworn brotherhoods besides which he instituted the senate and the ephoralty Such was the way in which the Lacedaemonians became a well-governed people

66 On the death of Lycurgus they built him a temple and

* Even if Lycurgus was a real person we know nothing about him and Herodotus account is not historical It is only valuable as the fifth century official Lacedaemonian account.

ever since they have worshipped him with the utmost reverence Their soil being good and the population numerous, they sprang up rapidly to power, and became a flourishing people In consequence they soon ceased to be satisfied to stay quiet, and, regarding the Arcadians as very much their inferiors, they sent to consult the oracle about conquering the whole of Arcadia The priestess thus answered them

Cravest thou Arcady? Bold is thy craving I shall not content it
Many the men that in Arcady dwell, whose food is the acorn—
They will never allow thee It is not I that am niggard
I will give thee to dance in Tegea with noisy foot fall
And with the measuring line mete out the glorious champaign

When the Lacedaemonians received this reply, leaving the rest of Arcadia untouched, they marched against the Tegeans, carrying with them fetters, so confident had this oracle (which was, in truth, but of base metal) made them that they would enslave the Tegeans The battle, however, went against them and many fell into the enemy s hands Then these persons wearing the fetters which they had themselves brought, and fastened together in a string measured the Tegean plain as they executed their labours The fetters in which they worked were still, in my day, preserved at Tegea where they hung round the walls of the temple of Athena Alea

67 Throughout the whole of this early contest with the Tegeans, the Lacedaemonians met with nothing but defeats but in the time of Croesus, under the kings Anaxandrides and Ariston, fortune had turned in their favour, in the manner which I will now relate Having been worsted in every engagement by their enemy, they sent to Delphi and inquired of the oracle what god they must propitiate to prevail in the war against the Tegeans The answer of the priestess was, that before they could prevail, they must remove to Sparta the bones of Orestes, the son of Agamemnon Unable to discover his burial place, they sent a second time, and asked the god where the body of the hero had been laid The following was the answer they received

Level and smooth is the plain where Arcadian Tegea standeth
There two winds are ever by strong necessity blowing
Counter stroke answers stroke and evil lies upon evil
There all teeming Earth doth harbour the son of Atrides
Bring thou him to thy city and then be Tegea s master

After this reply the Lacedaemonians were no nearer discovering the burial place than before though they continued to search for it diligently until at last a man named Lichas one of the Spartans called Agathoergi found it The Agathoergi are citizens who have just served their time among the knights The five eldest of the knights go out every year and are bound during the year after their discharge to go wherever the State sends them and actively employ themselves in its service

68 Lichas was one of this body when partly by good luck partly by his own wisdom he discovered the burial place Intercourse between the two States existing just at this time he went to Tegea and happening to enter into the workshop of a smith he saw him forging some iron As he stood marvelling at what he beheld he was observed by the smith who leaving off his work went up to him and said Certainly then you Spartan stranger you would have been wonderfully surprised if you had seen what I have since you make a marvel even of the working in iron I wanted to make myself a well in this room and began to dig it when what think you? I came upon a coffin ten feet long I had never believed that men were taller in the olden times than they are now so I opened the coffin The body inside was of the same length I measured it and filled up the hole again

Such was the man s account of what he had seen The other on turning the matter over in his mind conjectured that this was the body of Orestes of which the oracle had spoken He guessed so because he observed that the smithy had two bellows which he understood to be the two winds and the hammer and anvil would do for the stroke and the counter stroke and the iron that was being wrought for the evil lying upon evil This he imagined might be so because iron had been discovered to the hurt of man Full of these conjectures he sped back to

Sparta and laid the whole matter before his countrymen Soon after, by a concerted plan, they brought a charge against him, and began a prosecution Lichas betook himself to Tegea, and on his arrival acquainted the smith with his misfortune, and proposed to rent his room of him The smith refused for some time, but at last Lichas persuaded him, and took up his abode in it Then he opened the grave, and collecting the bones, re turned with them to Sparta From henceforth, whenever the Spartans and the Tegeans made trial of each other's skill in arms, the Spartans always had greatly the advantage, and by the time to which we are come now they were masters of most of the Peloponnese

69 Croesus, informed of all these circumstances, sent messengers to Sparta, with gifts in their hands, who were to ask the Spartans to enter into alliance with him They received strict in junctions as to what they should say, and on their arrival at Sparta spoke as follows, "Croesus, king of the Lydians and of other nations, has sent us to speak thus to you, 'Lacedaemo nians, the god has bidden me to make the Greek my friend, I therefore apply to you, in conformity with the oracle, knowing that you hold the first rank in Greece, and desire to become your friend and ally in all true faith and honesty '"

Such was the message which Croesus sent by his heralds The Lacedaemonians, who were aware beforehand of the reply given him by the oracle, were full of joy at the coming of the messen gers, and at once took the oaths of friendship and alliance this they did the more readily as they had previously contracted certain obligations towards him They had sent to Sardis on one occasion to purchase some gold intending to use it on a statue of Apollo—the statue, namely, which remains to this day at Thornax in Laconia, when Croesus, hearing of the matter, gave them as a gift the gold which they wanted

70 This was one reason why the Lacedaemonians were so willing to make the alliance another was, because Croesus had chosen them for his friends in preference to all the other Greeks They therefore held themselves in readiness to come at his sum mons, and not content with so doing, they further had a huge

employed themselves day after day, in hunting and always brought home some game but at last it chanced that one day they took nothing On their return to Cyaxares with empty hands that monarch who was hot tempered as he showed upon the occasion received them very rudely and insultingly In consequence of this treatment which they did not conceive themselves to have deserved the Scythians determined to take one of the boys whom they had in charge cut him in pieces and then dressing the flesh as they were wont to dress that of the wild animals serve it up to Cyaxares as game after which they resolved to convey themselves with all speed to Sardis to the court of Alyattes the son of Sadyattes The plan was carried out Cyaxares and his guests ate of the flesh prepared by the Scythians and they themselves having accomplished their purpose fled to Alyattes in the guise of suppliants

74 Afterwards on the refusal of Alyattes to give up his suppliants when Cyaxares sent to demand them of him war broke out between the Lydians and the Medes and continued for five years with various success In the course of it the Medes gained many victories over the Lydians and the Lydians also gained many victories over the Medes Among their other battles there was one night engagement As however the balance had not inclined in favour of either nation another combat took place in the sixth year in the course of which just as the battle was growing warm day was on a sudden changed into night This event had been foretold by Thales the Milesian who forewarned the Ionians of it fixing for it the very year in which it actually took place The Medes and Lydians when they observed the change ceased fighting and were alike anxious to have terms of peace agreed on Syennesis of Cilicia and Labynetus[77] of Babylon were the persons who mediated between the parties who hastened the taking of the oaths and brou ht

[75] This date i fixed by th ast mers 28 M y 585 B.C

[76] Th nam Syen esis is c mm t all th ki gs f Cilici menti ed i history It is n t really nam b t l.k Phara h title

[77] Th Babylo ian monarch t thi tim w s N bu h d z wh se r ign began 604 B.C.

about the exchange of espousals. It was they who advised that Alyattes should give his daughter Aryenis in marriage to Astyages the son of Cyaxares, knowing, as they did, that without some sure bond of strong necessity, there is wont to be but little security in men's covenants. Oaths are taken by these people in the same way as by the Greeks, except that they make a slight flesh wound in their arms, from which each sucks a portion of the other's blood.

75. Cyrus had captured this Astyages, who was his mother's father, and kept him prisoner, for a reason which I shall bring forward in another part of my history. This capture formed the ground of quarrel between Cyrus and Croesus, in consequence of which Croesus sent his servants to ask the oracle if he should attack the Persians; and when an evasive answer came, fancying it to be in his favour, carried his arms into the Persian territory. When he reached the river Halys, he transported his army across it, as I maintain, by the bridges which exist there at the present day; but, according to the general belief of the Greeks, by the aid of Thales the Milesian. The tale is, that Croesus was in doubt how he should get his army across, as the bridges were not made at that time, and that Thales, who happened to be in the camp, divided the stream and caused it to flow on both sides of the army instead of on the left only. This he effected thus: Beginning some distance above the camp, he dug a deep channel, which he brought round in a semicircle, so that it might pass to rearward of the camp; and that thus the river, diverted from its natural course into the new channel at the point where this left the stream, might flow by the station of the army, and afterwards fall again into the ancient bed. In this way the river was split into two streams, which were both easily fordable. It is said by some that the water was entirely drained off from the natural bed of the river. But I am of a different opinion; for I do not see how, in that case, they could have crossed it on their return.

76. Having passed the Halys with the forces under his command, Croesus entered the district of Cappadocia which is called

Pteria [28] It lies in the neighbourhood of the city of Sinope upon the Euxine and is the strongest position in the whole country thereabouts Here Croesus pitched his camp and began to ravage the fields of the Syrians He besieged and took the chief city of the Pterians and reduced the inhabitants to slavery he likewise made himself master of the surrounding villages Thus he brought ruin on the Syrians who were guilty of no offence towards him Meanwhile Cyrus had levied an army and marched against Croesus increasing his numbers at every step by the forces of the nations that lay in his way Before beginning his march he had sent heralds to the Ionians with an invitation to them to revolt from the Lydian king they however had refused compliance Cyrus notwithstanding marched against the enemy and encamped opposite them in the district of Pteria where the trial of strength took place between the contending powers The combat was hot and bloody and upon both sides the number of the slain was great nor had victory declared in favour of either party when night came down upon the battlefield Thus both armies fought valiantly

77 Croesus laid the blame of his ill success on the number of his troops which fell very short of the enemy and as on the next day Cyrus did not repeat the attack he set off on his return to Sard s intending to collect his allies and renew the contest in the spring He meant to call on the Egyptians to send him aid according to the terms of the alliance which he had concluded with Amasis previous to his league with the Lacedaemonians He intended also to summon to his assistance the Babylonians under their king Labynetus [29] for they too were bound to him by treaty and further he meant to send word to Sparta and appoint a day for the coming of their succours Having got together these forces in addition to his own he would as soon as the winter was past and springtime come march once more

[28] Pt na i p b bly B ghaz Keui wh mod rn exca t ns h e ed mass of inscripti n tal t the rec tru ti n f th hist ry of th Hitt t mp

[29] U d btedly N bonid (556 B.C) the la t f the B byl nia m chs.

against the Persians With these intentions Croesus, immediately on his return, despatched heralds to his various allies, with a request that they would join him at Sardis in the course of the fifth month from the time of the departure of his messengers He then disbanded the army—consisting of mercenary troops—which had been engaged with the Persians and had since accompanied him to his capital, and let them depart to their homes, never imagining that Cyrus, after a battle in which victory had been so evenly balanced, would venture to march upon Sardis

78 While Croesus was still in this mind, all the suburbs of Sardis were found to swarm with snakes, on the appearance of which the horses left feeding in the pasture grounds, and flocked to the suburbs to eat them The king, who witnessed the unusual sight, regarded it very rightly as a prodigy He therefore instantly sent messengers to the soothsayers of Telmessus, to consult them upon the matter His messengers reached the city, and obtained from the Telmessians an explanation of what the prodigy portended, but fate did not allow them to inform their lord, for before they entered Sardis on their return, Croesus was a prisoner What the Telmessians had declared was, that Croesus must look for the entry of an army of foreign invaders into his country, and that when they came they would subdue the native inhabitants, since the snake, said they, is a child of earth, and the horse a warrior and a foreigner Croesus was already a prisoner when the Telmessians thus answered his inquiry, but they had no knowledge of what was taking place at Sardis, or of the fate of the monarch

79 Cyrus, however, when Croesus broke up so suddenly from his quarters after the battle at Pteria, conceiving that he had marched away with the intention of disbanding his army, considered a little, and soon saw that it was advisable for him to advance upon *Sardis* with all haste, before the Lydians could get *their forces together* a second time Having thus determined, he lost no time in carrying out his plan He marched forward with such speed that he was himself the first to announce his coming to the Lydian king That monarch, placed in the utmost diffi

culty by the turn of events which had gone so entirely against all his calculations nevertheless led out the Lydians to battle In all Asia there was not at that time a braver or more warlike people Their manner of fighting was on horseback they carried long lances and were clever in the management of their steeds

80 The two armies met in the plain before Sardis It is a vast flat bare of trees watered by the Hyllus and a number of other streams which all flow into one larger than the res called the Hermus This river rises in the sacred mountain of the Dindymenian Mother [30] and falls into the sea near the town of Phoc ea [31]

When Cyrus beheld the Lydians arranging themselves in order of battle on this plan fearful of the strength of their cavalry he adopted a device which Harpagus one of the Medes suggested to him He collected together all the camels that had come in the train of his army to carry the provisions and the baggage and taking off their loads he mounted riders upon them accoutred as horsemen These he commanded to advance in front of hi other troops against the Lydian horse behind them we e to follow the foot soldiers and last of all the cavalry When his arrangements were complete he gave his troops orders to slay all the other Lydians who came in their way without mercy but to spare Croesus and not kill him even if he should be seized and offer r sistance The reason why Cyrus opposed his camels to the enemy s horse was because the horse has a natural dread of the camel and cannot abide either the sight or the smell of that animal By this stratagem he hoped to make Croesus s hor e useless to him the horse being wha h chiefly depended on for victory The two armies then joined battl and immediately the Lydian war horses seeing and melling the camels turned round and galloped off and so it came to pass that all Croesus s hopes withered away The Lydians however behaved manfully As soon as they understood what was hap-

[30] The Dindym nia moth w Cybel the spe ial d ty f Phrygia
[31] Th Herm w f lls i t th ea very m h n t Smyrna than t Phocae It urse is perpet lly ha g g

pening, they leaped off their horses, and engaged with the Persians on foot The combat was long, but at last, after a great slaughter on both sides, the Lydians turned and fled They were driven within their walls, and the Persians laid siege to Sardis

81 Thus the siege began Meanwhile Croesus, thinking that the place would hold out no inconsiderable time, sent off fresh heralds to his allies from the beleaguered town His former messengers had been charged to bid them assemble at Sardis in the course of the fifth month, they whom he now sent were to say that he was already besieged, and to beseech them to come to his aid with all possible speed Among his other allies Croesus did not omit to send to Lacedaemon

82 It chanced, however, that the Spartans were themselves just at this time engaged in a quarrel with the Argives about a place called Thyrea, which was within the limits of Argolis, but had been seized on by the Lacedaemonians Indeed, the whole country westward, as far as Cape Malea, belonged once to the Argives, and not only that entire tract upon the mainland, but also Cythera, and the other islands The Argives collected troops to resist the seizure of Thyrea, but before any battle was fought, the two parties came to terms, and it was agreed that 300 Spartans and 300 Argives should meet and fight for the place, which should belong to the nation with whom the victory rested It was stipulated also that the other troops on each side should return home to their respective countries, and not remain to witness the combat, as there was danger, if the armies stayed, that either the one or the other, on seeing their countrymen undergoing defeat, might hasten to their assistance These terms being agreed on, the two armies marched off, leaving 300 picked men on each side to fight for the territory The battle began, and so equal were the combatants, that at the close of the day, when night put a stop to the fight, of the whole 600 only three men remained alive, two Argives Alcanor and Chromius, and a single Spartan, Othryadas The two Argives regarding themselves as the victors, hurried to Argos Othryadas, the Spartan, remained upon the field, and, stripping the bodies of the Argives who had fallen, carried their armour to the Spartan camp Next

day the two armies returned to learn the result At first they dis puted both parties claiming the victory the one because they had the greater number of survivors the other because their man remained on the field and stripped the bodies of the slain whereas the two men of the other side ran away but at last they fell from words to blows and a battle was fought in which both parties suffered great loss but at the end the Lacedaemonian gained the victory Upon this the Argives who up to that time had worn their hair long cut it off close and made a law to which they attached a curse binding themselves never more to let their hair grow and never to allow their women to wear gold until they should recover Thyrea At the same time the Lace daemonians made a law the very reverse of this namely to wear their hair long though they had always before cut it clo e Othryadas himself it is said the sole survivor of the 300 pre vented by a sense of shame from returning to Sparta after all his comrades had fallen laid violent hands upon himself in Thyrea

83 Although the Spartans were engaged with these matters when the herald arrived from Sardis to entreat them to come to the assistance of the besieged king yet notwithstanding they instantly set to work to afford him help They had completed their preparations and the ships were just ready to start when a second message informed them that the place had already fallen and that Croesus was a prisoner Deeply grieved at his misfortune the Spartans ceased their efforts

84 The followin is the way in which Sardis was taken On the fourteenth day of the siege Cyrus bade ome horsemen ride about his lines and make proclamation to the whole army that he would give a reward to the man who hould first mount the wall After this he made an assault but without uccess His troops retired but a certain Mardian Hyroeades by name re solved to approa h the citadel and attempt it at a place where no guard were ever set On this side the rock was so precipitous and the citadel (as it seemed) o impregnable that no fear was entertained of its being carried in this place Here was the only portion of the circuit round which their old king Meles did not

carry the lion[32] which his concubine bore to him For when the Telmessians had declared that if the lion were taken round the defences, Sardis would be impregnable, and Meles, in consequence, carried it round the rest of the fortress where the citadel seemed open to attack, he scorned to take it round this side, which he looked on as a sheer precipice, and therefore absolutely secure It is on that side of the city which faces Mount Tmolus Hyroeades, however, having the day before observed a Lydian soldier descend the rock after a helmet that had rolled down from the top, and having seen him pick it up and carry it back, thought over what he had witnessed and formed his plan He climbed the rock himself, and other Persians followed in his track, until a large number had mounted to the top Thus was Sardis taken,"[3] and given up entirely to pillage

85 With respect to Croesus himself this is what befell him at the taking of the town He had a son of whom I made mention above, a worthy youth, whose only defect was that he was deaf and dumb In the days of his prosperity Croesus had done the utmost that he could for him, and among other plans which he had devised, had sent to Delphi to consult the oracle on his behalf The answer which he had received from the priestess ran thus

Lydian, wide ruling monarch, thou wondrous simple Croesus,
Wish not ever to hear in thy palace the voice thou hast prayed for,
Utt'ring intelligent sounds Far better thy son should be silent!
Ah! woe worth the day when thine ear shall first list to his accents

When the town was taken, one of the Persians was just going to kill Croesus, not knowing who he was Croesus saw the man coming, but under the pressure of his affliction, did not care to

[32] The germ of the story may be a native myth since the lion was the sacred beast of the Lydian sun god

[3] Sardis was taken a second time in almost exactly the same way by Antiochus the Great in 215 B C

avoid the blow not minding whether he died beneath the stroke Then this son of his who was voiceless beholding the Persian as he rushed towards Croesus in the agony of his fear and grief burst into speech and said Man do not kill Croesus This was the first time that he had ever spoken a word but after wards he retained the power of speech for the remainder of his life

86 Thus was Sardis taken by the Persians and Croesus him self fell into their hands after having reigned fourteen years and been besieged in his capital fourteen days thus too did Croesus fulfil the oracle which said that he should destroy a mighty empire by destroying his own Then the Persians who had made Croesus prisoner brought him before Cyrus Now a vast pile had been raised by his orders and Croesus laden with fetters was placed upon it and with him twice seven of the ons of the Lydians I know not whether Cyrus was minded to make an offering of the first fruits to some god or other or whether he had vowed a vow and was performing it or whether as may well be he had heard that Croesus was a holy man and so wished to see if any of the heavenly powers would app ar to save him from being burnt alive However it might be Cyrus was thus engaged and Croesus was already on the pile w ien it entered his mind in the depth of his woe that there was a divine warning in the words which had come to him from the lips of Solon No one while he lives is happy When this thought smote him he fetched a long breath and breaking his deep si lence groaned out aloud thrice uttering the name of Solon Cyrus cau ht the sounds and bade the interpreters inquire of Croesus who i was he called on They drew near and asked him but he held his peace and for a long time made no answer to their questionings until at length forced to say something he exclaimed One I would give much to see conver e with every monarch Not knowing what he meant by this reply the interpreters begged him to explain himself and as they pressed for an answer and grew to be troublesome he told them how a long time before Solon an Athenian had come and seen all his splendour and made light of it and how whatever he had said

to him had fallen out exactly as he foreshowed, although it was nothing that especially concerned him, but applied to all mankind alike, and most to those who seemed to themselves happy. Meanwhile, as he thus spoke, the pile was lighted, and the outer portion began to blaze. Then Cyrus, hearing from the interpreters what Croesus had said, relented, bethinking himself that he too was a man, and that it was a fellow man, and one who had once been as blessed by fortune as himself, that he was burning alive, afraid, moreover, of retribution, and full of the thought that whatever is human is insecure. So he bade them quench the blazing fire as quickly as they could, and take down Croesus and the other Lydians, which they tried to do, but the flames were not to be mastered.

87. Then, the Lydians say that Croesus, perceiving by the efforts made to quench the fire that Cyrus had relented, and seeing also that all was in vain, and that the men could not get the fire under, called with a loud voice upon the god Apollo, and prayed him, if he had ever received at his hands any acceptable gift, to come to his aid, and deliver him from his present danger. As thus with tears he besought the god, suddenly, though up to that time the sky had been clear and the day without a breath of wind, dark clouds gathered, and the storm burst over their heads with rain of such violence, that the flames were speedily extinguished. Cyrus, convinced by this that Croesus was a good man and a favourite of heaven, asked him after he was taken off the pile, "Who it was that had persuaded him to lead an army into his country, and so become his foe rather than continue his friend?" To which Croesus made answer as follows: "What I did, O King, was to thy advantage and to my own loss. If there be blame, it rests with the god of the Greeks, who encouraged me to begin the war. No one is so foolish as to prefer to peace war, in which, instead of sons burying their fathers, fathers bury their sons. But the gods willed it so."

88. Thus did Croesus speak. Cyrus then ordered his fetters to be taken off, and made him sit down near himself, and paid him much respect, looking upon him, as did also the courtiers, with a sort of wonder. Croesus, wrapped in thought, uttered no word

After a while happening to turn and perceive the Persian sol diers engaged in plundering the town he said to Cyrus May I now tell you O King what I have in my mind or is silence best? Cyrus bade him peak his mind boldly Then he put this question What is it Cyrus which those men yonder are doing so busily? Plundering your city Cyrus answered and car rying off your riches Not my city rejoined the other nor my riches They are not mine any more It is your wealth which they are pillaging

89 Cyrus struck by what Croesus had said bade all the court to withdraw and then asked Croesus what he thought it best for him to do as regarded the plundering Croesus an swered Now that the gods have made me your slave Cyrus it seems to me that it is my part if I see anythin to your ad vantage to show it to you Your subjects the Persians are a poor people with a proud spirit If then you let them pillage and pos ess themselves of great wealth I will tell you what you may expect at their hands The man who gets the most look to hav ing him rebel against you Now then if my words please you do thus Let some of thy body guards be placed as sentinels at each of the city gates and let them take their booty from the soldie s as they leave the town and tell them that they do so because the tenths are due to Zeus So you will escape the hatred they would feel if the plunder were taken away from them by force and they seeing that what is proposed is just will do it willingly

90 Cyrus was beyond measure pleased with this advice so excellent did it seem to him He praised Croesus highly and gave orders to his body guard to do as he had suggested Then turning to Croesus he said Croesus I see that you are re solved both in peech and act to show yourself a virtuou prin e ask me therefore whatever you wish as a gift at this moment Croesus replied My lord if you will suffer me to send these fetters to the god of the Greeks whom I once hon oured above all other gods and ask him if it is his wont to de ceive his benefactors that will be the highest favour you can confer on me Cyrus upon this inquired what charge he had to

make against the god Then Croesus gave him a full account of all his projects, and of the answers of the oracle, and of the offerings which he had sent, on which he dwelt especially, and told him how it was the encouragement given him by the oracle which had led him to make war upon Persia All this he related, and at the end again besought permission to reproach the god with his behaviour Cyrus answered with a laugh, "This I readily grant you, and whatever else you shall at any time ask at my hands" Croesus, finding his request allowed, sent certain Lydians to Delphi, enjoining them to lay his fetters upon the threshold of the temple, and ask the god, 'If he were not ashamed of having encouraged him, as the destined destroyer of the empire of Cyrus, to begin a war with Persia, of which such were the first fruits?" As they said this they were to point to the fetters, and further they were to inquire, If it was the wont of the Greek gods to be ungrateful?"

91 The Lydians went to Delphi and delivered their message, on which the priestess is said to have replied, "It is not possible even for a god to escape the decree of destiny Croesus has been punished for the sin of his fifth ancestor, who, when he was one of the body guard of the Heraclidae, joined in a woman's fraud, and, slaying his master, wrongfully seized the throne Apollo was anxious that the fall of Sardis should not happen in the lifetime of Croesus, but be delayed to his son's days, he could not, however, persuade the Fates All that they were willing to allow he took and gave to Croesus Let Croesus know that Apollo delayed the taking of Sardis three full years, and that he is thus a prisoner three years later than was his destiny Moreover it was Apollo who saved him from the burning pile Nor has Croesus any right to complain with respect to the oracular answer which he received For when the god told him that, if he attacked the Persians, he would destroy a mighty empire he ought, if he had been wise, to have sent again and inquired which empire was meant that of Cyrus or his own but if he neither understood what was said nor took the trouble to seek for enlightenment, he has only himself to blame for the result Besides, he had misunderstood the last answer which had been

given him about the mule Cyrus was that mule For the parents of Cyrus were of different races and of different conditions his mother a Median princess daughter of King Astyages and his father a Per ian and a subject who though so far beneath her in all re pects had married his royal mistress

Such was the answer of the priestess The Lydians returned to Sardis and communicated it to Croesus who confessed on hear ing it that the fault was his not the god s Such was the way in which Ionia was first conquered and so was the empire of Croesus brought to a close

92 Besides the offerings which have been already mentioned there are many others in various parts of Greece presented by Croesus as at Thebes in Boeotia where there is a golden tripod dedicated by him to Ismenian Apollo at Ephesus where the golden heifers and most of the columns are his gift and at Delphi in the temple of Pronaia where there is a huge shield in gold which he gave All these offerings were still in existence in my day many others have perished among them those which he dedicated at Branchidae in Milesia equal in weight as I am ir formed and in all re pects like to those at Delphi The Del phian pres nts and those sent to Amphiaraus came from his own pr vate property being the first fruits of the fortune which he inherited from his father his other offerin s came from the riches of an enemy who before he mounted the throne headed a party against him with the view of obtaining the crown of Lydia for Pantaleon This Pantaleon was a son of Alyattes but by a different mother from Croesus for the mother of Croesus was a *Carian woman but the mother of Pantaleon an Ionian* When by the appointment of his father Croesus obtained the kingly dignity he seized the man who had plotted against him and broke him upon the wheel His property which he had pre viously devoted to the service of the gods Croesus applied in the way mentioned above This is all I shall say about his of ferings

93 Lydia unlike most other countries scarcely offers any wonders for the historian to describe except the gold-dust which is washed down from the range of Tmolus It has however one

structure of enormous size, only inferior to the monuments of Egypt and Babylon This is the tomb of Alyattes,[24] the father of Croesus, the base of which is formed of immense blocks of stone, the rest being a vast mound of earth It was raised by the joint labour of the tradesmen, handicraftsmen, and courtesans of Sardis, and had at the top five stone pillars, which remained to my day, with inscriptions cut on them, showing how much of the work was done by each class of workpeople It appeared on measurement that the portion of the courtesans was the largest The daughters of the common people in Lydia, one and all, pursue this traffic, wishing to collect money for their portions They continue the practice till they marry, and are wont to contract themselves in marriage The tomb is 1,280 yards in circumference, its breadth is 440 yards Close to the tomb is a large lake, which the Lydians say is never dry They call it the Lake Gygaea

94 The Lydians have very nearly the same customs as the Greeks, with the exception that these last do not bring up their girls in the same way So far as we have any knowledge, they were the first nation to introduce the use of gold and silver coin,[25] and the first who sold goods by retail They claim also the invention of all the games which are common to them with the Greeks These they declare that they invented about the time when they colonised Tyrrhenia, an event of which they give the following account In the days of Atys the son of Manes, there was great scarcity through the whole land of Lydia For some time the Lydians bore the affliction patiently, but finding that it did not pass away, they set to work to devise remedies for the evil Various expedients were discovered by various persons, dice, and knuckle-bones, and ball,[26] and all

[24] This monument still exists on the north bank of the Hermus, near the ruins of the ancient Sardis

[25] It is probable that the Greeks derived their first knowledge of coined money from the Asiatics with whom they came into contact in Asia Minor either Lydians or Phrygians

[26] The ball was a very old game it is mentioned by Homer and it was known in Egypt long before his time as were the counters, used in a game resembling draughts

such games were invented except draughts the invention of which they do not claim as theirs The plan adopted against the famine was to engage in games one day so entirely as not to feel any craving for food and the next day to eat and abstain from games In this way they passed eighteen years Still the affliction continued and even became more grievous So the king determined to divide the nation in half and to make the two portions draw lots the one to stay the other to leave the land He would continue to reign over those whose lot it should be to remain behind the emigrants should have his son Tyrrhenus for their leader The lot was cast and they who had to emigrate went down to Smyrna and built themselves ships in which after they had put on board all needful stores they sailed away in search of new homes and better sustenance After sailing past many countries they came to Umbria [37] where they built cities for themselves and fixed their residence Their former name of Lydians they laid aside and called themselves after the name of the king s son who led the colony Tyrrhenians [38]

95 Thus far I have been engaged in showing how the Lydians were brought under the Persian yoke The course of my history now compels me to inquire who this Cyrus was by whom the Lydian empire was destroyed and by what means the Persians had become the lords of Asia And herein I shall follow *those Persian authorities whose object it appears to be not to* magnify the exploits of Cyrus but to relate the simple truth I know besides three ways in which the story of Cyrus is told all differing from my own narrative

The Assyrians had held the empire of Upper Asia for the space of 520 years [39] when the Medes set the example of revolt

[37] The Umbria f H d t ppears t l cl d lm t th wh l f N rth rn It ly

[38] Th t the Et scans On t l d cam by is e f th many p ints l b h b l gy t ds t fi m H d t t the sc pti ism of t th-cent ry sch la s. Alth gh th Etrusca lph b t p es t *diff cult* th la guag c t be re d Th b t settl m ts are dat d b ut 1000 B.C b t th peri d f g t t infl in Italy begins ab t 700 B.C.

[39] Th 5 y rs f H od t f th plac r present th pe d 9 09 B.C

from their authority. They took arms for the recovery of their freedom, and fought a battle with the Assyrians, in which they behaved with such gallantry as to shake off the yoke of servitude, and to become a free people Upon their success the other nations also revolted and regained their independence

96 Thus the nations over that whole extent of country obtained the blessing of self government, but they fell again under the sway of kings, in the manner which I will now relate There was a certain Mede named Deioces, son of Phraortes, a man of much wisdom, who had conceived the desire of obtaining to himself the sovereign power In furtherance of his ambition, therefore, he formed and carried into execution the following scheme As the Medes at that time dwelt in scattered villages without any central authority, and lawlessness in consequence prevailed throughout the land, Deioces, who was already a man of mark in his own village, applied himself with greater zeal and earnestness than ever before to the practice of justice among his fellows It was his conviction that justice and injustice are engaged in perpetual war with one another He therefore began this course of conduct, and presently the men of his village, observing his integrity, chose him to be the arbiter of all their disputes Bent on obtaining the sovereign power, he showed himself an honest and an upright judge, and by these means gained such credit with his fellow citizens as to attract the attention of those who lived in the surrounding villages They had long been suffering from unjust and oppressive judgments so that, when they heard of the singular uprightness of Deioces, and of the equity of his decisions, they joyfully had recourse to him in the various quarrels and suits that arose, until at last they came to put confidence in no one else

97 The number of complaints brought before him continually increasing, as people learnt more and more the fairness of his judgments, Deioces, feeling himself now all important, announced that he did not intend any longer to hear causes, and appeared no more in the seat in which he had been accustomed to sit and administer justice "It did not square with his interests," he said, "to spend the whole day in regulating other men's

affairs to the neglect of his own Hereupon robbery and lawlessness broke out afresh and prevailed through the country even more than heretofore wherefore the Medes assembled from all quarters and held a consultation on the state of affairs The speakers as I think were chiefly friends of Deioces We annot possibly they said go on living in this country if hings continue as they now are let us therefore set a king over us that so the land may be well governed and we ourselves may be able to attend to our own affairs and not be forced to quit our country on account of anarchy The assembly was persuaded by these arguments and resolved to appoint a king

98 It followed to determine who should be chosen to the office When this debate began the claims of Deioces and his praises were at once in every mouth so that presently all agreed that he should be king Upon this he required a palace to be built for him suitable to his rank and a guard to be given him for his person The Medes complied and built him a strong and large palace on a spot which he himself pointed out and likewise gave him liberty to choose himself a body guard from the whole nation [40] Thus settled upon the throne he further required them to build a single great city and disregarding the *petty towns in which they had formerly dwelt* make the new capital the object of their chief attention The Medes were again obedient and built the city now called A batana the walls of which are of great size and strength risin in circles one within the other The plan of the place is that each of the walls should out top the one beyond it by the battlements The nature of the ground which is a gentle hill favours this arrangement in some

[40] *Th narr t e f H d tu pre ents t G cla ci ty a d d* not Ori tal The t ry of D ces d scrib s wh t may b ll d th despot p ogress first as c d dat d aft rw ds f lly est blish d h is th rst f d potism f om th begi ni d is forw d i m fest g his rectitud a d j sti h passe into d pot by the publ vote and rece es wh t t the G e k was th great symb l d instru m nt f such transit o pe sonal body gu d

Th f rm Agb ta gi by Herod tus, i pl ce f th m e u l Ecb ta of other uth rs is nea t the P si orig l whi h is *H gmata*

degree, but it was mainly effected by art The number of the circles is seven, the royal palace and the treasuries standing within the last The circuit of the outer wall is very nearly the same with that of Athens Of this wall the battlements are white, of the next black, of the third scarlet, of the fourth blue, of the fifth orange, all these are coloured with paint The two last have their battlements coated respectively with silver and gold[4]

99 All these fortifications Deioces caused to be raised for himself and his own palace The people were required to build their dwellings outside the circuit of the walls When the town was finished, he proceeded to arrange the ceremonial He allowed no one to have direct access to the person of the king, but made all communication pass through the hands of messengers, and forbade the king to be seen by his subjects He also made it an *offence for any one whatsoever to laugh or spit in the* royal presence This ceremonial, of which he was the first inventor, Deioces established for his own security, fearing that his compeers, who were brought up together with him, and were of as good family as he, and no whit inferior to him in manly qualities, if they saw him frequently would be pained at the sight and would therefore be likely to conspire against him whereas if they did not see him, they would think him quite a different sort of being from themselves

100 After completing these arrangements, and firmly settling himself upon the throne, Deioces continued to administer justice with the same strictness as before Causes were stated in writing, and sent in to the king, who passed his judgment upon the contents, and transmitted his decisions to the parties concerned besides which he had spies and eavesdroppers in all parts of his dominions, and if he heard of any act of oppression, he sent for the guilty party, and awarded him the punishment meet for his offence

[4] There is reason to believe that this account though it may be greatly exaggerated is not devoid of a foundation The temple at Borsippa appears to have had its fourth and seventh stages actually coated with gold and silver respectively

101 Thus Deioces collected the Medes into a nation and ruled over them alone Now these are the tribes of which they consist the Busae the Paretaceni the Struchates the Arizanti the Budii and the Magi

102 Having reigned fifty three years Deioces was at his death succeeded by his son Phraortes This prince not satisfied with a dominion which did not extend beyond the single nation of the Medes began by attacking the Persians and marching an army into their country brought them under the Median yoke before any other people After this success being now at the head of two nations both of them powerful he proceeded to conquer Asia overrunning province after province At last he engaged in war with the Assyrians—those Assyrians I mean to whom Nineveh belonged who were formerly the lords of Asia At present they stood alone by the revolt and desertion of their allies yet still their internal condition was as flourishing as ever Phraortes attacked them but perished in the expedition with the greater part of his army after having reigned over the Medes twenty two years

103 On the death of Phraortes his son Cyaxares ascended the throne Of him it is reported that he was still more warlike than any of his ancestors and that he was the first who gave organisation to an Asiatic army dividing the troops into companies and forming distinct bodies of the spearmen the archers and the cavalry who before his time had been mingled in one mass and confused together He it was who fought against the Lydians on the occasion when the day was changed suddenly into night and who brought under his dominion the whole of Asia beyond the Halys This prince collecting together all the nations which owned his sway marched against Nineveh resolved to avenge his father and cherishing a hope that he might succeed in taking the town A battle was fought in which the Assyrians suffered a defeat and Cyaxares had already begun the siege of the place when a numerous horde of Scyths under their king Madyes son of Protothyes burst into Asia in pursuit of the Cimmerians whom they had driven out of Europe and entered the Median territory

104 The distance from Lake Maeotis to the river Phasis and the Colchians is thirty days' journey for a lightly equipped traveller.[43] From Colchis to cross into Media does not take long—there is only a single intervening nation, the Saspirians, passing whom you find yourself in Media. This however was not the road followed by the Scythians, who turned out of the straight course, and took the upper route, which is much longer, keeping the Caucasus upon their right.[44] The Scythians, having thus invaded Media, were opposed by the Medes, who gave them battle, but, being defeated, lost their empire. The Scythians became masters of Asia.

105 After this they marched forward with the design of invading Egypt. When they had reached Palestine, however, Psammetichus the Egyptian king met them with gifts and prayers, and prevailed on them to advance no further. On their return, passing through Ascalon, a city of Syria, the greater part of them went their way without doing any damage, but some few who lagged behind pillaged the temple of Celestial Aphrodite.[45] I have inquired and find that the temple at Ascalon is the most ancient of all the temples to this goddess, for the one in Cyprus, as the Cyprians themselves admit, was built in imitation of it, and that in Cythera was erected by the Phoenicians, who belong to this part of Syria. The Scythians who plundered the temple were punished by the goddess with the female sickness,[46] which still attaches to their posterity. They

[43] "From the mouth of Lake Maeotis, or Sea of Azov, to the river Rion is a distance of about 70 geographical miles, or but little more than the distance (240 miles) from the gulf of Issus to the Euxine, which was called (i. 72) 'a journey of five days for a lightly equipped traveller.' We may learn from this that Herodotus did not intend the day's journey for a measure of length.

[44] Herodotus clearly conceives the Cimmerians to have coasted the Black Sea, and appears to have thought that the Scythians entered Asia along the shores of the Caspian. He does not seem to have been aware of the existence of the Caucasian Gates.

[45] Herodotus probably intends the Syrian goddess Atergatis or Derceto, who was worshipped at Ascalon and elsewhere in Syria under the form of a mermaid, or figure half woman half fish.

[46] This impotency Hippocrates ascribes to castration or excessive riding

themselves confess that they are afflicted with the disease for this reason and travellers who visit Scythia can see what sort of a disease it is Those who suffer from it are called Enarees

106 The dominion of the Scythians over Asia lasted twenty eight years during which time their insolence and oppression spread ruin on every side For besides the regular tribute they exacted from the several nations additional imposts which they fixed at pleasure and further they scoured the country and plundered every one of whatever they could At length Cyaxares and the Medes invited the greater part of them to a banquet and made them drunk with wine after which they were all massacred The Medes then recovered their empire and had the same extent of dominion as before They took Nineveh—I will relate how in another history—and conquered all Assyria except the district of Babylonia After this Cyaxares died having reigned over the Medes if we include the time of the Scythian rule forty years

107 Astyages the son of Cyaxares succeeded to the throne He had a daughter who was named Mandane concerning whom he had a wonderful dream He dreamt that from her such a stream of water flowed forth as not only to fill his capital but to flood the whole of Asia This vision he laid before such of the Magi as had the gift of interpreting dreams who expounded its meaning to him in full whereat he was greatly terrified On thi account when his daughter was now of ripe age he would not give her in marriage to any of the Medes who were of suitabl rank lest th dream should be accomplished but he married her to a Persian of good family indeed[47] but of a quiet temper

out l m nti th t the ti es beli ed t to be j d m t f om the gods It is sa d th t traces f the disease e still f d m g th l ab t ts of S th rn Russia

[47] C mbyses th f th f Cyru appears t h e b t ly a ma f good f mily but f roy l ce—the h editary m narch f h t wh ch he it bec me bj t to th Medes t ll tai ed its l f nati ki gs, th desc dants of A ha me s I th B hist n I scripti (l 1 pa 4) D r ca ries up his gen l gy t Ach m and serts that e ht of h ra e h d been ki gs b f himself—h was th i th C mbyses th father f Cyru Cyrus h mself a d Cambyses the son f Cyrus are p ob bly in luded i the eight

whom he looked on as much inferior to a Mede of even middle condition

108 Thus Cambyses (for so was the Persian called) wedded Mandane, and took her to his home, after which, in the very first year, Astyages saw another vision He fancied that a vine grew from the womb of his daughter, and overshadowed the whole of Asia After this dream, which he submitted also to the interpreters, he sent to Persia and fetched away Mandane, who was now with child and was not far from her time On her arrival he set a watch over her, intending to destroy the child to which she should give birth, for the Magian interpreters had expounded the vision to foreshow that the offspring of his daughter would reign over Asia in his stead To guard against this, Astyages, as soon as Cyrus was born, sent for Harpagus, a man of his own house and the most faithful of the Medes, to whom he was wont to entrust all his affairs, and addressed him thus, "Harpagus, I beseech you neglect not the business with which I am about to charge you, neither betray you the interests of your lord for others' sake, lest you bring destruction on your own head at some future time Take the child born of Mandane my daughter, carry him with you to your home and slay him there Then bury him as you please " O king," replied the other, "never in time past did Harpagus disoblige you in anything, and be sure that through all future time he will be careful in nothing to offend If therefore it be your will that this thing be done, it is for me to serve you with all diligence "

109 When Harpagus had thus answered, the child was given into his hands, clothed in the garb of death, and he hastened weeping to his home There on his arrival he found his wife, to whom he told all that Astyages had said ' What then " said she "do you intend to do?" "Not what Astyages requires," he an

An inscription has been recently found upon a brick in lower Chaldaea in which Cyrus the Great calls himself the son of Cambyses the powerful king This then is decisive as to the royalty of the line of Cyrus the Great and is confirmatory of the impression derived from other evidence that when Darius speaks of eight Achaemenian kings having preceded him he alludes to the ancestry of Cyrus the Great, and not to his own immediate paternal line

swered no he may be madder and more frantic still than he is now but I will not be the man to work his will or lend a helping hand to such a murder as this Many things forbid my slaying him In the first place the boy is my own kith and kin and next Astyages is old and has no son If then when he dies the crown should go to his daughter—that daughter whose child he now wishes to slay by my hand—what remains for me but danger of the fearfullest kind? For my own safety indeed the child must die but some one belonging to Astyages must take his life not I or mine

110 So saying he sent off a messenger to fetch a certain Mitradates, one of the herdsmen of Astyages whose pasturages he knew to be the best for his purpose lying as they did among mountains infested with wild beasts This man was married to one of the king s female slaves whose Median name was Spaco which is in Greek *Cyno since in the Median tongue the word* Spaca means a bitch The mountains on the skirts of which his cattle grazed lie to the north of Agbatana towards the Euxine That part of Media which borders on the Saspirians is an elevated tract very mountainous and covered with forests while the rest of the Median territory is entirely level ground On the arrival of the herdsman who came at the hasty summons Harpagus said to him Astyages requires you to take this child and lay him in the wildest part of the hills where he will be sure to die speedily And he bade m tell you that if you do not kill the boy but anyhow allow him to escape he will put you to the most painful of deaths I myself am appointed to see the child exposed

111 The herdsman on hearing this took the child in his arms and went back the way he had come till he reached the folds There providentially his wife who had been expecting daily to be put to bed had just during the absence of her husband been delivered of a child Both the herdsman and his wife were uneasy on each other s account the former fearful because his wife was so near her time the woman alarmed because it was a new thing for her husband to be sent for by Harpagus When therefore he came into the house upon his return his wife seeing him

arrive so unexpectedly, was the first to speak, and begged to know why Harpagus had sent for him in such a hurry "Wife," said he, "when I got to the town I saw and heard such things as I would to heaven I had never seen—such things as I would to heaven had never happened to our masters Every one was weeping in Harpagus's house It quite frightened me, but I went in The moment I stepped inside, what should I see but a baby lying on the floor, panting and whimpering, and all covered with gold, and wrapped in clothes of such beautiful colours? Harpagus observed me, and directly ordered me to take the child in my arms and carry him off, and what was I to do with him, think you? Why, to lay him in the mountains, where the wild beasts are most plentiful And he told me it was the king himself that ordered it to be done, and he threatened me with dreadful things if I failed So I took the child up in my arms, and carried him along I thought it might be the son of one of the household slaves I did wonder certainly to see the gold and the beautiful baby clothes, and I could not think why there was such a weeping in Harpagus's house Well, very soon, as I came along, I got at the truth They sent a servant with me to show me the way out of the town, and to leave the baby in my hands and he told me that the child's mother is the king's daughter Mandane, and his father Cambyses, the son of Cyrus, and that the king orders him to be killed, and look, here the child is"

112 With this the herdsman uncovered the infant, and showed him to his wife, who, when she saw him, and observed how fine a child and how beautiful he was, burst into tears, and clinging to the knees of her husband, besought him on no account to expose the babe, to which he answered, that it was not possible for him to do otherwise, as Harpagus would be sure to send persons to see and report to him, and he was to suffer a most cruel death if he disobeyed Failing thus in her first attempt to persuade her husband, the woman spoke a second time, saying, "If then there is no persuading you, and a child must needs be seen exposed upon the mountains, at least do thus The child of which I have just been delivered is still born, take it and lay it on the hills, and let us bring up as our own the child

of the daughter of Astyages So you shall not be charged with unfa hfulness to your lord nor shall we have managed badly for ourselves Our dead babe will have a royal funeral and this living child will not be deprived of life

113 It seem d to the herdsman that this advice was the best under the circumstances He therefore followed it without loss of time The child which he had intended to put to death he gave *over to his wife and his own dead child he put in the cradle* wherein he h d carried the other clothing it first in all the other s costly attire and taking it in his arms he laid it in the wildest place of all the mountain range When the child had been three days exposed leaving one of his helpers to watch the body he started off for the city and going straight to Har pagus s house declared him elf ready to show the corpse of the boy Harpa us sent certain of his body guard on whom he had the firme t reliance to view the body for him and satisfied with their seeing it gave orders for the funeral Thus was the herds man s child buried and the other child who was afterwards known by the name of Cyrus was taken by the herdsman s wife and brought up under a different name

114 When the boy was in his tenth year an ac ident which I will now relate caused it to be discovered who he was He *was at play one day in the village where the folds of the cattle* were along with the boys of his own age in the street The other boys who were playing with him chose the cowherd s son as he was called to be their king He then proceeded to order them about—some he set to build him houses others he made his guards one of them was to be the king s eye another had the office of carrying his messages all had some task or other Among the boys there was one the son of Artembares a Mede o distinction who refused to do what Cyrus had et him Cyrus told the other boys to take him into custody and when his ord rs were obeyed he chastised him most severely with the whip The son of Artembares as oon as he was let go full of rage at treatment so little bef tting his rank hastened to the city and complained bitterly to his father of what had been done to him by Cyrus He did not of course say Cyrus by which

name the boy was not yet known, but called him the son of the king's cowherd Artembares, in the heat of his passion, went to Astyages, accompanied by his son and made complaint of the gross injury which had been done him Pointing to the boy s shoulders, he exclaimed Thus O King has your slave, the son of a cowherd, heaped insult upon us"

115 At this sight and these words Astyages, wishing to avenge the son of Artembares for his father's sake, sent for the cowherd and his boy When they came together into his presence, fixing his eyes on Cyrus, Astyages said, "Have you then the son of so mean a fellow as that dared to behave thus rudely to the son of yonder noble, one of the first in my court? My lord," replied the boy, 'I only treated him as he deserved I was chosen king in play by the boys of our village, because they thought me the best for it He himself was one of the boys who chose me All the others did according to my orders but he refused, and made light of them, until at last he got his due reward *If for this I deserve to suffer punishment, here I am ready* to submit to it"

116 While the boy was yet speaking Astyages was struck with a suspicion who he was He thought he saw something in the character of his face like his own and there was a nobleness about the answer he had made besides which his age seemed to tally with the time when his grandchild was exposed Astonished at all this, Astyages could not speak for a while At last recovering himself with difficulty and wishing to be quit of Artembares that he might examine the herdsman alone, he said to the former, 'I promise thee Artembares so to settle this business that neither you nor your son shall have any cause to complain' Artembares retired from his presence, and the attendants at *the bidding of the king*, led Cyrus into an inner apartment Astyages then being left alone with the herdsman inquired of him where he had got the boy, and who had given him to him to which he made answer that the lad was his own child, begotten by himself, and that the mother who bore him was still alive and lived with him in his house Astyages remarked that he was very ill advised to bring himself into such great trouble and at

the same time signed to his body guard to lay hold of him Then the herd man as they were dragging him to the rack began at the beginning and told the whole story exactly as it happened without concealing anythin endin, with entreaties and prayers to the kin, to grant him forgiveness

117 Astyages having got the truth of the matter from the herd man was very little further concerned about him but with Harpagus he was exceedin ly enraged The guard were bidden to summon him into the presence and on his appearance Astyages asked him By what death was it Harpagus that you slew the child of my daughter whom I gave into your hands? Harpagus seein, the cowherd in the room did not betake himself to lies lest he should be confuted and proved false but replied as follows Sire when you gave the child into my hands *I instantly considered with myself how I could contrive to ex*ecute your wishes and yet while guiltless of any unfaithfulness towards you avoid imbruing my hands in blood which was in truth your daughter s and your own And this was how I contrived it I sent for this cowherd and gave the child over to him telling him that by the king s orders it was to be put to death And in this I told no lie for you had so commanded Moreover when I gave him the child I enjoined him to lay it somewhere in the wilds of the mountains and to stay near and watch till it was dead and I threatened him with all manner of punishment if he failed Afterwards when he had done accord in to all that I commanded him and the child had died I sent some of the most trustworthy of my eunuchs who viewed the body for me and then I had the child buried This sire is the simple truth and this is the death by which the child died

118 Thus Harpagus related the whole story in a plain straightforward way upon which Astyages letting no sign escape him of the anger that he felt began by repeating to him all that he had just heard from the cowherd and then concluded with saying So the boy is alive and it is best as it is For the child s fate was a great sorrow to me and the reproaches of my daughter went to my heart Truly fortune has played us a good turn in this Go home then and send your son to be with the

new comer, and tonight, as I mean to sacrifice thank-offerings for the child's safety to the gods to whom such honour is due, I look to have you a guest at the banquet"

119 Harpagus, on hearing this, made obeisance, and went home rejoicing to find that his disobedience had turned out so fortunately, and that, instead of being punished, he was invited to a banquet given in honour of the happy occasion The moment he reached home he called for his son, a youth of about thirteen, the only child of his parents, and bade him go to the palace, and do whatever Astyages should direct Then, in the gladness of his heart, he went to his wife and told her all that had happened Astyages meanwhile took the son of Harpagus, and slew him, after which he cut him in pieces, and roasted some portions before the fire, and boiled others and when all were duly prepared he kept them ready for use The hour for the banquet came, and Harpagus appeared, and with him the other guests, and all sat down to the feast Astyages and the rest of the guests had joints of meat served up to them, but on the table of Harpagus nothing was placed except the flesh of his own son This was all put before him except the hands and feet and head, which were laid by themselves in a covered basket When Harpagus seemed to have eaten his fill, Astyages called out to him to know how he had enjoyed the repast On his reply that he had enjoyed it excessively, they whose business it was brought him the basket in which were the hands and feet and head of his son and bade him open it, and take out what he pleased Harpagus accordingly uncovered the basket, and saw within it the remains of his son The sight, however, did not scare him, or rob him of his self possession Being asked by Astyages if he knew what beast s flesh it was that he had been eating, he answered that he knew very well, and that whatever the king did was agreeable After this reply he took with him such morsels of the flesh as were uneaten and went home, intending as I conceive to collect the remains and bury them

120 Such was the mode in which Astyages punished Harpagus afterwards proceeding to consider what he should do with Cyrus, his grandchild, he sent for the Magi, who formerly in

terpreted his dream in the way which alarmed him so much and asked them how they had expounded it They answered with out varying from what they had said before that the boy would be a king if he grew up and did not die too soon Then Astyages addressed them thus The boy has escaped and lives he has been brought up in the country and the lads of the village where he lives have made him their king All that kin s com monly do he has done He has had his guards and his door keepers and his messengers and all the other usual officers Tell me then to what think you does all this tend? The Magi answered If the boy survives and has ruled as a king without any craft or contrivance in that case we bid you cheer up and feel no more alarm on his account He will not reign a second time For we have found even oracles sometimes fulfilled in an unimportant way and dreams still oftener have wondrously mean accomplishments It is what I myself most incline to think Astyages rejoined the boy having been already king the dream is out and I have nothing more to fear from him Nevertheless take good heed and counsel me the best you can for the safety of my house and your own interests Truly said the Magi in reply it very much concerns our interests that your kingdom be firmly established for if it went to this boy it would pass into foreign hands since he is a Persian and then we Medes should lose our freedom and be quite de pised by the Per ians as being fore ners But so long as you our fellow countryman are on the throne all manner of honours are ours and we are even not without ome share in the government Much reason therefore have we to forecast well for you and for your sovereignty If then we saw any cause for present fear be sure we would not keep it back from you But truly we are pe suaded that the dream has had its accomplishment in this harmless way and so our own fears bein at rest we recom mend you to banish yours As for the boy our advice is that you send him away to Persia to his father and mother

121 Astyages heard their answer with pleasure and calling Cyrus into his presence said to him My child I was led to do you a wrong by a dream which has come to nothing from that

wrong you were saved by your own good fortune Go now with a light heart to Persia, I will provide your escort Go, and when you get to your journey's end, you will behold your father and your mother, quite other people from Mitradates the cowherd and his wife"

122 With these words Astyages dismissed his grandchild On his arrival at the house of Cambyses, he was received by his parents, who, when they learned who he was, embraced him heartily, having always been convinced that he died almost as soon as he was born So they asked him by what means he had chanced to escape and he told them how that till lately he had known nothing at all about the matter, but had been greatly mistaken and how he had learned his history by the way, as he came from Media He had been quite sure that he was the son of the king's cowherd, but on the road the king's escort had told him all the truth, and then he spoke of the cowherd's wife who had brought him up, and filled his whole tall with her praises in all that he had to tell them about himself, it was always Cyno—Cyno was everything So it happened that his parents, catching the name at his mouth, and wishing to persuade the Persians that there was a special providence in his preservation spread the report that Cyrus when he was exposed, was suckled by a bitch This was the sole origin of the rumour [45]

123 Afterwards, when Cyrus grew to manhood, and became known as the bravest and most popular of all his compeers, Harpagus, who was bent on revenging himself upon Astyages began to pay him court by gifts and messages His own rank was too humble for him to hope to obtain vengeance without some foreign help When therefore he saw Cyrus whose wrongs were so similar to his own, growing up expressly (as it were) to be the avenger whom he needed, he set to work to procure his support and aid in the matter He had already paved the way for his designs, by persuading, severally the great Median nobles whom the harsh rule of their monarch had offended that

[45] The exposure of a future king and his suckling by an animal are common features of popular fiction Herodotus' version represents a subsequent rationalising tendency of the Greeks

yourselves for unnumbered toils as hard as yesterday s Now therefore follow my bidding and be free For myself I feel that I am destined by Providence to undertake your liberation and you I am sure are no whit inferior to the Medes in anything least of all in bravery Revolt therefore from Astyages without a moment s delay

127 The Persians who had long been impatient of the Median dominion now that they had found a leader were delighted to shake off the yoke Meanwhile Astyages informed of the doings of Cyrus sent a messenger to summon him to his presence Cyrus replied Tell Astyages that I hall appear in his presence sooner than he will like Astyages when he received this message instantly armed all his subjects and as if God had deprived him of his senses appointed Harpagus to be their general forgetting how greatly he had injured him So when the two armies met and engaged only a few of the Medes who were not in the secret fought others deserted openly to the Persians while the greater number counterfeited fear and fled

128 Astyages on learning the shameful flight and dispersion of his army broke out into threats against Cyrus saying Cyrus shall nevertheless have no reason to rejoice and directly he seized the Magian interpreters who had persuaded him to allow Cyrus to escape and impaled them after which he armed all the Medes who had remained in the city both young and old and leading them against the Persians fought a battle in which he was utterly defeated his army being destroyed and he himself falling into the enemy s hands

129 Harpagus then seeing him a prisoner came near and exulted over him with many gibes and jeers Among other cutting speeches which he made he alluded to the supper where the flesh of his son was given him to eat and asked Astyages to answer him now how he enjoyed being a slave instead of a king? Astyages looked in his face and asked him in return why he claimed as his own the achievements of Cyrus? Because said Harpagus it was my letter which made him revolt and so I am entitled to all the credit of the enterprise Then Asty

ages declared that "in that case he was at once the silliest and the most unjust of men the silliest, if when it was in his power to put the crown on his own head, as it must assuredly have been, if the revolt was entirely his doing, he had placed it on the head of another, the most unjust, if on account of that supper he had brought slavery on the Medes For, supposing that he was obliged to invest another with the kingly power, and not retain it himself, yet justice required that a Mede, rather than a Persian, should receive the dignity Now, however, the Medes who had been no parties to the wrong of which he complained were made slaves instead of lords, and slaves moreover of those who till recently had been their subjects"

130 Thus after a reign of thirty five years, Astyages lost his crown, and the Medes, in consequence of his cruelty, were brought under the rule of the Persians Their empire over the parts of Asia beyond the Halys had lasted 128 years, except during the time when the Scythians had the dominion Afterwards the Medes repented of their submission, and revolted from Darius but were defeated in battle, and again reduced to subjection [0] Now, however, in the time of Astyages it was the Persians who under Cyrus revolted from the Medes, and became thenceforth the rulers of Asia Cyrus kept Astyages at his court during the remainder of his life, without doing him any further injury Such then were the circumstances of the birth and bringing up of Cyrus, and such were the steps by which he mounted the throne It was at a later date that he was attacked by Croesus, and overthrew him, as I have related in an earlier portion of this history The overthrow of Croesus made him master of the whole of Asia

131 The customs which I know the Persians to observe are the following They have no images of the gods, no temples nor altars and consider the use of them a sign of folly This comes I think, from their not believing the gods to have the same nature with men, as the Greeks imagine Their wont, however, is to ascend the summits of the loftiest mountains and there to offer sacrifice to Zeus, which is the name they give to the

[0] This revolt took place in 5 8 B.C

whole circuit of the firmament They likewise offer to the sun and moon to the earth to fire to water and to the winds These are the only gods whose worship has come down to them from ancient times At a later period they began the wor hip of Aphro dite which they borrowed [51] from the Arabians and Assyrians Mylitta is the name by which the Assyrians know this goddess whom the Arabians call Alitta and the Persians Mitra [52]

132 To these gods the Persians offer sacrifice in the follow ing manner they raise no altar light no fire pour no libations there is no sound of the flute no putting on of chaplets no con secrated barley cake but the man who wishes to sacrifice brings his victim to a pot of ground which is pure from pollution and there calls upon the name of the god to whom he intends to offer It i usual to have the turban encircled with a wreath *most commonly of myrtle The sacrificer is not allowed to pray* for blessings on himself alone but he prays for the welfare of the king and of the whole Persian people among whom he is of necessity included He cuts the victim in pieces and having boiled the flesh he lays it out upon the softest grass that he can find trefoil especially When all is ready one of the Magi come forward and chants a hymn which they say recounts the origin of the gods It is not lawful to offer sacrifice unless there is a Magus present After waiting a short time the sacrificer carries the flesh of the victim away w th him and makes whatever use of it he pleases

133 Of all the days in the year the one which they celebrate most is their birthday It is customary to have the board fur nished on that day with an ampler supply than common The richer Persians cause an ox a horse a camel and an ass to be baked whole ard so served up to them the poorer classes use instead the smaller kinds of cattle They eat little solid food

[51] Th re diness of th P rsia s t dopt f gn cu toms en in e ug is ry em rk ble.

[52] This d nt f at n is alt geth a mi t k Th P l k th ir Vedic breth v orsh pped the su u d r th m f M thr His w sh p becam m t importa t in th later dev lopm t f th Persian religi n

but abundance of dessert, which is set on table a few dishes at a time, this it is which makes them say that "the Greeks, when they eat, leave off hungry, having nothing worth mention served up to them after the meats whereas, if they had more put before them, they would not stop eating" They are very fond of wine, and drink it in large quantities To vomit or obey natural calls in the presence of another, is forbidden among them Such are their customs in these matters

It is also their general practice to deliberate upon affairs of weight when they are drunk, and then on the morrow, when they are sober, the decision to which they came the night before is put before them by the master of the house in which it was made, and if it is then approved of, they act on it, if not they set it aside Sometimes, however, they are sober at their first deliberation, but in this case they always reconsider the matter under the influence of wine

134 When they meet each other in the streets, you may know if the persons meeting are of equal rank by the following token if they are instead of speaking they kiss each other on the lips In the case where one is a little inferior to the other, the kiss is given on the cheek where the difference of rank is great, the inferior prostrates himself upon the ground Of nations, they honour most their nearest neighbours whom they esteem next to themselves those who live beyond these they honour in the second degree and so with the remainder the further they are removed, the less the esteem in which they hold them The reason is, that they look upon themselves as very greatly superior in all respects to the rest of mankind regarding others as approaching to excellence in proportion as they dwell nearer to them, whence it comes to pass that those who are the farthest off must be the most degraded of mankind Under the dominion of the Medes, the several nations of the empire exercised authority over each other in this order The Medes were lords over all, and governed the nations upon their borders, who in their turn governed the States beyond, who likewise bore rule over the nations which adjoined on them [3] And this is the order

[3] It is quite inconceivable that there should have been any such exac

which the Persians also follow in their distribution of honour for that people like the Medes has a progressive scale of administration and government

135 There is no nation which so readily adopts foreign customs as the Persians Thus they have taken the dress of the Medes considering it superior to their own and in war they wear the Egyptian breastplate As soon as they hear of any luxury they instantly make it their own and hence among other novelties they have learned pederasty from the Greeks Each of them has several wives and a still larger number of concubines

136 Next to prowess in arms it is regarded as the greatest proof of manly excellence to be the father of many sons Every year the king sends rich gifts to the man who can show the largest number for they hold that number is strength Their sons are carefully instructed from their fifth to their twentieth year in three things alone—to ride to draw the bow and to speak the truth Until their fifth year they are not allowed to come into the sight of their father but pass their lives with the women This is done that if the child die young the father may not be afflicted by its loss

137 To my mind it is a wise rule as also is the following—that the king shall not put any one to death for a single fault and that none of the Persians shall visit a single fault in a slave with any extreme penalty but in every case the services of the offender shall be set against his misdoings and if the latter be found to outweigh the former the aggrieved party shall then proceed to punishment

138 The Persians maintain that never yet did any one kill his own father or mother but in all such cases they are quite sure that if matters were sifted to the bottom it would be found that the child was either a changeling or else the fruit of adultery for it is not likely they say that the real father should perish by the hands of his child

139 They hold it unlawful to talk of any thing which it is

syst m f g ernm t elthe i Media o P rsia He d t b r in dicates.

unlawful to do The most disgraceful thing in the world, they think, is to tell a lie, the next worse, to owe a debt because, among other reasons, the debtor is obliged to tell lies If a Persian has the leprosy he is not allowed to enter into a city, or to have any dealings with the other Persians, he must, they say, have sinned against the sun Foreigners attacked by this disorder, are forced to leave the country even white pigeons are often driven away, as guilty of the same offence They never defile a river with the secretions of their bodies, nor even wash their hands in one nor will they allow others to do so, as they have a great reverence for rivers There is another peculiarity, which the Persians themselves have never noticed, but which has not escaped my observation Their names, which are expressive of some bodily or mental excellence, all end with the same letter—the letter which is called San by the Dorians, and Sigma by the Ionians Any one who examines will find that the Persian names, one and all without exception, end with this letter [64]

140 Thus much I can declare of the Persians with entire certainty, from my own actual knowledge There is another custom which is spoken of with reserve, and not openly, concerning their dead It is said that the body of a male Persian is never buried, until it has been torn either by a dog or a bird of prey [65] That the Magi have this custom is beyond a doubt, for they practise it without any concealment The dead bodies are covered with wax, and then buried in the ground

The Magi are a very peculiar race differing entirely from the Egyptian priests, and indeed from all other men whatsoever The Egyptian priests make it a point of religion not to kill any live animals except those which they offer in sacrifice The Magi, on the contrary, kill animals of all kinds with their own

[64] *Here Herodotus was again mistaken* The Persian names of men which terminate with a consonant end indeed invariably with the letter *s* but a large number of Persian names of men were pronounced with a vowel termination not expressed in writing and in these the last consonant might be almost any letter

[65] This strange custom still prevails among the Parsees wherever they are found whether in Persia or in India

hands excepting dogs[56] and men They even eem to take a delight in the employment and kill as readily as they do other animals ants and snakes and such like flying or creeping things However since this has always been their custom let them keep to it I return to my former narrative

141 Immediately after the conquest of Lydia by the Persians the Ionian and Aeolian Greeks sent ambassadors to Cyrus at Sardis and prayed to become his lieges on the footing which they had occupied under Croesus Cyrus listened attentively to their proposals and answered them by a fable There was a certain piper he said who was walking one day by the sea side when he espied some fish so he began to pipe to them imagining they would come out to him upon the land But as he found at last that his hope was vain he took a net and enclosing a great draught of fishes drew them ashore The fish then began to leap and dance but the piper said Cease your dancing now as you did not choose to come and dance when I piped to you Cyrus gave this answer to the Ionians and Aeolians because when he urged them by his messengers to revolt from Croesus they refused but now when his work was done they came to offer their allegiance It was in anger therefore that he made them this reply The Ionians on hearing it set to work to fortify their towns and held meetings at the Panionium which were attended by all excepting the Milesians with whom Cyrus had concluded a separate treaty by which he allowed them the terms they had formerly obtained from Croesus The other Ionians resolved with one accord to send ambassadors to Sparta to implore assistance

142 Now the Ionians of Asia who meet at the Panionium have built their cities in a region where the air and climate are the most beautiful in the whole world for no other region is equally blessed with Ionia neither above it nor below it nor east nor west of it For in other countries either the climate is over cold and damp or else the heat and drought are sorely op-

[56] Th d g is r p esent d i th Ze d ta as th special animal of Ormazd, and is still regarded with pecula reverence by th P rsees.

pressive The Ionians do not all speak the same language, but use in different places four different dialects Towards the south their first city is Miletus, next to which lie Myus and Priene all these three are in Caria and have the same dialect Their cities in Lydia are the following Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedus, Teos, Clazomenae, and Phocaea [7] The inhabitants of these towns have none of the peculiarities of speech which belong to the three first named cities but use a dialect of their own There remain three other Ionian towns, two located on islands namely, Samos and Chios, one upon the mainland, which is Erythrae Of these Chios and Erythrae have the same dialect, while Samos possesses a language peculiar to itself Such are the four varieties of which I spoke

143 Of the Ionians at this period, one people, the Milesians, were in no danger of attack, as Cyrus had received them into alliance The islanders also had as yet nothing to fear, since Phoenicia was still independent of Persia and the Persians themselves were not a seafaring people The Milesians had separated from the common cause solely on account of the extreme weakness of the Ionians for, feeble as the power of the entire Hellenic race was at that time of all its tribes the Ionic was by far the feeblest and least esteemed, not possessing a single city of any mark except Athens The Athenians and most of the other Ionic states over the world, went so far in their dislike of the name as actually to lay it aside and even at the present day the greater number of them seem to me to be ashamed of it But the twelve cities in Asia have always gloried in the appellation, they gave the temple which they built for themselves the name of the Panionium and decreed that it should not be open to any of the other Ionic states no state, however, except Smyrna, has craved admission to it

144 In the same way the Dorians of the region which is now called the Five Cities but which was formerly known as the

[7] These cities are enumerated in the order in which they stood from south to north Erythrae lay on the coast opposite Chios between Teos and Clazomenae

Doric Six Cities exclude all their Dorian nei hbours from their templ the Triopium [58] nay they have even gone so far as to shut out from it certain of their own body who were guilty of an offence against the customs of the place In the games which were anciently celebrated in honour of the Triopian Apollo the prizes given to the victors were tripods of brass and the rule was that the e tripods should not be carried away from the temple but should then and there be dedicated to the god Now a man of Halicarnassus whose name was Aga icles being de clared victor in the games in open contempt of the law took the tripod home to his own house and there hung it against the wal As a punishment for this fault the five other cities Lindus Ialysus Cameirus Cos and Cnidus deprived the sixth city Halicarna su of the right of entering the temple [59]

145 The Ionians founded twelve cities in Asia and refu ed to enlar e the number on account (as I ima ine) of their hav ing been divided into twelve States when they lived in the Pel oponnese just as the Achaeans who drove them out are at the present day The first city of the Achaeans after Sicyon is Pellene next to which are Aegeira Aegae upon the Crathis a stream which is never dry and from which the Italian Crathis received its name Bura Helice where the Ionians took refuge on their defeat by the Achaean invaders Aegium Rhypes Pa treis Phareis Olenus on the Peirus which is a large river Dyme and Tritaeeis all sea port towns except the last two which lie up the country

146 These are the twelve divisions of what is now Achaea *and was formerly Ionia and it was owing to their coming from* a country so divided that the Ionians on reaching Asia founded their twelve States for it is the height of folly to maintain that these Ionians are more Ionian than the rest or in any re pect

[58] Th Tri p um was built o a p om tory f th same nam within th t rit ry f th Cn dians

[59] Lindus Ialy us nd Cam ru w Rhodes C w th isla d of the sam name t th mouth f the Ce m c G lf C id s d *Hal carnass s* w e the mai land th f rm nea t th Tri pium the latter o the n rth shore f th Ce mi G lf

better born, since the truth is that no small portion of them were Abantians from Euboea, who are not even Ionians in name, and, besides, there were mixed up with the emigration Minyae *from Orchomenus, Cadmeians, Dryopians, Phocians* from the several cities of Phocis, Molossians, Arcadian Pelasgi, Dorians from Epidaurus, and many other distinct tribes Even those who came from the prytaneum of Athens,[60] and reckon themselves the purest Ionians of all, brought no wives with them to the new country, but married Carian girls, whose fathers they had slain Hence these women made a law, which they bound themselves by an oath to observe and which they handed down to their daughters after them, that none should ever sit at meat with her husband, or call him by his name, because the invaders slew their fathers their husbands, and their sons, and then forced them to become their wives It was at Miletus that these events took place

147 The kings, too, whom they set over them, were either Lycians, of the blood of Glaucus, son of Hippolochus or Pylian Caucons of the blood of Codrus, son of Melanthus or else from both those families But since these Ionians set more store by the name than any of the others, let them pass for the pure bred Ionians, though truly all are Ionians who have their origin from Athens, and keep the Apaturia[61] This is a festival which all the Ionians celebrate, except the Ephesians and the Colophonians, *whom a certain act of bloodshed excludes from it*

148 The Panionium is a place in Mycale, facing the north, which was chosen by the common voice of the Ionians and made sacred to Heliconian Poseidon Mycale itself is a promontory

[60] This expression alludes to the solemnities which accompanied the sending out of a colony in Herodotus' own time In the prytaneum of each state was preserved the sacred fire which was never allowed to go out whereon the life of the State was supposed to depend When a colony took its departure the leaders went in solemn procession to the prytaneum of the mother city and took fresh fire from the sacred hearth which was conveyed to the prytaneum of the new settlement.

[61] The Apaturia was the solemn annual meeting of the phratries for the purpose of registering the children of the preceding year whose birth entitled them to citizenship

of the mainland stretching out westward towards Samos in which the Ionians assemble from all their States to keep the feast of the Panionia[6] The names of festival not only amon the Ionians but among all the Greeks end like the Persian proper names in one and the same letter

149 The above mentioned then are the twelve towns of the Ionians The Aeolic cities are the following Cyme called also Phriconis Larissa Neonteichus Temnus Cilla Notium Aegiroessa Pitane Aegaeae Myrina and Gryneia These are the leven ancient cities of the Aeolian Originally indeed they had twelve cities upon the mainland like the Ionians but the Ionians deprived them of Smyrna one of the number The soil of Aeolis is better than that of Ionia but the climate is less agreeable

150 The following is the way in which the lo s of Smyrn happened Certain men of Colophon had been engaged in a edition there and being the weaker party were driven by the others into banishment The Smyrnaeans received the fu itives who after a time watching their opportunity while the inhabitants were celebrating a feast to Dionysus outside the walls shut to the gates and so got posses ion of the town The Aeol ans of the other States came to their aid and terms were agreed on between the parties the Ionians con enting to give up all the movables and the Aeolians making a surrender of the place The expelled Smyrnaeans were distributed among the other *states of the Aeol ans and were everywhere admitte l to citi en ship*

151 These then were all the Aeolic cities upon the main land with the exception of those about Mount Ida which made no part of this confederacy As for the islands Le bos contains five cities Ari ba the sixth was taken by the Methymnaean their kin men and the inhabitants reduce l to lavery Tenedos contains one city and there is another whi h is built on what

[6] It i r ma k bl th t Thucyd des w t h tl ft H od t sh l l pe k l the P I lc f t l t My f l g f im po ta d eg d it as p t c lly s pe d d l y th f tl al h l l n r Eph

are called the Hundred Isles The Aeolians of Lesbos and Tenedos, like the Ionian islanders, had at this time nothing to fear The other Aeolians decided in their common assembly to follow the Ionians, whatever course they should pursue

152 When the deputies of the Ionians and Aeolians, who had journeyed with all speed to Sparta, reached the city, they chose one of their number, Pythermus, a Phocaean, to be their spokesman In order to draw together as large an audience as possible, he clothed himself in a purple garment, and so attired stood forth to speak In a long discourse he besought the Spartans to come to the assistance of his countrymen, but they were not to be persuaded, and voted against sending any succour The deputies accordingly went their way, while the Lacedaemonians, notwithstanding the refusal which they had given to the prayer of the deputation, despatched a fifty oared ship to the Asiatic coast with certain Spartans on board, for the purpose, as I think, of watching Cyrus and Ionia These men on their arrival at Phocaea, sent to Sardis Lacrines, the most distinguished of their number, to prohibit Cyrus, in the name of the Lacedaemonians, from offering molestation to any city of Greece, since they would not allow it

153 Cyrus is said, on hearing the speech of the herald, to have asked some Greeks who were standing by, 'Who these Lacedaemonians were, and what was their number that they dared to send him such a notice? When he had received their reply, he turned to the Spartan herald and said, 'I have never yet been afraid of any men, who have a set place in the middle of their city, where they come together to cheat each other and forswear themselves If I live, the Spartans shall have troubles enough of their own to talk of, without concerning themselves about the Ionians" Cyrus intended these words as a reproach against all the Greeks, because of their having market places where they buy and sell, which is a custom unknown to the Persians, who never make purchases in open marts, and indeed have not in their whole country a single market place[1]

[1] Markets in the strict sense of the word are still unknown in the East where the bazaars which are collections of shops take their place

After this interview Cyrus quitted Sardis leaving the city under the charge of Tabalus a Persian but appointing Pactyas a native to collect the treasure belonging to Croesus and the other Lydians and bring it after him Cyrus himself proceeded towards Agbatana carrying Croesus along with him not regarding the Ionians as important enough to be his immediate object Larger designs were in his mind He wished to war in *person against Babylon the Bactrians the Sacae and Egypt* he therefore determined to assign to one of his generals the task of conquering the Ionians

154 No sooner however was Cyrus gone from Sardis than Pactyas induced his countrymen to rise in open revolt against him and his deputy Tabalus With the vast treasures at his disposal he then went down to the sea and employed them in hiring mercenary troops while at the same time he engaged the people of the coast to enrol themselves in his army He then marched upon Sardis where he besieged Tabalus who shut himself up in the citadel

155 When Cyrus on his way to Agbatana received these tidings he turned to Croesus and said Where will all this end Croesus? It seems that these Lydians will not cease to cause trouble both to themselves and others I wonder if it were not best to sell them all for slaves Perhaps what I have now done is as if a man were to kill the father and then spare the child You who were something more than a father to your people I have seized and carried off and to that people I have entrusted their city Can I then feel surprise at their rebellion Thus did Cyrus open to Croesus his thoughts the latter full of alarm lest Cyrus should lay Sardis in ruins replied as follows O king your words are reasonable but do not I beseech you give full vent to your anger nor doom to destruction an ancient city guiltless alike of the past and of the present trouble I caused the one and in my own person now pay the forfeit Pactyas has caused the other he to whom you gave Sardis in charge let him bear the punishment Grant then forgiveness to the Lydians and to make sure of their never rebelling against you or alarming you more send and forbid them to keep any

weapons of war, command them to wear tunics under their cloaks, and to put buskins upon their legs, and make them bring up their sons to lyre playing, harping, and shop-keeping So you will soon see them become women instead of men, and there will be no more fear of their revolting from you"

156 Croesus thought the Lydians would even so be better off than if they were sold for slaves, and therefore gave the above advice to Cyrus, knowing that, unless he brought forward some notable suggestion, he would not be able to persuade him to alter his mind He was likewise afraid lest, after escaping the danger which now pressed, the Lydians at some future time might revolt from the Persians and so bring themselves to ruin The advice pleased Cyrus, who consented to forego his anger and do as Croesus had said Thereupon he summoned to his presence a certain Mede Mazares by name, and charged him to issue orders to the Lydians in accordance with the terms of Croesus discourse Further, he commanded him to sell for slaves all who had joined the Lydians in their attack upon Sardis, and above all else to be sure that he brought Pactyas with him alive on his return Having given these orders Cyrus continued his journey towards the Persian territory

157 Pactyas when news came of the near approach of the army sent against him, fled in terror to Cyme Mazares, therefore, the Median general, who had marched on Sardis with a detachment of the army of Cyrus, finding on his arrival that Pactyas and his troops were gone, immediately entered the town And first of all he forced the Lydians to obey the orders of his master, and change (as they did from that time) their entire manner of living[61] Next, he despatched messengers to Cyme, and required to have Pactyas delivered up to him On this the Cymaeans resolved to send to Branchidae and ask the advice of the god Branchidae[62] is situated in the territory of

[61] The conversation here reported is evidently an hypothesis to explain the contrast between the Lydians whom the Greeks saw before them and the old irresistible horsemen of whom they had heard in fame

[62] The temple of Apollo at Branchidae and the port Panormus still remain The former is a magnificent ruin of Ionic architecture

Miletus above the port of Panormus There was an oracle there established in very ancient times which both the Ionians and Aeolians were wont often to consult

158 Hither therefore the Cymaeans sent their deputies to make inquiry at the shrine What the gods would like them to do with the Lydian Pactyas? The oracle told them in reply to give him up to the Persians With this answer the messengers returned and the people of Cyme were ready to surrender him accordin ly but as they were preparing to do so Aristodicus son of Heraclides a citizen of distinction hindered them He declared that he distrusted the response and believed that the me sen ers had reported it falsely until at last another em bassy of which Aristodicus himself made part was despatched to repeat the former inquiry concernin Pactyas

159 On their arrival at the shrine of the god Aristodicus peaking on behalf of the whole body thus addres ed the oracle O king Pactyas the Lydian threatened by the Persians with *a violent death has come to us for sanctuary and lo they a k* him at our hands callin upon our nation to deliver him up Now though we greatly dread the Persian power yet have we not been bold to give up our suppliant till we have certain knowledge of your mind what you would have us do The oracle thus que tioned gave the same answer as before bidding them surrender Pactyas to the Persians whereupon Aristodicus who had come prepared for such an answer proceeded to make the circuit of the temple and to take all the nests of young sparrows and other birds that he could find about the buildin As he was thus employed a voice it is said came forth from the inner sanctuary addressing Aristodicus in the e words Most impious of men what is this you dare to do? Do you tear my suppliants from my temple? Aristodicus at no loss for a reply rejoined O king are you o ready to protect your suppliants and do you command the Cymaeans to give up a suppliant? Yes returned the god I do command it that so for he impiety you may the sooner perish and not come here again to consult my oracle about the surrender of uppliants

160 On the receipt of this answer the Cymaeans unwilling to bring the threatened destruction on themselves by giving up the man, and afraid of having to endure a siege if they continued to harbour him, sent Pactyas away to Mytilene On this Mazares despatched envoys to the Mytilenaeans to demand the fugitive of them, and they were preparing to give him up for a reward (I cannot say with certainty how large as the bargain was not completed), when the Cymaeans, hearing what the Mytilenaeans were about, sent a vessel to Lesbos, and conveyed away Pactyas to Chios From hence it was that he was surrendered The Chians dragged him from the temple of Athena, Guardian of the citadel and gave him up to the Persians, on condition of receiving the district of Atarneus, a tract of Mysia opposite to Lesbos, as the price of the surrender Thus did Pactyas fall into the hands of his pursuers, who kept a strict watch upon him, that they might be able to produce him before Cyrus For a long time afterwards none of the Chians would use the barley of Atarneus to place on the heads of victims or make sacrificial cakes of the corn grown there, but the whole produce of the land was excluded from all their temples

161 Meanwhile Mazares, after he had recovered Pactyas from the Chians made war upon those who had taken part in the attack on Tabalus, and in the first place took Priene and sold the inhabitants for slaves after which he overran the whole plain of the Maeander and the district of Magnesia[1] both of which he gave up for pillage to the soldiers He then suddenly sickened and died

162 Upon his death Harpagus was sent down to the coast to succeed to his command He also was of the race of the Medes, being the man whom the Median king Astyages feasted at the unholy banquet and who lent his aid to place Cyrus upon the throne Appointed by Cyrus to conduct the war in these parts, he entered Ionia, and took the cities by means of mounds Forcing the enemy to shut themselves up within their defences, he heaped mounds of earth against their wall and

[1] Not Magnesia under Sipylus but Magnesia on the Maeander one of the few ancient Greek settlements situated far inland

thus carried the towns Phocaea was the city against which he directed his first attack

163 Now the Phocaeans were the first of the Greeks who performed long voyages and it was they who made the Greeks acquainted with the Adriatic and with Tyrrhenia with Iberia and the city of Tartessus[67] The vessel which they used in their voyages was not the round built merchant ship but the long fifty-oared galley *On their arrival at Tartessus the kin of the* country whose name was Arganthonius took a liking to them This monarch reigned over the Tartessians for eighty years and lived to be 1 o years old He regarded the Phocaeans with so much favour as at first to beg them to quit Ionia and settle in whatever part of his country they liked Afterwards finding that he could not prevail upon them to agree to this and hearing that the Mede was growing great in their neighbourhood he gave them money to build a wall about their town and certainly he must have given it with a bountiful hand for the town is many furlongs in circuit and the wall is built entirely of great blocks of stone skilfully fitted together The wall then was built by his aid

164 Harpagus having advanced against the Phocaeans with his army laid siege to their city first however offering them terms *It would content him he said if the Phocaeans would* agree to throw down one of their battlements and dedicate one dwelling house to the king The Phocaeans sorely vexed at the thought of becoming laves asked a sin le day to deliberate on the answer they should return and besou ht Harpagus during that day to draw off his forces from the walls Harpagus replied that he understood well enough what they were about to do but nevertheless he would grant their request Accordingly the troops were withdrawn and the Phocaeans forthwith took ad vantage of their absence to launch their fifty-oared ships and put on board their wives and children their household good and even the images of their gods with all the votive offering

[67] Th Iberi f H od tus i th pa ish I n I T t w I y f ded th ry ly by th Phoe ians It w s situat d I y d the St aits, n r th site f th m d n Cadiz

from the temples, except the paintings and the works in stone or brass, which were left behind. With the rest they embarked, and putting to sea, set sail for Chios. The Persians, on their return, took possession of an empty town.

165. Arrived at Chios, the Phocaeans made offers for the purchase of the islands called the Oenussae, but the Chians refused to part with them, fearing lest the Phocaeans should establish a market there, and exclude their merchants from the commerce of those seas. On their refusal, the Phocaeans, as Arganthonius was now dead, made up their minds to sail to Cyrnus (Corsica), where, twenty years before, following the direction of an oracle[68] they had founded a city, which was called Alalia. Before they set out, however, on this voyage they sailed once more to Phocaea, and surprising the Persian troops appointed by Harpagus to garrison the town, put them all to the sword. After this they laid the heaviest curses on the man who should draw back and forsake the armament, and having dropped a heavy mass of iron into the sea, swore never to return to Phocaea till that mass reappeared upon the surface. Nevertheless as they were preparing to depart for Cyrnus, more than half of their number were seized with such sadness and so great a longing to see once more their city and their ancient homes, that they broke the oath by which they had bound themselves and sailed back to Phocaea.

166. The rest of the Phocaeans, who kept their oath, proceeded without stopping upon their voyage, and when they came to Cyrnus established themselves along with the earlier settlers at Alalia and built temples in the place. For five years they annoyed their neighbours by plundering and pillaging on all sides, until at length the Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians[69]

[68] A most important influence was exercised by the Greek oracles, especially that of Delphi, over the course of Hellenic colonisation. Herodotus lets fall a remark which shows that it was almost the invariable practice to consult the oracle as to the place to be colonised.

[69] The naval power of the Etruscans was about this time at its height. Populonia and Caere were the most important of their maritime towns. Corsica probably was under their dominion before the Phocaeans made

'e gued against them and sent each a fleet of sixty ships to attack the town The Phocaeans on their part manned all their vessels sixty in number and met their enemy on the Sardinian sea In the en agement which followed the Phocaeans were vic torious but their success was only a ort of Cadmeian victory They lost forty ships in the battle and the twenty which re mained came out of the engagement with beaks so bent and blunted as to be no longer serviceable The Phocaean therefore sailed back again to Alalia and taking their wives and children on board with such portion of their goods and chattels as the vessels could bear bade adieu to Cyrnus and sailed to Rhegium

167 The Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians who had got into their hands many more than the Phocaeans from among the crews of the forty vessel that were destroyed landed their captives upon the coast after the fight and stoned them all to death Afterwards when sheep or oxen or even men of the li trict of Agylla pa s d by the spot where the murdered Pho caeans lay their bodies became distorted or they w re seized with palsy or they lost the use of some of their limbs On thi the people of Agylla sent to Delphi to ask the oracle how they might expiate their sin The answer of the priestess required them to institute the custom which they still observe of hon ouring the dead Phocaeans with magnificent funeral rites and solemn games both gymnic and equestrian Such then was the fate that befell the Phocaean prisoners The other Ph caeans who had fled to Rhegium became after a while the founders of the city called Vela [70] in the district of Oenotria This city they colonised upon the showing of a man of Pos idonia [71] who suggested that the oracle had not meant to bid

thei settl m t t Alal A f sh b dy of migr ts w th a po rf l na y wo ld xasperat th Tyrrh nia H th rto they h d sha l th c mm rce of th West rn half f th M dit rra ea w th th C th ginians

[70] This is th tow m mmo ly ll d Velia Elea wh re soo afterw rds th gr t El tic school f phil sophy ar se

[71] This is th place n w know as P t m so f m u f its be tiful ruins

them set up a town in Cyrnus the island, but set up the worship of Cyrnus the hero

168 Thus fared it with the men of the city of Phocaea in Ionia They of Teos did and suffered almost the same, for they too, when Harpagus had raised his mound to the height of their defences, took ship, one and all, and sailing across the sea to Thrace, founded there the city of Abdera The site was one which Timesius of Clazomenae had previously tried to colonise, but without any lasting success, for he was expelled by the Thracians Still the Teians of Abdera worship him to this day as a hero

169 Of all the Ionians these two states alone, rather than submit to slavery, forsook their fatherland The others (I except Miletus) resisted Harpagus no less bravely than those who fled their country, and performed many feats of arms each fighting in their own defence, but one after another they suffered defeat, the cities were taken, and the inhabitants submitted, remaining in their respective countries and obeying the behests of their new lords Miletus, as I have already mentioned had made terms with Cyrus, and so continued at peace Thus was continental Ionia once more reduced to servitude and when the Ionians of the islands saw their brethren upon the mainland subjugated, they also, dreading the like, gave themselves up to Cyrus[2]

170 It was while the Ionians were in this distress, but still, amid it all, held their meetings as of old at the Panionium, that Bias of Priene, who was present at the festival recommended (as I am informed) a project of the very highest wisdom which would, had it been embraced, have enabled the Ionians to become the happiest and most flourishing of the Greeks He exhorted them to join in one body, set sail for Sardinia, and there found a single Pan Ionic city so they would escape from slavery and rise to great fortune being masters of the largest island in the world,[3] and exercising dominion over

[2] This statement appears to be too general Samos certainly maintained her independence till the reign of Darius

[3] Herodotus appears to have been entirely convinced that the e was no

beyond its bounds whereas if they stayed in Ionia he saw no prospect of their ever recovering their lost freedom Such was the counsel which Bias gave the Ionians in their affliction Before their misfortunes began Thales a man of Miletus of Phoenician descent had recommended a different plan He counselled them to establish a single seat of government and pointed out Teos as the fittest place for it for that he aid was the centre of Ionia Their other cities might still continue to enjoy their own laws just as if they were independent states This also was good advice

171 After conquering the Ionians Harpa us proceeded to attack the Carians the Caunians and the Lycians The Ionians and Aeolians were forced to serve in his army Now of the above nations the Carians are a race who came into the main land from the islands In ancient times they were subjects of king Midos and went by the name of Leleges dwelling among the isles and so far as I have been able to push my inquiries never liable to give tribute to any man They erved on board the ships of king Minos whenever he required and thus as he was a great conqueror and prospered in his wars the Carians were in his day the most famous by far of all the nations of the earth They likewise were the inventors of three things the use of which was borrowed from them by the Greeks they were the first to fasten crests on helmets and to put devices on shields and they also invented handles for shields In the earlier times shields were without handles and their wearers mana ed them by the aid of a leathern thong by which they were slung round the neck and left shoulder Long after the time of Minos the Carians were driven from the islands by the Ionians and Dorians and so settled upon the mainland The above is the ac

isla d i th world so larg as S dinia H p t the asse t int th m th f Histiaeus (106) and again ( ) epeats th tat m nt with t xp ess g a y doubt f th f t W need ot b rprised th t he w t w e of th s e f th British I la d (the Cas t rides w th which th Carth ginians t d d in 115) e th so th oast w p b ably ll that the Ca th ginians themsel s h d isited b t it d seem extraordinary that h should h k d so l g I It ly a d been ig n rant that S cily was a larg r isla d than S dinia.

count which the Cretans give of the Carians the Carians themselves say very differently They maintain that they are the aboriginal inhabitants of the part of the mainland where they now dwell,[74] and never had any other name than that which they still bear and in proof of this they show an ancient temple of Carian Zeus in the country of the Mylasians, in which the Mysians and Lydians have the right of worshipping, as brother races to the Carians for Lydus and Mysus, they say, were brothers of Car These nations, therefore, have the aforesaid right, but such as are of a different race, even though they have come to use the Carian tongue, are excluded from this temple

172 The Caunians, in my judgment, are aboriginals, but by their own account they came from Crete In their language, either they have approximated to the Carians, or the Carians to them—on this point I cannot speak with certainty In their customs, however, they differ greatly from the Carians, and not only so, but from all other men They think it a most honourable practice for friends or persons of the same age, whether they be men, women, or children, to meet together in large companies, for the purpose of drinking wine Again, on one occasion they determined that they would no longer make use of the foreign temples which had been long established among them, but would worship their own old ancestral gods alone Then their whole youth took arms, and striking the air with their spears, marched to the Calyndic frontier, declaring that they were driving out the foreign gods

173 The Lycians are in good truth anciently from Crete, which island, in former days, was wholly peopled with barbarians A quarrel arising there between the two sons of Europa, Sarpedon and Minos, as to which of them should be king Minos, whose party prevailed, drove Sarpedon and his follow

[74] It seems probable that the Carians who were a kindred nation to the Lydians and the Mysians belonged originally to the Asiatic continent and thence spread to the islands When the Greek colonisation of the islands began the native Carian population would naturally fall back upon the main mass of the nation which had continued in Asia Thus both the Carian and the Greek accounts would have truth in them

ers into banishment The exiles sailed to Asia[7] and landed on the Milyan territory Milyas was the ancient name of the country now inhabited by the Lycians the Milyae of the present day were in those times called Solymi So long as Sarpedon reigned his followers kept the name which they brought with them from Crete and were called Termilae as the Lycians still are by those who live in their neighbourhood But after Lycus the son of Pandion banished from Athens by his brother Aegeus had found a refuge with Sarpedon in the country of these Termilae they came in course of time to be called from him Lycians Their customs are partly Cretan partly Carian They have however one singular custom in which they differ from every other nation in the world They take the mother s and not the father s name Ask a Lycian who he is and he answers by giving his own name that of his mother and so on in the female line Moreover if a free woman marry a man who is a slave their children are full citizens but if a free man marry a foreign woman or live with a concubine even though he be the first person in the State the children forfeit all the rights of citizenship

174 Of these nations the Carians submitted to Harpagus without performing any brilliant exploits Nor did the Greeks who dwelt in Caria behave with any greater gallantry Among them were the Cnidians colonists from Lacedaemon who occupy a district facing the sea which is called Triopium This region adjoins upon the Bybassian Chersonese and except a very small space is surrounded by the sea being bounded on the north by the Ceramic Gulf and on the south by the channel towards the islands of Syme and Rhodes While Harpagus was engaged in the conquest of Ionia the Cnidians wishing to make their country an island attempted to cut throu h this narrow neck of land which was about half a mile across from sea to

[7] It is d btf l wh th th is y truth t ll in th t l wh h would c nnect th G eeks w th Ly ia. O thi g is l am l th t the Lycia peopl f history we e n ent ly di tin t f m th G ks The Lycian la gu ge cannot b re d, th gh the i script a w tt in a alphabet b rrowed from the Greek it may b r lated to th Etruscan.

sea Their whole territory lay inside the isthmus, for where Cnidia ends towards the mainland, the isthmus begins which they were now seeking to cut through The work had been commenced, and many hands were employed upon it, when it was observed that there seemed to be something unusual and unnatural in the number of wounds that the workmen received, especially about their eyes, from the splintering of the rock The Cnidians, therefore, sent to Delphi, to inquire what it was that hindered their efforts, and received, according to their own account, the following answer from the oracle

> Fence not the isthmus off, nor dig it through—
> Zeus would have made an island had he wished

So the Cnidians ceased digging, and when Harpagus advanced with his army, they gave themselves up to him without striking a blow

175 Above Halicarnassus, and further from the coast, were the Pedasians With this people, when any evil is about to befall either themselves or their neighbours, the priestess of Athena grows an ample beard Three times has this marvel happened They alone, of all the dwellers in Caria, resisted Harpagus for awhile, and gave him much trouble, maintaining themselves in a certain mountain called Lida, which they had fortified, but in course of time they also were forced to submit

176 When Harpagus, after these successes, led his forces into the Xanthian plain, the Lycians of Xanthus went out to meet him in the field though but a small band against a numerous host, they engaged in battle, and performed many glorious exploits Overpowered at last, and forced within their walls, they collected into the citadel their wives and children, all their treasures, and their slaves, and having so done fired the building, and burnt it to the ground After this, they bound themselves together by dreadful oaths, and sallying forth against the enemy, died sword in hand, not one escaping Those Lycians who now claim to be Xanthians, are foreign immigrants, except eighty families, who happened to be absent from the country

and so survived the others Thus was Xanthus taken by Harpagus and Caunus fell in like manner into his hands for the Caunians in the main followed the example of the Lycians

177 While the lower parts of Asia were in this way brou ht under by Harpagus Cyrus in person subj cted the upper regions conquering every nation and not suffering one to escape Of these conquests I shall pass by the greater portion and give an accoun *of those only which gave him the most trouble* and are the worthiest of mention When he had brought all the rest of the continent under his sway he made war on the A yrians [76]

178 A syria possesses a vast number of great cities whereof the mos renowned and strongest at this time was Babylon whither after the fall of Nineveh the seat of government had b en removed The following is a description of the place The city stands on a broad plain and is an exact square fifteen miles in length each way so that the entire circuit is sixty miles [77] *While such is its size in magnificence there is no other city that* approaches to it It is surrounded in the first place by a broad and d ep moat full of water behind which rises a wall fifty royal cubits in width and 200 in height [78] (The royal cubit is longer by three fingers breadth than the common cubit)

179 And here I may not omit to tell the use to which the mould dug out of the great moat was turned nor the manner wherein the wall was wrought As fast as they dug the moat the soil which they got from the cutting was made into bricks and when a sufficient number were completed they baked the bricks in kilns Then they set to building and began with bri king the borders of the moat after which they proceeded to construct the wall itself usin throughout for their cement hot bitumen and interposing a layer of wattled reeds at every thirtieth course of the bricks On the top along the edges of the wall they constructed buildings of a single chamber facing one another leav

[76] H od t s in l d Babyl nia in A yri

[77] This figure m t i l d utlyi m ats nd f rtifi ti s.

[78] Th se figures 335 feet by hty fi feet ar p bably ex gg ti to be attrib ted t H od t gu de

ing between them room for a four horse chariot to turn In the circuit of the wall are 100 gates, all of brass, with brazen lintels and side posts The bitumen used in the work was brought to Babylon from the Is, a small stream which flows into the Euphrates at the point where the city of the same name stands, eight days' journey from Babylon Lumps of bitumen are found in great abundance in this river

180 The city is divided into two portions by the river which runs through the midst of it This river is the Euphrates, a broad, deep, swift stream, which rises in Armenia and empties itself into the Red sea The city wall is brought down on both sides to the edge of the stream thence from the corners of the wall, there is carried along each bank of the river a fence of burnt bricks The houses are mostly three and four stories high, the streets all run in straight lines, not only those parallel to the river, but also the cross streets which lead down to the waterside At the river end of these cross streets are low gates in the fence that skirts the stream, which are, like the grea gates in the outer wall, of brass and open on the water

181 The outer wall is the main defence of the city There is, however, a second inner wall, of less thickness than the first, but very little inferior to it in strength The centre of each division of the town was occupied by a fortress In the one stood the palace of the kings, surrounded by a wall of great strength and size in the other was the sacred precinct of Zeus Belus, [9] an enclosure a quarter of a mile square with gates of solid brass which was also remaining in my time In the middle of the precinct there was a tower of solid masonry a furlong in length and breadth, upon which was raised a second tower, and on that a third and so on up to eight The ascent to the top is on the outside, by a path which winds round all the towers When one is about half way up, one finds a resting place and seats, where persons are wont to sit some time on their way to the summit On the topmost tower there is a spacious temple, and inside the

[9] The Babylonian worship of Bel is well known there is little doubt that he was the recognised head of the Babylonian Pantheon and therefore properly identified by the Greeks with their Zeus

temple stands a couch of unusual size richly adorned with a golden table by its side There is no statue of any kind set up in the place nor is the chamber occupied of nights by any one but a single native woman who as the Chaldaeans the priests of his god affirm is chosen for himself by the deity out of all the women of the land

182 They also declare (but I do not believe it) that the god comes down in person into this chamber and sleeps upon the couch This is like the story told by the Egyptians of what takes place in their city of Thebes where a woman always passes the night in the temple of the Theban Zeus In each case the woman is said to be debarred all intercourse with men It is also like the custom at Patara in Lycia where the priestess who delivers the oracles during the time that she is so employed—for at Patara there is not always an oracle [8] is shut up in the temple every night

183 Below in the same precinct there is a second temple in which is a sitting figure of Zeus all of gold Before the figure stands a large golden table and the throne whereon it sits and the base on which the throne is placed are likewise of gold The Chaldaeans told me that all the gold together was 800 talents weight Outside the temple are two altars one of solid gold on which it is only lawful to offer sucklings the other a common altar but of great size on which the full-grown animals are sacrificed It is also on the great altar that the Chaldaeans burn the frankincense which is offered to the amount of 1 000 talents weight every year at the festival of the god In the time of Cyrus there was likewise in this temple the figure of a man eighteen feet high entirely of solid gold I myself did not see this figure but I relate what the Chaldaeans report concerning it Darius the son of Hystaspes plotted to carry the statue off but had not the hardihood to lay his hand upon it Xerxes however the son of Darius killed the priest who forbade him to move the statue and took it away Besides the ornaments which

[8] Apoll d li red i s h d g th i w t r m th while durі th six s mm m nth b g r po se t D l

I have mentioned, there are a large number of private offerings in this holy precinct

184 Many sovereigns have ruled over this city of Babylon and lent their aid to the building of its walls and the adornment of its temples, of whom I shall make mention in my Assyrian history Among them two were women Of these, the earlier, called Semiramis,[81] held the throne five generations before the later princess She raised certain embankments well worthy of inspection, in the plain near Babylon, to control the river, which, till then used to overflow, and flood the whole country round about

185 The later of the two queens, whose name was Nitocris,[82] a wiser princess than her predecessor not only left behind her, as memorials of her occupancy of the throne, the works which I shall presently describe but also observing the great power and restless enterprise of the Medes, who had taken so large a number of cities, and among them Nineveh, and expecting to be attacked in her turn made all possible exertions to increase the defences of her empire And first, whereas the river Euphrates, which traverses the city, ran formerly with a straight course to Babylon she, by certain excavations which she made at some distance up the stream, rendered it so winding that it comes three several times in sight of the same village a village in Assyria, which is called Ardericca,[83] and to this day they who would go from our sea to Babylon on descending to the river touch three times, and on three different days, at this very place She also made an embankment along each side of the Euphrates, wonderful both for breadth and height, and dug a basin for a lake a great way above Babylon, close alongside of the stream, which was sunk everywhere to the point where they came to water, and was of such breadth that the whole circuit measured

[81] Semiramis was the wife of Rammannirari III (812 ,83 B C) and seems to have introduced the worship of Nebo into Nineveh Herodotus gives none of the wild tales attached to the mythical Semiramis

[82] No such queen as Nitocris is found either in the Babylonian inscription or in Berosus

[83] No such cuttings as those here described by Herodotus ever existed

fifty three miles The soil dug out of this basin was made use of *in the embankments along the waterside When the excavation* was finished she had stones brou ht and bordered with them the entire margin of the reservoir These two thin s were done the river made to wind and the lake excavated that the stream mi ht be slacker by reason of the number of curves and the voyage be rendered circuitous and that at the end of the voyage it might be necessary to skirt the lake and so make a long round All these worl s were on that side of Babylon where the passes lay and the roads into Media were the straightest and the aim of the queen in making them was to prevent the Medes from holding intercourse with the Babylonians and so to keep them in ignorance of her affairs

186 While the soil from the excavation was being thus used for the defence of the city Nitocris engaged al o in another un dertaking a mere by work compared with those v have al ready mentioned The city as I said was divided by the river into two distinct portions Under the former kings if a man wanted to pass from one of these divisions to the other he ha l to cross in a boat which must it seems to me have been very troublesome Accordingly while she was di gin the lake Nito cris bethought herself of turning it to a use which should at once remove this inconvenience and enable her to leave another monument of her rei n over Babylon She gave orders for the hewing of immense blocks of stone and when they were ready and the basin was excavated she turned the entire stream of the Euphrates into the cuttin and thus for a time while the basin was filling the natural channel of the river was left dry Forth with she et to work and in the first place lined the banks of the stream within the city with quays of burnt brick and al o bricked the landing places opposite the river gates adopting throughout the same fashion of brickwork which had been used in the town wall *after which with the materials which had been* prepared she built as near the middle of the town as possible a stone bridge the blocks whereof were bound together with iron and lead In the day time square wooden platforms were laid

along from pier to pier, on which the inhabitants crossed the stream, but at night they were withdrawn, to prevent people passing from side to side in the dark to commit robberies When the river had filled the cutting, and the bridge was finished, the Euphrates was turned back again into its ancient bed, and thus the basin, transformed suddenly into a lake, was seen to answer the purpose for which it was made, and the inhabitants, by help of the basin, obtained the advantage of a bridge

187 It was this same princess by whom a remarkable deception was planned She had her tomb constructed in the upper part of one of the principal gateways of the city, high above the heads of the passers by, with this inscription cut upon it, "If there be one among my successors on the throne of Babylon who is in want of treasure, let him open my tomb, and take as much as he chooses, not, however, unless he be truly in want, for it will not be for his good" This tomb continued untouched until Darius came to the kingdom To him it seemed a monstrous thing that he should be unable to use one of the gates of the town, and that a sum of money should be lying idle, and moreover inviting his grasp, and he not seize upon it Now he could not use the gate because, as he drove through, the dead body would have been over his head Accordingly he opened the tomb, but instead of money, found only the dead body, and a writing which said, "Had you not been insatiate of pelf, and careless how you got it, you would not have broken open the sepulchres of the dead"

188 The expedition of Cyrus was undertaken against the son of this princess, who bore the same name as his father Labynetus,[81] and was king of the Assyrians The Great King, when he goes to the wars, is always supplied with provisions carefully prepared at home, and with cattle of his own Water too from the river Choaspes, which flows by Susa is taken with him for his drink, as that is the only water which the kings of Persia taste Wherever he travels, he is attended by a number of four

Herodotus regards this Labynetus (Nabonidus 556 B C) as the son of the king mentioned in 1 74

wheeled cars drawn by mules in which the Choaspes water ready boiled for use and stored in flagon of silver is moved with him from place to place

189 Cyrus on his way to Babylon came to the banks of the Gyndes a stream which rising in the Matienian mountains runs through the country of the Dardanians and empties itself into the river Tigris The Tigris after receiving the Gyndes flows on by the city of Opis and discharges its waters into the Erythraean sea When Cyrus reached this stream which could only be passed in boats one of the sacred white horses accompanying his march full of spirit and high mettle walked into the water and tried to cross by himself but the current seized him swept him along with it and drowned him in its depths Cyrus enraged at the insolence of the river threatened so to break its strength that in future even women should cross it easily without wetting their knees Accordingly he put off for a time his attack on Babylon and dividing his army into two parts he marked out by ropes 180 trenches on each side of the Gyndes leading off from it in all directions and setting his army to dig some on one side of the river some on the other he accomplished his threat by the aid of so great a number of hands but not without losing thereby the whole summer season

190 Having however thus wreaked his vengeance on the Gyndes by dispersing it through 360 channels Cyrus with the first approach of the ensuing spring marched forward against Babylon The Babylonians encamped without their walls awaited his coming A battle was fought at a short distance from the city in which the Babylonians were defeated by the Persian king whereupon they withdrew within their defences Here they shut themselves up and made light of his siege having laid in a store of provisions for many years in preparation against this attack for when they saw Cyrus conquering nation after nation they were convinced that he would never stop and that their turn would come at last

191 Cyrus was now reduced to great perplexity as time went on and he made no progress against the place In this distress either some one made the suggestion to him or he bethought

himself of a plan, which he proceeded to put in execution He placed a portion of his army at the point where the river enters the city, and another body at the back of the place where it issues forth, with orders to march into the town by the bed of the stream, as soon as the water became shallow enough he then himself drew off with the unwarlike portion of his host, and made for the place where Nitocris dug the basin for the river, where he did exactly what she had done formerly he turned the Euphrates by a canal into the basin, which was then a marsh, on which the river sank to such an extent that the natural bed of the stream became fordable Hereupon the Persians who had been left for the purpose at Babylon by the river side, entered the stream, which had now sunk so as to reach about midway up a man's thigh, and thus got into the town Had the Babylonians been apprised of what Cyrus was about, or had they noticed their danger, they would not have allowed the entrance of the Persians within the city, which was what ruined them utterly, but would have made fast all the street gates which gave upon the river, and mounting upon the walls along both sides of the stream, would so have caught the enemy as it were in a trap But, as it was, the Persians came upon them by surprise and so took the city Owing to the vast size of the place, the inhabitants of the central parts (as the residents at Babylon declare) long after the outer portions of the town were taken, knew nothing of what had chanced, but as they were engaged in a festival, continued dancing and revelling until they learnt the capture but too certainly Such, then, were the circumstances of the first taking of Babylon

192 Among many proofs which I shall bring forward of the power and resources of the Babylonians, the following is of special account The whole country under the dominion of the Persians besides paying a fixed tribute, is parcelled out into divisions, which have to supply food to the Great King and his army during different portions of the year Now out of the twelve months which go to a year, the district of Babylon furnishes food during four, the other regions of Asia during eight, by which it appears that Assyria, in respect of resources, is one

third of the whole of Asia Of all the Persian governments or satrapies as they are called by the natives this is by far the best When Tritantaechmes son of Artabazus held it of the king it brought him in an artaba of silver every day The artaba is a Persian measure and holds three choenixes more than the medimnus of the Athenians He also had belonging to his own private stud besides war horses 800 stallions and 16 000 mares twenty to each stallion Besides which he kept so great a number of Indian hounds that four large villages of the plain were exempted from all other charges on condition of finding them in food

193 But little rain falls in Assyria enough however to make the corn begin to sprout after which the plant is nourished and the ears formed by means of irrigation from the river For the river does not as in Egypt overflow the corn lands of its own accord but is spread over them by the hand or by the help of engines The whole of Babylonia is like Egypt intersected with canals The largest of them all which runs towards the winter sun and is impassable except in boats is carried from the Euphrates into another stream called the Tigris the river upon which the town of Nineveh formerly stood Of all the countries that we know there is none which is so fruitful in grain It makes no pretension indeed of growing the fig the olive the vine or any other tree of the kind but in grain it is so fruitful as to yield commonly two hundred fold and when the production is the greatest even three hundred fold The blade of the wheat plant and barley plant is often four fingers in breadth As for the millet and the sesame I shall not say to what height they grow though within my own knowledge for I am not ignorant that what I have already written concerning the fruitfulness of Babylonia must seem incredible to those who have never visited the country The only oil they use is made from the sesame plant Palm trees grow in great numbers over the whole of the flat country mostly of the kind which bears fruit and this fruit supplies them with bread wine and honey They are cultivated like the fig tree in all respects among others in this The natives tie the fruit of the male palms as they are called by the Greek

to the branches of the date bearing palm, to let the gall fly enter the dates and ripen them, and to prevent the fruit from falling off The male palms, like the wild fig trees, have usually the gall fly in their fruit

194 But the greatest wonder of all that I saw in the land, after the city itself, I will now proceed to mention The boats which come down the river to Babylon are circular, and made of skins The frames, which are of willow, are cut in the country of the Armenians above Assyria, and on these, which serve for hulls, a covering of skins is stretched outside, and thus the boats are made, without either stem or stern, quite round like a shield They are then entirely filled with straw, and their cargo is put on board, after which they are suffered to float down the stream Their chief freight is wine, stored in casks made of the wood of the palm tree They are managed by two men who stand upright in them each plying an oar one pulling and the other pushing The boats are of various sizes, some larger, some smaller, the biggest reach as high as 150 tons burthen Each vessel has a live ass on board, those of larger size have more than one When they reach Babylon, the cargo is landed and offered for sale, after which the men break up their boats, sell the straw and the frames, and loading their asses with the skins set off on their way back to Armenia The current is too strong to allow a boat to return up stream, for which reason they make their boats of skins rather than wood On their return to Armenia they build fresh boats for the next voyage

195 The dress of the Babylonians is a linen tunic reaching to the feet, and above it another tunic made in wool, besides which they have a short white cloak thrown round them and shoes of a peculiar fashion, not unlike those worn by the Boeotians They have long hair wear turbans on their heads, and anoint their whole body with perfumes Every one carries a seal and a walking stick, carved at the top into the form of an apple a rose, a lily an eagle, or something similar, for it is not their habit to use a stick without an ornament

196 Of their customs whereof I shall now proceed to give an account, the following (which I understand belongs to them

n common with the Illyrian tribe of the Eneti[85]) is the wise t in my judgment Once a year in each village the maidens of a e to marry were collected all together into one place while the men stood round them in a circle Then a herald called up the damsels one by one and offered them for sale He began with the most beautiful When she was sold for no small sum of money he offered for sale the one who came next to her in beauty All of them were sold to be wive The richest of the Babylonians who wished to wed bid against each other for the loveliest maidens while the humbler wife seel ers who were in different about beauty took the more homely damsels with mar riage portions For the custom was that when the herald had gone through the whole number of the beautiful damsels he should then call up the ugliest—a cripple if there chanced to be one—and offer her to the men asking who would agree to take her with the smallest marriage portion And the man who of fered to take the smallest sum had her assigned to him The marriage portions were furnished by the money paid for the beautiful damsels and thus the fairer maidens portioned out the uglier No one was allowed to give his daughter in marriage to the man of hi choice nor might any one carry away the dam el whom he had purcha ed without finding bail really and truly to make her his wife if however it turned out that they di l not agree the money might be paid back All who liked might come even from distant villages and bid for the women This wa the best of all their customs but it has now fallen into di use They have lately hit upon a very different plan to save their maidens from violence and prevent their bein torn from them and car ried to distant cities which is to bring up their dau hters to be pro titutes This is now done by all the poorer of the common people who since the conquest have been maltreated by their lords and have had ruin brought upon their families

197 The following custom eems to me the wisest of their institutions next to the one lately praised They have no physi cians but when a man is ill they lay him in the public square

[85] The En ti o H tt a e the same ith th Ve tians f lat times This inf rmati Herod tus p bably btai ed in Italy

and the passers by come up to him, and if they have ever had his disease themselves or have known any one who has suffered from it, they give him advice, recommending him to do what ever they found good in their own case, or in the case known to them And no one is allowed to pass the sick man in silence with out asking him what his ailment is

198 They bury their dead in honey, and have funeral lamen tations like the Egyptians When a Babylonian has had inter course with his wife, he sits down before a censer of burning incense, and the woman sits opposite to him At dawn of day they wash, for till they are washed they will not touch any of their common vessels This practice is observed also by the Arabians

199 The Babylonians have one most shameful custom Every woman born in the country must once in her life go and sit down in the precinct of Aphrodite, and there have intercourse with a stranger Many of the wealthier sort, who are too proud to mix with the others, drive in covered carriages to the precinct, fol lowed by a goodly train of attendants, and there take their station But the larger number seat themselves within the holy enclosure with wreaths of string about their heads, and here there is always a great crowd, some coming and others going, lines of cord mark out paths in all directions among the women, and the strangers pass along them to make their choice A woman who has once taken her seat is not allowed to return home till one of the strangers throws a silver coin into her lap, and takes her with him beyond the holy ground When he throws the coin he says these words, "I summon you in the name of the goddess Mylitta" (Aphrodite is called Mylitta by the Assyrians) The silver coin may be of any size, it cannot be refused, for that is forbidden by the law, since once thrown it is sacred The woman goes with the first man who throws her money, and rejects no one When she has had intercourse with him, and so satisfied the goddess, she returns home, and from that time on no gift however great will prevail with her Such of the women as are tall and beautiful are soon released, but others who are ugly have to stay a long time before they can fulfil the

law Some have waited three or four years in the precinct A custom very much like this is found also in certain parts of the island of Cyprus

200 Such are the customs of the Babylonians generally There are likewise three tribes among them who eat nothing but fish These are caught and dried in the sun after which they are brayed in a mortar and strained through a linen sieve Some prefer to make cakes of this material others bake it into a kind of bread

201 When Cyrus had achieved the conquest of the Babylonians he conceived the desire of bringing the Massagetae under his dominion Now the Ma sagetae are said to be a great and warlike nation dwelling eastward towards the rising of the sun beyond the river Araxes and opposite the Issedonians By many they are regarded as a Scythian race

o As for the Araxes it is according to ome accounts larger according to others smaller than the Ister (Danube) It has islands in it many of which are said to be equal in size to Lesbos The men who inhabit them feed during the summer on roots of all kinds which they dig out of the ground while they store up the fruits which they gather from the trees at the fit ting eason to erve them as food in the wintertime Besides the trees whose fruit they gather for this purpose they ha e also a tree which bears the strangest produce When they are met to*gether in companies they throw some of it upon the fire round* which they are sittin and presently by the mere mell of the fumes [6] which it gives out in burning they grow drunk as the Greeks do with wine More of the fruit is then thrown on the fire and their drunkenness increasing they often jump up and *begin to dance and sing Such is the account which I have heard* of this people

The river Araxes like the Gyndes which Cyrus disper ed into 360 channel has its source in the country of the Matienians It has forty mouths whereof all except one end in bo s and swamps These bogs and swamps are said to be inhabited by a race of men who feed on raw fish and clothe themselves with

[6] This intoxica t was b usly hashish

the skins of seals The other mouth of the river flows with a clear course into the Caspian Sea[87]

203 The Caspian is a sea by itself, having no connexion with any other[88] The sea frequented by the Greeks, that beyond the pillars of Heracles which is called the Atlantic, and also the Red Sea, are all one and the same sea But the Caspian is a distinct sea, lying by itself, in length fifteen days' voyage with a row boat, in breadth, at the broadest part, eight days voyage[89] Along its western shore runs the chain of the Caucasus, the most extensive and loftiest of all mountain ranges Many and various are the tribes by which it is inhabited, most of whom live entirely on the wild fruits of the forest In these forests certain trees are said to grow, from the leaves of which, pounded and mixed with water, the inhabitants make a dye wherewith they paint upon their clothes the figures of animals and the figures so impressed never wash out but last as though they had been inwoven in the cloth from the first and wear as long as the garment These people are said to copulate in public like cattle

204 On the west then, as I have said the Caspian Sea is bounded by the range of Caucasus On the east it is followed by a vast plain stretching out interminably before the eye the greater portion of which is possessed by those Massagetae, against whom Cyrus was now so anxious to make an expedition Many strong motives weighed with him and urged him on—his birth especially, which seemed something more than human, and

[87] The geographical knowledge of Herodotus seems to be nowhere so much at fault as in his account of this river He appears to have confused together the information which had reached him concerning four distant streams

[88] Here the geographical knowledge of Herodotus was much in advance of his age False information received at the time of Alexander's conquests seems to have made geographical knowledge retrograde It was reserved for Ptolemy to restore the Caspian to its true position of an inland sea

[89] It is impossible to make any exact comparison between the actual size of the Caspian and the estimate of Herodotus since we do not know what distance he intends by the day's voyage of a row boat

his good fortune in all his former wars wherein he had alway found that against what country soever he turned his arms it was impossible for that people to escape

205 At this t me the Massagetae were ruled by a queen named Tomyris who at the death of her husband the late king had mounted the throne To her Cyrus sent ambassadors with instructions to court her on his part pretendin, that he wished to take her to wife Tomyris however aware that it was her kingdom and not herself that he courted forbade the men to approach Cyrus therefore finding that he did not advance his designs by this deceit marched towards the Araxes and openly displaying his hostile intentions set to work to construct a bridge on which his army might cross the river and began building towers upon the boats which were to be used in the passage

06 While the Per ian leader was occupied in these labours Tomyris sent a herald to him who said King of the Medes cease to press this enterprise for you cannot know if what you are doin, will be of real advantage to you Be content to rule in peace your kingdom and bear to see us reign over the countries that are ours to govern As however I know you will not choo e to hearken to this counsel since there is nothing you less desire than peace and quietness come now if you are so mi,htily de sirous of meeting the Massagetae in arms leave your u eless toil of bridge making let us retire three days march from the river bank and you come across with your soldiers or if you like better to give us battle on your side the stream retire n equal distance Cyrus on this offer called together the chiefs of the Persians and laid the matter before them requesting them to advi e him what he should do All the votes were in favour of his letting Tomyris cross the stream and giving battle on Per sian ground

07 But Croesus the Lydian who was present at the meet in, of the chiefs disapproved of this advice he therefore ro and thus delivered his sentiments in opposition to it O kin I promi ed you long since that as Zeus had given me into your hands I would to the best of my power avert impending dan

ger from your house Alas my own sufferings, by their very bitterness, have taught me to be keen sighted of dangers If you deem yourself an immortal, and your army an army of immortals, my counsel will doubtless be thrown away upon you But if you feel yourself to be a man, and a ruler of men, lay this first to heart, that there is a wheel on which the affairs of men revolve, and that its movement forbids the same man to be always fortunate Now concerning the matter in hand, my judgment runs counter to the judgment of your other counsellors For if you agree to give the enemy entrance into your country, consider what risk is run! Lose the battle, and your whole kingdom is lost For assuredly, the Massagetae, if they win the fight, will not return to their homes, but will push forward against the states of your empire Or if you win the battle, why then you gain far less than if you were across the stream, where you might follow up your victory For against your loss, if they defeat you on your own ground, must be set theirs in like case Rout their army on the other side of the river and you may push at once into the heart of their country Moreover, were it not disgrace intolerable for Cyrus the son of Cambyses to retire before and yield ground to a woman? My counsel therefore is, that we cross the stream and pushing forward as far as they shall fall back, then seek to get the better of them by stratagem I am told they are unacquainted with the good things on which the Persians live, and have never tasted the great delights of life Let us then prepare a feast for them in our camp let sheep be slaughtered without stint, and the wine cups be filled full of noble liquor and let all manner of dishes be prepared then leaving behind us our worst troops, let us fall back towards the river Unless I very much mistake when they see the good fare set out, they will forget all else and fall to Then it will remain for us to do our parts manfully "

208 Cyrus, when the two plans were thus placed in contrast before him, changed his mind, and preferring the advice which Croesus had given, returned for answer to Tomyris, that she should retire, and that he would cross the stream She therefore retired as she had engaged, and Cyrus, giving Croesus into the

care of his son Camby es (whom he had appointed to succeed him on the throne) with strict charge to pay him all respect and treat him well if the expedition failed of success and sending them both back to Persia cros ed the river with his army

209 The first night after the passage as he lept in the enemy s country a vision appeared to him He seemed to see in his sleep the eldest of the sons of Hystaspes with wings upon his shoulders shadowing with the one wing Asia and Europe with the other Now Hystaspes the son of Arsames was of the race of the Achaemenidae and his eldest son Darius was at that time scarce twenty years old wherefore not being of age to go to the wars he had remained behind in Persia When Cyrus woke from his sleep and turned the vision over in his mind it seemed to him no li ht matter He therefore sent for Hysta pes and tal ing him aside said Hystaspes your son is discovered to be plotting against me and my crown I will tell you how I know it o certainly The gods watch over my safety and warn me beforehand of every danger Now last night as I lay in my bed I saw in a vision the eldest of your sons with win s upon his shoulders shadowing with the one wing Asia and Europe with the other From this it is certain beyond all possible doubt that he is engaged in some plot against me Re turn then at once to Per ia and be sure when I come back from conquering the Massagetae to have your son ready to produce before me that I may examine him

10 Thus Cyrus spoke in the belief that he was plotted against by Darius but he missed the true meaning of the dream which was sent by God to forewarn him that he was to die then and there and that his kingdom was to fall at last to Darius

Hysta pes made answer to Cyrus in these words Heaven forbid ire that there should be a Persian living who would plot again t you! If such an one there be may a speedy death over take him! You found the Per ians a race of slaves you made them free men you found them subject to others you made them lords of all If a vision has announced that my son is prac tising against you I resign him into your hands to deal with as

you will " Hystaspes, when he had thus answered, recrossed the Araxes and hastened back to Persia, to keep a watch on his son Darius

211 Meanwhile Cyrus, having advanced a day's march from the river, did as Croesus had advised him, and, leaving the worthless portion of his army in the camp, drew off with his good troops towards the river Soon afterwards, a detachment of the Massagetae, one third of their entire army led by Spargapises, son of the queen Tomyris, coming up, fell upon the body which had been left behind by Cyrus, and on their resistance put them to the sword Then, seeing the banquet prepared, they sat down and began to feast When they had eaten and drunk their fill, and were now sunk in sleep, the Persians under Cyrus arrived, slaughtered a great multitude and made even a larger number prisoners Among these last was Spargapises himself

212 When Tomyris heard what had befallen her son and her army, she sent a herald to Cyrus, who thus addressed the conqueror, "*Bloodthirsty Cyrus, pride not yourself on this poor* success it was the grapejuice—which, when you drink it make you so mad, and as you swallow it down brings up to your lips such bold and wicked words—*it was this poison wherewith you* ensnared my child, and so overcame him, not in fair open fight Now hearken what I advise, and be sure I advise you for your good Restore my son to me and leave the land unharmed, triumphant over a third part of the host of the Massagetae Refuse, and I swear by the sun, the sovereign lord of the Massagetae, bloodthirsty as you are, I will give you your fill of blood "

213 To the words of this message Cyrus paid no manner of regard As for Spargapises, the son of the queen, when the wine went off, and he saw the extent of his calamity, he made request to Cyrus to release him from his bonds, then when his prayer was granted, and the fetters were taken from his limbs, as soon as his hands were free, he destroyed himself

214 Tomyris, when she found that Cyrus paid no heed to her advice, collected all the forces of her kingdom, and gave him battle Of all the combats in which the barbarians have engaged

amon„ themselves I reckon this to have been the fiercest The following as I understand was the manner of it First in two armies stood apart and shot their arrows at each other then when their quivers were empty they closed and fought hand to hand with lances and daggers and thus they continued fighting for a len th of time neither choosing to give ground At length the Massagetae prevailed The greater part of the army of the Persians was destroyed and Cyrus himself fell after reigning twenty nine years Search was made among the slain by order of the queen for the body of Cyrus and when it was found she took a skin and filling it full of human blood she dipped the head of Cyrus in the gore saying as she thus insulted the corp e I live and have conquered you in fight and yet by you am I ruined for you took my son with guile but thus I make good my threat and give you your fill of blood Of the many different accounts which are given of the death of Cyrus this *which I have followed appears to me most worthy of credit* [9]

215 In their dress and mode of living the Massagetae re emble the Scythians They fight both on horseback and on foot neither method is strange to them they use bows and lances but their favourite weapon is the battle axe Their arms are all either of gold or brass For their pearpoints and arrowheads and for their battle axes they make use of brass for head gear belts and girdle of gold So too with the caparison of their horses they give them breastplates o brass but employ gold about the reins the bit and the cheek plates They use neither iron nor silver having none in their country but they have *brass and gold in abundance*

16 The following are some of their customs Each man has but one wife yet all the wives are held in common for this is a cu tom of the Massagetae and not of the Scythians as the Greeks wrongly say W nen a man desires a woman he hangs his quiv r in front of her waggon and has intercourse with her un hindered Human life does not come to its natural close with

[99] It may be qu tl ned wh the th cc t which t f ma y se med ρ uth m t w rthy f credit was eally the m t c ed'bl

[11] Bo h the Ural and th Altai m untains abo d l g ld

this people, but when a man grows very old, all his kinsfolk collect together and offer him up in sacrifice, offering at the same time some cattle also After the sacrifice they boil the flesh and feast on it, and those who thus end their days are reckoned the happiest If a man dies of disease they do not eat him, but bury him in the ground, bewailing his ill fortune that he did not come to be sacrificed They sow no grain, but live on their herds, and on fish, of which there is great plenty in the Araxes Milk is what they chiefly drink The only god they worship is the sun, and to him they offer the horse in sacrifice, under the notion of giving to the swiftest of the gods the swiftest of all mortal creatures

The Second Book Entitled

EUTERPE

1 On the death of Cyrus Cambyses his son by Cassandane daughter of Pharnaspes took the kingdom Cassandane had died in the lifetime of Cyrus who had made a great mourning for her at her death and had commanded all the subjects of his empire to observe the like Cambyses the son of this woman and of Cyrus regarding the Ionian and Aeolian Greeks as vassals of his father took them with him in his expedition against Egypt[1] among the other nations which owned his sway

Now the Egyptians before the reign of their king Psam metichus *believed them elves to be the most ancient of man kind* Since Psammetichus however made an attempt to dis cover who were actually the primitive race they have been of opinion that while they surpass all other nation the Phrygians surpass them in antiquity This king finding it impossible to make out by dint of inquiry what men were the mo t ancient contriv d the following method of discovery He took two chil dren of the common ort and gave them over to a herd man to bring up at his folds strictly charging him to let no one utter a word in their pre ence but to keep them in a sequestered cot tage and from time to time introduce goats to their apartment

The date of th expedit of C mby es ag t Egypt nn t b xed h b ol t certainty 5 5 B.C is, n th wh l th m t p ob bl date

Thi affectat i c t m tiq ity tr ly p t by Plat i his Timaeu where th Gr k nati n is t d by the Egyptia with be g ts infancy as c mpa ed w th th m Th Egypt l m t h gh r u antiquity h d n d bt a s l d basi f truth

see that they got their fill of milk, and in all other respects look after them His object herein was to know, after the indistinct babblings of infancy were over, what word they would first articulate It happened as he had anticipated The herdsman obeyed his orders for two years, and at the end of that time, on his one day opening the door of their room and going in, the children both ran up to him with outstretched arms, and distinctly said Becos When this first happened the herdsman took no notice, but afterwards when he observed, on coming often to see after them, that the word was constantly in their mouths, he informed his lord, and by his command brought the children into his presence Psammetichus then himself heard them say the word, upon which he proceeded to make inquiry what people there was who called anything becos, and hereupon he learnt that becos was the Phrygian name for bread In consideration of this circumstance the Egyptians yielded their claims, and admitted the greater antiquity of the Phrygians

3 That these were the real facts I learnt at Memphis from the priests of Hephaestus The Greeks, among other foolish tales, relate that Psammetichus had the children brought up by women whose tongues he had previously cut out, but the priests said their bringing up was such as I have stated above I got much other information also from conversation with these priests while I was at Memphis, and I even went to Heliopolis and to Thebes, expressly to try whether the priests of those places would agree in their accounts with the priests at Memphis The Heliopolitans have the reputation of being the best skilled in history of all the Egyptians What they told me concerning their religion it is not my intention to repeat, except the names of their deities, since I believe all men know equally little about the gods If I relate anything else concerning these matters, it will only be when compelled to do so by the course of my narrative

4 Now with regard to mere human matters, the accounts which they gave, and in which all agreed, were the following The Egyptians, they said, were the first to discover the solar year, and to portion out its course into twelve parts They ob-

tained this knowledge from the stars (To my mind they contrive their year much more cleverly than the Greeks for these last every other year intercalate a whole month but the Egyptians dividing the year into twelve months of thirty days each add every year a space of five days besides whereby the circuit of the seasons is made to return with uniformity [3]) The Egyptians they went on to affirm first brought into use the names of the twelve gods which the Greeks adopted from them and first erected altars images and temples to the gods and also first en raved upon stone the figures of animals In most of these cases they proved to me that what they said was true And they told me that the first man who ruled over Egypt was Min [4] and that in his time all Egypt except the Thebaic nome was a marsh none of the land below lake Moeris then showing itself above the surface of the water This is a distance of seven days sail from the sea up the river

5 What they said of their country seemed to me very reasonable For any one who sees Egypt without having heard a word about it before must perceive if he has only common powers of observation that the Egypt to which the Greeks go in their ships is an acquired country the gift of the river The same is true of the land above the lake to the distance of three days voyage concerning which the Egyptians say nothing but which is exactly the same kind of country

The following is the general character of the region In the first place on approaching it by sea when you are still a day s sail from the land if you let down a sounding line you will bring up mud a d find yourself in eleven fathoms water which

Th diff culty of ll c l dars is t re cale l nar d sol r system f eck nin since l na y h 354 day e ght h rs f ty-e ght minutes d th ty -ix ds mpa ed with th l r y f 365 days fi h s f rty-e ht mi t d f ty-e ght se d Th G ks mad th m th alt rn t ly f th rty l t ty da s, i serti inte calary m th th t m ight yea Th Egypt S thi pe riod f 1,460 years c mpensat d f th dditi nal q t f day

M th M es of m t C k th l lly t k f l g d ry figure c mpo ded f t th d ff ent ki s

A day sai cco d g t H l t f l t 61 mi wh re the 40 d gs would be t l t the sam mber f f th ms.

shows that the soil washed down by the stream extends to that distance

6 The length of the country along shore, according to the bounds that we assign to Egypt, namely from the Plinthinetic gulf to lake Serbonis, which extends along the base of Mount Casius, is sixty schoenes The nations whose territories are scanty measure them by the fathom those whose bounds are less confined, by the furlong those who have an ample territory, by the parasang but if men have a country which is very vast, they measure it by the schoene Now the length of the parasang is thirty furlongs, but the schoene which is an Egyptian measure, is sixty furlongs Thus the coast line of Egypt would extend a length of 420 miles[6]

7 From the coast inland as far as Heliopolis the breadth of Egypt is considerable, the country is flat, without springs, and full of swamps The length of the route from the sea up to Heliopolis is almost exactly the same as that of the road which runs from the altar of the twelve gods at Athens to the temple of Olympian Zeus at Pisa If a person made a calculation he would find but a very little difference between the two routes, not more than about two miles,[7] for the road from Athens to Pisa falls short of 173 miles by exactly two, whereas the distance of Heliopolis from the sea is just the round number

8 As one proceeds beyond Heliopolis up the country, Egypt becomes narrow, the Arabian range of hills, which has a direction from north to south, shutting it in upon the one side, and the Libyan range upon the other The former ridge runs on without a break, and stretches away to the sea called the Red Sea, it contains the quarries whence the stone was cut for the pyramids of Memphis and this is the point where it ceases its first direction, and bends away in the manner above indicated In its greatest length from east to west, it is, as I have been informed, a distance of two months' journey, towards the extreme east its skirts produce frankincense Such are the chief features

[6] The actual length is about 75 miles

[7] This measurement is correct as compared with others in Herodotus, but the real distance of Heliopolis from the sea is about 110 miles.

of this range On the Libyan side the other ridge whereon the pyramids stand is rocky and covered with sand its direction is *the same as that of the Arabian ridge in the first part of its* course Above Heliopolis then there is no great breadth of territory for such a country as Egypt but during four days sail Egypt is narrow the valley between the two ranges is a level plain and seemed to me to be at the narrowest point not more than two hundred furlongs across from the Arabian to the Libyan hills Above this point Egypt again widens

9 From Heliopolis to Thebes is nine days sail up the river *the distance is eighty-one schoenes or 552 miles If we now put* together the several measurements of the country we shall find that the distance along shore is as I stated above 420 miles and the distance from the sea inland to Thebes 700 miles Further it is a distance of 06 miles from Thebes to the place called Elephantine[8]

10 The greater portion of the country above described seemed to me to be as the priests declared a tract gained by the inhabitants For the whole region above Memphis lying between the two ranges of hills that have been spoken of appeared evidently to have formed at one time a gulf of the sea It resembles (to compare small things with great) the parts about Ilium and Teuthrania Ephesus and the plain of the Maeander In all these regions the land has been formed by rivers whereof the greatest is not to compare for size with any one of the five mouths of the Nile[9] I could mention other rivers also far inferior to the Nile in magnitude that have effected very great changes Among these not the least is the Achelous which after passing through Acarnania empties itself into the sea opposite the islands called Echinades and has already joined one half of them to the continent

In ddition t oth r g graph cal inaccuracies H rodotus has ov estimated these distan s H l polis to Th be 4 miles se t Thebes 566 m es Th bes to El ph tin 1 4 mil s.

This sign fies th nat ral bra hes f the N le d when seven e reck d they incl d th tw rt ficial o es th B lbiti and B c lic or Ph tm tic which H d tus say we th wo k f man

11 In Arabia, not far from Egypt, there is a long and narrow gulf running inland from the sea called the Red Sea,[10] of which I will here set down the dimensions Starting from its innermost recess, and using a row boat, you take forty days to reach the open main, while you may cross the gulf at its widest part in the space of half a day In this sea there is an ebb and flow of the tide every day My opinion is, that Egypt was formerly very much such a gulf as this—one gulf penetrated from the sea that washes Egypt on the north, and extended itself towards Ethiopia, another entered from the southern ocean, and stretched towards Syria, the two gulfs ran into the land so as almost to meet each other and left between them only a very narrow tract of country Now if the Nile should choose to divert his waters from their present bed into this Arabian gulf, what is there to hinder it from being filled up by the stream within, at the utmost, 20,000 years? For my part, I think it would be filled in half the time How then should not a gulf, even of much greater size, have been filled up in the ages that passed before I was born, by a river that is at once so large and so given to working changes?

12 Thus I give credit to those from whom I received this account of Egypt, and am myself, moreover, strongly of the same opinion, since I remarked that the country projects into the sea further than the neighbouring shores, and I observed that there were shells upon the hills,[11] and that salt exuded from the soil to such an extent as even to injure the pyramids and I noticed also that there is but a single hill in all Egypt where sand is found, namely, the hill above Memphis, and further, I found the country to bear no resemblance either to its border land Arabia, or to Libya—nay, nor even to Syria which forms

[10] The Greeks generally did not give the name Red Sea to the Arabian Gulf, but to all that part of the Indian Ocean reaching from the Persian Gulf to India It was also applied to the Persian Gulf and Herodotus sometimes gives it to the Arabian Gulf and even the western branch between Mount Sinai and Egypt

[11] Herodotus geological remarks in this chapter are mainly right and show his excellence as an observer

the seaboard of Arabia but whereas the soil of Libya is we know sandy and of a reddish hue and that of Arabia and Syria inclines to stone and clay Egypt has a soil that is black and crumbly as being alluvial and formed of the deposits brought down by the river from Ethiopia

13 One fact which I learnt of the priests is to me a strong evidence of the origin of the country They aid that when Moeris was king the Nile overflowed all Egypt below Memphis as soon as it rose so little as twelve feet Now Moeris had not been dead 900 years at the time when I heard this of the priests [1] yet at the present day unless the river rise twenty four feet or at the very least twenty two feet it does not over flow the lands It seems to me therefore that if the land goes on rising and growing at this rate the Egyptians who dwell below lake Moeris in the Delta (as it is called) and elsewhere will one day by the stoppage of the inundations suffer per manently the fate which they told me they expected would some time or other befall the Greeks On hearing that the whole land of Greece is watered by rain from heaven and not like their own inundated by rivers they observed Some day the Greeks will be disappointed of their grand hope and then they will be wretchedly hungry which was as much as to say If God shall ome day see fit not to grant the Greeks rain but shall affl ct them with a long drought the Greeks will be swept away by a famine since they have nothing to rely on but rain from Zeus and have no other re ource for water

14 And in thus speaking of the Greeks the Egyptians say nothing but what is true But now let me tell the Egyptians how the ca e stands with themselves If as I said before the country below Memphis which is the land that is always rising continues to increase in height at the rate at which it has ri en in times gone by how will it be possible for the inhabitants of that region to avoid hunger when they will certainly have no rain and the river will not be able to overflow their corn lands? At present it must be confessed they obtain the fruits of the

[1] H od tus d te is i c rrect f r h prob bly m ns Am mbet III of the tw lfth dynasty (1849 18 1 B.C)

field with less trouble than any other people in the world, the rest of the Egyptians included, since they have no need to break up the ground with the plough, nor to use the hoe, nor to do any of the work which the rest of mankind find necessary if they are to get a crop, but the husbandman waits till the river has of its own accord spread itself over the fields and withdrawn again to its bed, and then sows his plot of ground, and after sowing turns his swine into it (the swine tread in the corn) after which he has only to await the harvest The swine serve him also to thrash the grain, which is then carried to the garner

15 If then we choose to adopt the views of the Ionians concerning Egypt, we must come to the conclusion that the Egyptians had formerly no country at all For the Ionians say that nothing is really Egypt but the Delta, which extends along shore from the Watch tower of Perseus, as it is called, to the Pelusiac Salt pans, a distance of 300 miles, and stretches inland as far as the city of Cercasorus, where the Nile divides into the two streams which reach the sea at Pelusium and Canobus respectively The rest of what is accounted Egypt belongs, they say, either to Arabia or Libya But the Delta, as the Egyptians affirm, and as I myself am persuaded, is formed of the deposits of the river, and has only recently, if I may use the expression, come to light If then they had formerly no territory at all, how came they to be so extravagant as to fancy themselves the most ancient race in the world? Surely there was no need of their making the experiment with the children to see what language they would first speak But in truth I do not believe that the Egyptians came into being at the same time with the Delta, as the Ionians call it I think they have always existed ever since the human race began, as the land went on increasing, part of the population came down into the new country, part remained in their old settlements In ancient times the Thebais bore the name of Egypt, a district of which the entire circumference is but 700 miles

16 If then my judgment on these matters be right, the Ionians are mistaken in what they say of Egypt If, on the contrary, it is they who are right, then I undertake to show that neither

the Ionians nor any of the other Greeks know how to count For they all say that the earth is divided into three parts Europe Asia and Libya whereas they ought to add a fourth part the Delta of Egypt since they do not include it either in Asia or Libya For is it not their theory that the Nile separates Asia from Libya? As the Nile therefore splits in two at the apex of the Delta the Delta itself must be a separate country not contained in either Asia or Libya

17 Here I take my leave of the opinions of the Ionians and proceed to deliver my own sentiments on these subjects I consider Egypt to be the whole country inhabited by the Egyptians just as Cilicia is the tract occupied by the Cilicians and Assyria that possessed by the Assyrians And I regard the only proper boundary line between Libya and Asia to be that which is marked out by the Egyptian frontier For if we take the boundary line commonly received by the Greeks we must regard Egypt as divided along its whole length from Elephantine and the Cataracts to Cercasorus into two parts each belonging to a different portion of the world one to Asia the other to Libya since the Nile divides Egypt in two from the Cataracts to the sea running as far as the city of Cercasorus in a single stream but at that point separating into three branches whereof the one which bends eastward is called the Pelusiac mouth and that which slants to the west the Canobic Meanwhile the straight course of the stream which comes down from the upper country and meets the apex of the Delta continues on dividing the Delta down the middle and empties itself into the sea by a mouth which is as celebrated and carries as large a body of water as most of the others the mouth called the Sebennytic Besides these there are two other mouths which run out of the Sebennytic called respectively the Saitic and the Mendesian The Bolbitine mouth and the Bucolic are not natural branches but channels made by excavation

18 My judgment as to the extent of Egypt is confirmed by an oracle delivered at the shrine of Ammon of which I had no knowledge at all until after I had formed my opinion It happened that the people of the cities Marea and Apis who live in

the part of Egypt that borders on Libya, took a dislike to the religious usages of the country concerning sacrificial animals, and wished no longer to be restricted from eating the flesh of cows So, as they believed themselves to be Libyans and not Egyptians, they sent to the shrine to say that, having nothing in common with the Egyptians, neither inhabiting the Delta nor using the Egyptian tongue, they claimed to be allowed to eat whatever they pleased Their request, however, was refused by the god, who declared in reply that Egypt was the entire tract of country which the Nile overspreads and irrigates, and the Egyptians were the people who lived below Elephantine, and drank the waters of that river

19 So said the oracle Now the Nile, when it overflows floods not only the Delta but also the tracts of country on both sides of the stream which are thought to belong to Libya and Arabia, *in some places reaching to the extent of two days* journey from its banks, in some even exceeding that distance, but in others falling short of it

Concerning the nature of the river, I was not able to gain any information either from the priests or from others I was particularly anxious to learn from them why the Nile, at the Commencement of the summer solstice, begins to rise,[13] and continues to increase for a hundred days—and why, as soon as that number is past, it forthwith retires and contracts its stream, continuing low during the whole of the winter until the summer solstice comes round again On none of these points could I obtain any explanation from the inhabitants,[14] though I made every inquiry, wishing to know what was commonly reported—they could neither tell me what special virtue the Nile has which

[13] Herodotus was surprised that the Nile should rise in the summer solstice and become low in winter In the latitude of Memphis it begins to rise at the end of June about the 10th of August it attains to the height requisite for cutting the canals and admitting it into the interior of the plain and it is generally at its highest about the end of September This makes from 92 to 100 days as Herodotus states

[14] The cause of the inundation is the water that falls during the rainy season in Abyssinia and the range of the tropical rains extends even as far N as latitude 17 43

makes it so opposite in its nature to all other streams nor why unlike every other river it gives forth no breezes from its surface

20 Some of the Greeks however wishing to get a reputation for cleverness have offered explanations of the phenomena of the river for which they have accounted in three different ways Two of these I do not think it worth while to speak of further than simply to mention what they are One pretends that the Etesian winds cause the rise of the river by preventing the Nile water from running off into the sea But in the first place it has often happened when the Etesian winds did not blow that the Nile has risen according to its usual wont and further if the Etesian winds produced the effect the other rivers which flow in a direction opposite to those winds ought to present the same phenomena as the Nile and the more so as they are all smaller streams and have a weaker current But these rivers of which there are many both in Syria and Libya are entirely unlike the Nile in this respect

21 The second opinion is even more unscientific than the one just mentioned and also if I may so say more marvellous It is that the Nile acts so strangely because it flows from the ocean and that the ocean flows all round the earth

22 The third explanation which is very much more plausible than either of the others is positively the furthest from the truth for there is really nothing in what it says any more than in the other theories It is that the inundation of the Nile is caused by the melting of snows[1] Now as the Nile flows out of Libya through Ethiopia into Egypt how is it possible that it can be formed of melted snow running as it does from the hottest regions of the world into cooler countries? Many are the proofs whereby any one capable of reasoning on the subject may be convinced that it is most unlikely this should be the

[1] Th s as th pinl of A axag a a w ll as f his pup l E ipides nd othe s. H d tu is w ng i suppos g w uld t be f d moun s in th h t clim te of Afric Th ugh t this h pt h l tryin to apply crit cal te ts to a f ct whi h seems to him insuff ci ntly support d by d

case The first and strongest argument is furnished by the winds, which always blow hot from these regions The second is, that rain and frost are unknown there Now, whenever snow falls, it must of necessity rain within five days, so that, if there were snow, there must be rain also in those parts Thirdly, it is certain that the natives of the country are black with the heat, that the kites and the swallows remain there the whole year, and tha the cranes when they fly from the rigours of a Scythian winter, flock thither to pass the cold season If then, in the country whence the Nile has its source, or in that through which it flows, there fell ever so little snow, it is absolutely impossible that any of these circumstances could take place

23 As for the writer who attributes the phenomenon to the ocean, his account is involved in such obscurity that it is impossible to disprove it by argument For my part I know of no river called Ocean and I think that Homer or one of the earlier poets, invented the name and introduced it into his poetry

24 Perhaps after censuring all the opinions that have been put forward on this obscure subject one ought to propose some theory of one's own I will therefore proceed to explain what I think to be the reason of the Nile s swelling in the summer time During the winter, the sun is driven out of his usual course by the storms, and removes to the upper parts of Libya This is the whole secret in the fewest possible words for it stands to reason that the country to which the Sun god approaches the nearest, and which he passes most directly over, will be scantest of water and that there the streams which feed the rivers will shrink the most

25 To explain, however more at length the case is this The sun in his passage across the upper parts of Libya affects them in the following way As the air in those regions is constantly clear, and the country warm through the absence of cold winds, the sun in his passage across them acts upon them exactly as he is wont to act elsewhere in summer when his path is in the middle of heaven—that is he attracts the water After attracting it he again repels it into the upper regions where the winds lay hold of it, scatter it, and reduce it to a vapour, whence it natu

rally enough comes to pass that the winds which blow from this quarter—the outh and south west—are of all winds the most rainy And my own opinion is that the sun does not get rid of all the water which he draws year by year from the Nile but retains some about him When the winter begins to soften the sun goes back again to his old place in the middle of the heaven and proceeds to attract water equally from all countries Till then the other rivers run big from the quantity of rain water which they bring down from countries where so much moisture falls that all the land is cut into gullies but in summer when the showers fail and the sun attracts their water they become low The Nile on the contrary not deriving any of its bulk from rains and being in winter subject to the attraction of the sun naturally runs at that season unlike all other streams with a less burthen of water than in the summer time For in summer it is exposed to attraction equally with all other rivers but in winter it suffers alone The sun therefore I regard as the sole cause of the phenomenon

6 It is the sun also in my opinion which by heating the space through which it pas es makes the air in Egypt so dry There is thus perpetual summer in the upper parts of Libya Were the position of the heavenly regions reversed so that the place where now the north wind and the winter have their dwelling became the station of the south wind and of the noon day while on the other hand the station of the south wind became that of the north the consequence would be that the sun driven from the mid heaven by the winter and the northern gales would betake himself to the upper parts of Europe as he now does to those of Libya and then I believe his pa sage across Europ would affect the Ister exactly as the Nile is affected at the present day

7 And with re pect to the fact that no breeze blows from the Nile I am of the opinion *that no wind is likely to ari e in* very hot countries for breezes love to blow from some cold quarter

8 Let us leave these things however to their natural course to continue as they are and have been from the begin

ning With regard to the sources of the Nile, I have found no one among all those with whom I have conversed, whether Egyptians, Libyans, or Greeks, who professed to have any knowledge, except a single person He was the scribe who kept the register of the sacred treasures of Athena in the city of Sais, and he seemed to me to be joking when he said that he knew them perfectly well His story was as follows, ' Between Syene, a city of the Thebais, and Elephantine,[10] there are two hills with sharp conical tops, the name of the one is Crophi, of the other, Mophi Midway between them are the fountains of the Nile, fountains which it is impossible to fathom Half the water runs northward into Egypt, half to the south towards Ethiopia " The fountains were known to be unfathomable, he declared, because Psammetichus an Egyptian king, had made trial of them He had caused a rope to be made, many thousand fathoms in length, and had sounded the fountain with it, but could find no bottom By this the scribe gave me to understand, if there was any truth at all in what he said, that in this fountain there are certain strong eddies, and a regurgitation owing to the force wherewith the water dashes against the mountains, and hence a sounding line cannot be got to reach the bottom of the spring

29 No other information on this head could I obtain from any quarter All that I succeeded in learning further of the more distant portions of the Nile, by ascending myself as high as Elephantine, and making inquiries concerning the parts beyond, was the following As one advances beyond Elephantine, the land rises Hence it is necessary in this part of the river to attach a rope to the boat on each side, as men harness an ox, and so proceed on the journey If the rope snaps, the vessel is borne away down stream by the force of the current The navigation continues the same for four days, the river winding greatly, like the Maeander, and the distance traversed amounting to eighty miles Here you come upon a smooth and level plain, where the Nile flows in two branches, round an island called Tachompso

[10] Herodotus apparently thought that the town of Syene opposite Elephantine was a part of it and believed that Syene was farther south

The country above Elephantine is inhabited by the Ethiopians, who possess one half of this island the Egyptians occupying the other Above the island there is a great lake the shores of which are inhabited by Ethiopian nomads after passing it you come again to the stream of the Nile which runs into the lake Here you land and travel for forty days along the banks of the river since it is impossible to proceed further in a boat on account of the sharp peaks which jut out from the water and the sunken rocks which abound in that part of the stream When you have passed this portion of the river in the space of forty days you go on board another boat and proceed by water for twelve days more at the end of which time you reach a great city called Meroe which is said to be the capital of the other Ethiopians The only gods worshipped by the inhabitants are Zeus and Dionysus to whom great honours are paid There is an oracle of Zeus in the city which directs the warlike expeditions of the Ethiopians when it commands they go to war and in whatever direction it bids them march thither straightway they carry their arms

30 On leaving this city and again mounting the stream in the same space of time which it took you to reach the capital from Elephantine you come to the Deserters who bear the name of Asmach This word translated into our language means the men who stand on the left hand of the king These Deserters are Egyptians of the warrior cast who to the number of 240 000 went over to the Ethiopians in the reign of king Psammetichus The cause of their desertion was the following Three garrisons were maintained in Egypt at that time one in the city of Elephantine against the Ethiopians another in the Pelusiac Daphnae against the Syrians and Arabians and a third against the Libyans in Marea (The very same posts are *to this day occupied by the Persians whose forces are in garri*son both in Daphnae and in Elephantine) Now it happened that on one occasion the garrisons were not relieved during the space of three years the soldiers therefore at the end of that time consulted together and having determined by common consent to revolt marched away towards Ethiopia Psammeti

chus, informed of the movement, set out in pursuit, and coming up with them, besought them with many words not to desert the gods of their country, nor abandon their wives and children "Nay, but," said one of the deserters pointing to his genitals, "wherever we go, we are sure enough of finding wives and children" Arrived in Ethiopia they placed themselves at the disposal of the king In return he made them a present of a tract of land which belonged to certain Ethiopians with whom he was at feud, bidding them expel the inhabitants and take possession of their territory From the time that this settlement was formed, their acquaintance with Egyptian manners has tended to civilise the Ethiopians

31 Thus the course of the Nile is known, not only throughout Egypt, but to the extent of four months journey either by land or water above the Egyptian boundary for on calculation it will be found that it takes that length of time to travel from Elephantine to the country of the Deserters There the direction of the river is from west to east Beyond no one has any certain knowledge of its course since the country is uninhabited by reason of the excessive heat

32 I did hear, indeed, what I will now relate from certain natives of Cyrene Once upon a time they said, they were on a visit to the oracular shrine of Ammon [1] when it chanced that in the course of conversation with Etearchus the Ammonian king the talk fell upon the Nile, how that its sources were unknown to all men Etearchus upon this mentioned that some Nasamonians had once come to his court, and when asked if they could give any information concerning the uninhabited parts of Libya, had told the following tale (The Nasamonians are a Libyan race who occupy the Syrtis, and a tract of no great size towards the east) They said there had grown up among them some wild young men the sons of certain chiefs, who, when they came to man s estate, indulged in all manner of extravagancies, and among other things drew lots for five of their number to go and explore the desert parts of Libya, and try if

[1] This was in the modern Oasis of Siwah where remains of the temple are still seen The oracle long continued in great repute

they could not penetrate further than any had done previously (The coast of Libya along the sea which washes it to the north throughout its entire length from Egypt to Cape Soloeis which is its furthest point is inhabited by Libyans of many distinct tribes who possess the whole tract except certain portions which belong to the Phoenicians and the Greeks Above the coast line and the country inhabited by the maritime tribes Libya is full of wild beasts while beyond the wild beast region there is a tract which is wholly sand very scant of water and utterly and entirely a desert) The young men therefore despatched on this errand by their comrades with a plentiful supply of water and provisions travelled at first through the inhabited region passing which they came to the wild beast tract whence they finally entered upon the desert which they proceeded to cross in a direction from east to west After journeying for many days over a wide extent of sand they came at last to a plain where they observed trees growing approaching them and seeing fruit on them they proceeded to gather it While they were thus engaged there came upon them some dwarfish men [18] under the middle height who seized them and carried them off The Nasamonians could not understand a word of their language nor had they any acquaintance with the language of the Nasamonians They were led across extensive marshes and finally came to a town where all the men were of the height of their conductors and black complexioned A great river flowed by the town running from west to east and containing crocodiles

33 Here let me dismiss Etearchus the Ammonian and his story only adding that (according to the Cyreneans) he declared that the Nasamonians got safe back to their country and that the men whose city they had reached were a nation of sorcerers With respect to the river which ran by their town Etearchus conjectured it to be the Nile and reason favours that view For the Nile certainly flows out of Libya dividing it down the middle and as I conceive judging the unknown from the

[18] Herodotus does not exaggerate the smallness of the pygmies as other writers do

known, rises at the same distance from its mouth as the Ister[19] This latter river has its source in the country of the Celts near the city Pyrene, and runs through the middle of Europe, dividing it into two portions The Celts live beyond the pillars of Heracles, and border on the Cynesians, who dwell at the extreme west of Europe Thus the Ister flows through the whole of Europe before it finally empties itself into the Euxine at Istria,[20] one of the colonies of the Milesians

34 Now as his river flows through regions that are inhabited, its course is perfectly well known, but of the sources of the Nile no one can give any account, since Libya, the country through which it passes, is desert and without inhabitants As far as it was possible to get information by inquiry, I have given a description of the stream It enters Egypt from the parts beyond Egypt lies almost exactly opposite the mountainous portion of Cilicia[21] whence a lightly equipped traveller may reach Sinope on the Euxine in five days by the direct route Sinope lies opposite the place where the Ister falls into the sea My opinion therefore is that the Nile, as it traverses the whole of Libya, is of equal length with the Ister And here I take my leave of this subject

35 Concerning Egypt itself I shall extend my remarks to a great length, because there is no country that possesses so many wonders[22] nor any that has such a number of works which defy

[19] The meaning of this passage has been much disputed but Herodotus does not intend any exact correspondency between the Nile and the Danube He is only speaking of the comparative length of the two streams and conjectures that they are equal in this respect

[20] If the Danube in the time of Herodotus entered the Euxine at Istria it must have changed its course very greatly since he wrote

[21] Herodotus gives all Africa as far as the Lesser Syrtis too easterly a position

[22] By this statement Herodotus prepares his readers for what he is about to relate but the desire to tell of the wonders in which it differed from all other countries led Herodotus to indulge in his love of antithesis so that in some cases he confines to one sex what was done by both (a singular instance being noted down by him as an invariable custom) and in others he has indulged in the marvellous at a sacrifice of truth In many cases where Herodotus tells improbable tales they are on the authority

upon his back after which he takes the tongue out of his mouth to see if it be clean in re pect of the prescribed marks (what they are I will mention elsewhere) he also inspects the hairs of the tail to observe if they grow naturally If the animal is pronounced clean in all these various poin.s the priest marks him by twisting a piece of papyrus round his horns and attach in thereto some sealing-clay which he then stamps with his own signet ring After this the beast is led away and it is for bidden under the penalty of death to sacrifice an animal which has not been marked in this way

39 The following is their manner of sacrifice They lead the victim marked with their signet to the altar where they are about to offer it and setting the wood alight pour a libation of wine upon the altar in front of the victim and at the same time invoke the god Then they slay the animal and cutting off his head proceed to flay the body Next they take the head and heaping imprecations on it if there is a market place and a body of Greek traders in the city they carry it there and sell it instantly if however there are no Greeks among them they throw the head into the river The imprecation is to this effect They pray that if any evil is impending either over those who sacrifice or over universal Egypt it may be made to fall upon that head The e practices the imprecations upon the heads and the libations of wine prevail all over Egypt and extend to victims of all sorts and hence the Egyptians will never eat the head of any animal

40 The di embowelling and burnin, are however different in different sacrifices I will mention the mode in use with re pect to the goddess whom they regard as the greatest and honour with the chiefest festival When they have flayed their steer they pray and when their prayer is ended they take the paunch of the animal out entire leaving the intestines and the fat in side the body they then cut off the legs the end of the loins the shoulders and the neck and havin, so done they fill the body of the steer with clean bread honey raisins figs frank incense myrrh and other aromatics Thus filled they burn the body pouring over it great quantities of oil Before offering the

sacrifice they fast, and while the bodies of the victims are being consumed they beat themselves Afterwards, when they have concluded this part of the ceremony, they have the other parts of the victim served up to them for a repast

41 The male kine, therefore, if clean, and the male calves, are used for sacrifice by the Egyptians universally, but the female they are not allowed to sacrifice, since they are sacred to Isis The statue of this goddess has the form of a woman but with horns like a cow, resembling thus the Greek representations of Io and the Egyptians, one and all, venerate cows much more highly than any other animal This is the reason why no native of Egypt, whether man or woman, will give a Greek a kiss, or use the knife of a Greek, or his spit, or his cauldron, or taste the flesh of an ox, known to be pure, if it has been cut with a Greek knife When kine die, the following is the manner of their sepulture The females are thrown into the river, the males are buried in the suburbs of the towns, with one or both of their horns appearing above the surface of the ground to mark the place When the bodies are decayed, a boat comes, at an appointed time from the island called Prosopitis, which is a portion of the Delta, sixty miles in circumference,—and calls at the several cities in turn to collect the bones of the oxen Prosopitis is a district containing several cities, the name of that from which the boats come is Atarbechis Aphrodite has a temple there of much sanctity Great numbers of men go forth from this city and proceed to the other towns, where they dig up the bones, which they take away with them and bury together in one place The same practice prevails with respect to the interment of all other cattle—the law so determining, they do not slaughter any of them

42 Such Egyptians as possess a temple of the Theban Zeus, or live in the Thebaic nome, offer no sheep in sacrifice, but only goats for the Egyptians do not all worship the same gods, excepting Isis and Osiris, the latter of whom they say is the Grecian Dionysus Those, on the contrary, who possess a temple dedicated to Mendes, or belong to the Mendesian nome abstain from offering goats, and sacrifice sheep instead The Thebans,

strength and slew them all Now to me it seems that such a story proves the Greeks to be utterly ig orant of the character and customs of the people The Egyptians do not think it allow able even to sacrifice cattle excepting sheep and the male kine and calves provided they be pure and also geese How then can it be believed that they would sacrifice men? And again how would it have been possible for Heracles alone and as they con fess a mere mortal to destroy so many thousands? In saying thus much concerning these matters may I incur no displeasure either of god or hero!

46 I mentioned above that some of the Egyptians abstain from sacrificing goats either male or female The reason is the following These Egyptians who are the Mendesians consider Pan to be one of the eight gods who existed before the twelve and Pan is repre ented in Egypt by the painters and the sculptors just as he i in Greece with the face and legs of a goat They do not however believe this to be his shape or consider him in any respect unlike the other gods but they represent him thus for a reason which I prefer not to relate The Mendesians hold all goats in veneration but the male more than the female giving the goatherds of the males e pecial honour One is venerated more highly than all the rest and when he dies there is a great mourning throughout all the Mendesian nome In Egyptian the goat and Pan are both called Mendes In my own lifetime a monstrous thing took place in this nome when a woman had intercourse with a goat in public so that it became a matter of common knowledge

47 The pig is regarded among them as an unclean animal so much so that if a man in passing accidentally touch a pig he instantly hurries to the river and plunges in with all his clothes on Hence too the swineherds notwithstanding that they are of pure Egyptian blood are forbidden to enter into any of the temples which are open to all other Egyptians and further no one will give his dau hter in marriage to a swineherd or take a wife from among them so that the swineherds are forced to intermarry among themselves. They do not offer swine in sacrifice to any of their gods excepting Dionysus and the Moon

whom they honour in this way at the same time, sacrificing pig to both of them at the same full moon, and afterwards eating of the flesh There is a reason alleged by them for their detestation of swine at all other seasons, and their use of them at this festival, with which I am well acquainted, but which I do not think it proper to mention The following is the mode in which they sacrifice the swine to the Moon As soon as the victim is slain, the tip of the tail, the spleen, and the caul are put together, and having been covered with all the fat that has been found in the animal's belly, are straightway burnt The remainder of the flesh is eaten on the same day that the sacrifice is offered, which is the day of the full moon at any other time they would not so much as taste it The poorer sort, who cannot afford live pigs, form pigs of dough, which they bake and offer in sacrifice

48 To Dionysus, on the eve of his feast, every Egyptian sacrifices a hog before the door of his house, which is then given back to the swineherd by whom it was furnished, and by him carried away In other respects the festival is celebrated almost exactly as Dionysiac festivals are in Greece, excepting that the Egyptians have no choral dances They also use instead of phalli another invention, consisting of images eighteen inches high, pulled by strings, which the women carry round to the villages These images have male members of about the same size also operated by strings A piper goes in front, and the women follow, singing hymns in honour of Dionysus They give a religious reason for the peculiarities of the image

49 Melampus, the son of Amytheon, cannot (I think) have been ignorant of this ceremony—nay, he must, I should conceive, have been well acquainted with it He it was who introduced into Greece the name of Dionysus, the ceremonial of his worship, and the procession of the phallus He did not, however, so completely apprehend the whole doctrine as to be able to communicate it entirely, but various sages since his time have carried out his teaching to greater perfection Still it is certain that Melampus introduced the phallus, and that the Greeks learnt from him the ceremonies which they now practise

therefore maintain that Melampus who was a wise man and had acquired the art of divination having become acquainted with the worship of Dionysus through knowledge derived from Egypt introduced it into Greece with a few slight changes at the same time that he brought in various other practices For I can by no means allow that it is by mere coincidence that the ceremonies of Dionysus in Greece are so nearly the same as the Egyptian—they would then have been more Greek in their character and less recent in their origin Much less can I admit that the Egyptians borrowed these customs or any other from the Greeks My belief is that Melampus got his knowled e of them from Cadmus the Tyrian and the followers whom he brought from Phoenicia into the country which is now called Poeotia

50 Almost all the names of the gods came into Greece from Egypt [7] My inquiries prove that they were all derived from a foreign source and my opinion is that Egypt furnished the greater number For with the exception of Poseidon and the Dioscuri whom I mentioned above and Hera Hestia Themis the Graces and the Nereids the other gods have been known from time immemorial in Egypt This I assert on the authority of the Egyptians themselves The gods with whose names they profe s themselves unacquainted the Greeks received I believe from the Pelasgi except Poseidon Of him they got their knowledge from the Libyans by whom he has been always honoured and who were anciently the only people that had a god of the name The Egyptians differ from the Greeks also in paying no divine honours to heroes

51 Besides these which have been here mentioned there are many other practices whereof I shall speak hereafter which the Greeks have borrowed from Egypt. The erection of the phallus however which they observe in their statues of Hermes they did not derive from the Egyptians but from the Pela gi from

[7] Th is no d ubt that the G ks b rrow d s m tim s the r mes, sometim th attrib t f th ir d t f m Fgypt b t when H od ot s says th ames f th G eek gods w re lw ys kn wn i Fgypt it is evid t that h d es not mean they we the sam as th Greek si ce h gi es in th pla th Egyptian name t which those v ry gods gree whom h m tl s in Egypt

them the Athenians first adopted it, and afterwards it passed from the Athenians to the other Greeks For just at the time when the Athenians were entering into the Hellenic body, the Pelasgi came to live with them in their country, whence it was that the latter came first to be regarded as Greeks Whoever has been initiated into the mysteries of the Cabeiri [8] will understand what I mean The Samothracians received these mysteries from the Pelasgi, who, before they went to live in Attica, were dwellers in Samothrace, and imparted their religious ceremonies to the inhabitants The Athenians, then, who were the first of all the Greeks to make their statues of Hermes with phallus erect, learnt the practice from the Pelasgians, and by this people a religious account of the matter is given, which is explained in the Samothracian mysteries

52 In early times the Pelasgi, as I know by information which I got at Dodona, offered sacrifices of all kinds, and prayed to the gods, but had no distinct names or appellations for them, since they had never heard of any They called them gods, because they had disposed and arranged all things in such a beautiful order After a long lapse of time the names of the gods came to Greece from Egypt, and the Pelasgi learnt them, only as yet they knew nothing of Dionysus, of whom they first heard at a much later date Not long after the arrival of the names they sent to consult the oracle at Dodona about them This is the most ancient oracle in Greece, and at that time there was no other To their question, 'Whether they should adopt the names that had been imported from the foreigners?" the oracle replied by recommending their use Thenceforth in their sacrifices the Pelasgi made use of the names of the gods, and from them the names passed afterwards to the Greeks

53 Whence the gods severally sprang, whether or no they had all existed from eternity, what forms they bore—these are questions of which the Greeks knew nothing until the other day,

[8] Nothing is known for certain respecting the Cabeiri Most authorities agree that they varied in number and that their worship which was very ancient in Samothrace and in Phrygia was carried to Greece from the former by the Pelasgi

so to speak For Homer and Hesiod were the first to compose genealogies and give the gods their epithets to allot them their several offices and occupations and describe their forms and they lived but 400 years before my time [9] a I believe As for the poets who are thought by some to be earlier than these they are in my judgment decidedly later writers In these matters I have the authority of the priestesses of Dodona for the former portion of my statements what I have said of Homer and Hesiod is my own opinion

54 The following tale is commonly told in Egypt concerning the oracle of Dodona in Greece and that of Ammon in Libya My informants on the point were the priests of Zeus at Thebes They said that two of the sacred women were once carried off from Thebes by the Phoenicians and that the story went that one of them was sold into Libya and the other into Greece and these women were the first founders of the oracles in the two countries On my inquiring how they came to know so exactly what became of the women they answered that diligent search had been made after them at the time but that it had not been found possible to discover where they were afterwards however they received the information which they had given me

55 This was what I heard from the priests at Thebes at Dodona however the women who deliver the oracles relate the matter as follows Two black doves flew away from Egyptian Thebes and while one directed its flight to Libya the other came to them She alighted on an oak and sitting there began to speak with a human voice and told them that on the spot where she was there should thenceforth be an oracle of Zeus They understood the announcement to be from heaven so they set to work at once and erected the shrine The dove which flew to Libya bade the Libyans to establish there the oracle of Ammon This likewise is an oracle of Zeus The persons from

[9] It is plain fr m th expressi ns wh ch H rod t b se th t in his t m the ge eral belief ssigned t H m n earli r dat th that wh h b c nsid red th tru His dat w ld pl th poet b t 850 B C which is very ea ly th mea bet ee th l est l th lat t epoch th t re assigned t h m Th tim f Hesi d is p obably t be pla ed at least 100 years ft Hom r

whom I received these particulars were three priestesses of the Dodonaeans, the eldest Promeneia, the next Timarete, and the youngest Nicandra—what they said was confirmed by the other Dodonaeans who dwell around the temple

56 My own opinion of these matters is as follows I think that, if it be true that the Phoenicians carried off the holy women, and sold them for slaves, the one into Libya and the other into Greece, or Pelasgia (as it was then called), this last must have been sold to the Thesprotians Afterwards, while undergoing servitude in those parts, she built under a real oak a temple to Zeus, her thoughts in her new abode reverting—as it was likely they would do, if she had been an attendant in a temple of Zeus at Thebes—to that particular god Then, having acquired a knowledge of the Greek tongue, she set up an oracle She also mentioned that her sister had been sold for a slave into Libya by the same persons as herself

57 The Dodonaeans called the women doves because they were foreigners, and seemed to them to make a noise like birds After a while the dove spoke with a human voice, because the woman, whose foreign talk had previously sounded to them like the chattering of a bird, acquired the power of speaking what they could understand For how can it be conceived possible that a dove should really speak with the voice of a man? Lastly, by calling the dove black the Dodonaeans indicated that the woman was an Egyptian And certainly the character of the oracles at Thebes and Dodona is very similar Besides this form of divination, the Greeks learnt also divination by means of victims from the Egyptians

58 The Egyptians were also the first to introduce solemn assemblies, processions, and litanies to the gods, of all which the Greeks were taught the use by them It seems to me a sufficient proof of this that in Egypt these practices have been established from remote antiquity, while in Greece they are only recently known

59 The Egyptians do not hold a single solemn assembly but several in the course of the year Of these the chief, which is better attended than any other, is held at the city of Bubastis

in hon our of Artemis The next in importance is that which takes place at Busiris a city situated in the very middle of the Delta it is in honour of Isis who is called in the Greek tongue Demeter There is a third great festival in Sais to Athena a fourth in Heliopolis to the Sun a fifth in Buto to Leto and a sixth in Papremis to Ares

60 The following are the proceedings on occasion of the as sembly at Bubastis Men and women come sailing all together, vast numbers in each boat many of the women with castanets which they strike while some of the men pipe during the whole time of the voyage the remainder of the voyagers male and female sing the while and make a clapping with their hands When they arrive opposite any of the towns upon the banks of the stream they approach the shore and while some of the women continue to play and sing others call aloud to the females of the place and load them with abu e while a certain number dance and some standing up expose themselves After proceeding in this way all along the river-cour e they reach Bubastis where they celebrate the feast with abundant sacri fices More grapewine is consumed at this festival than in all the rest of the year b sides The number of tho e who attend counting only the men and women and omitting the children amounts according to the native reports to 700 000

61 The ceremonies at the fea t of Isis in the city of Bu iris[30] have been already spoken of It is there that the whole multi tude both of men and women many thousands in number beat themselves at the clo e of the sacrifice in honour of a god whose name a religious scruple forbids me to mention[3] The Carian dwellers in Egypt proceed on this occasion to still greater lengths even cutting their faces with their knives whereby they let it be een that they are not Egyptians but foreigners

[30] Th we e several pla es call d B siris i Egypt It si n fi s th b rial pa e of Os ris nd many pla e laim th I f b i g the body of Osiri the b f f wh h w r M mphi Bus Philae T po is, and Abyda

[31] Thus wa Osiris, I men r oft n ep esent d d i g thi I the painti gs of the t mbs

62 At Sais, when the assembly takes place for the sacrifices, there is one night on which the inhabitants all burn a multitude of lights in the open air round their houses They use lamps, which are flat saucers filled with a mixture of oil and salt, on the top of which the wick floats These burn the whole night, and give to the festival the name of the Feast of Lamps The Egyptians who are absent from the festival observe the night of the sacrifice, no less than the rest, by a general lighting of lamps, so that the illumination is not confined to the city of Sais but extends over the whole of Egypt And there is a religious reason assigned for the special honour paid to this night, as well as for the illumination which accompanies it

63 At Heliopolis and Buto the assemblies are merely for the purpose of sacrifice, but at Papremis, besides the sacrifices and other rites which are performed there as elsewhere, the following custom is observed When the sun is getting low, a few only of the priests continue occupied about the image of the god, while the greater number, armed with wooden clubs, take their station at the portal of the temple Opposite to them is drawn up a body of men, in number above a thousand, armed, like the others, with clubs, consisting of persons engaged in the performance of their vows The image of the god, which is kept in a small wooden shrine covered with plates of gold, is conveyed from the temple into a second sacred building the day before the festival begins The few priests still in attendance upon the image place it, together with the shrine containing it, on a four-wheeled car, and begin to drag it along the others, stationed at the gateway of the temple, oppose its admission Then the votaries come forward to espouse the quarrel of the god, and set upon the opponents, who are sure to offer resistance A sharp fight with clubs ensues, in which heads are commonly broken on both sides Many, I am convinced, die of the wounds that they receive, though the Egyptians insist that no one is ever killed

64 The natives give the subjoined account of this festival They say that the mother of the god Ares once dwelt in the temple Brought up at a distance from his parent, when he grew

to man s estate he conceived a wish for intercourse with her Accordingly he came but the attendants who had never een him before refused him entrance *and succeeded in keeping him* out So he went to another city and collected a body of men with whose aid he handled the attendants very rou hly and forced his way in to his mother Hence they say arose the custom of a figh with sticks in honour of Ares at this festival

The Egyptians first made it a point of religion to have no intercourse with women in the sacred places and not to enter them without washing after such intercourse Almost all other nations except the Greeks and the Egyptians act differently regarding man as in this matter under no other law than the brutes Many animals they say and various kinds of birds may be seen to couple in the temples and the sacred precincts which would certainly not happen if the gods were displeased at it Such are the arguments by which they defend their practice but I nevertheless can by no means approve of it In the e points the Egyptians are specially careful as they are indeed in very thing which concerns their sacred edifices

65 Egypt though it borders upon Libya is not a region abounding in wild animals [2] The animals that do exist in the country whether domesticated or otherwise are all regarded as acred If I were to explain why they are consecrated to the ev ral gods I hould be led to speak of religious matters which I particularly shrink from mentioning the points whereon I have touched li htly hitherto have all been introduced from sheer necessity Their custom with respect to animals is as follows For every kind there are appointed certain guardians some male some female whose business it is to look after them and this honour is made to descend from father to son The inhabitants of the various cities when they have made a vow to any god pay it to his animals in the way which I will now explain

This was th bt t be t ll ry bec se Afri bo d l l wild a im l b t it w the w t d s th d n t th m f es of Egypt th t they w m rous Th gh H od t b tal f m say i g why the Egyptians h ld s m a im l cr l h expl i t l s m d g ee by bserv g that Egypt di l t b l l im l

At the time of making the vow they shave the head of the child, cutting off all the hair, or else half, or sometimes a third part, which they then weigh in a balance against a sum of silver, and whatever sum the hair weighs is presented to the guardian of the animals, who thereupon cuts up some fish, and gives it to them for food—such being the stuff whereon they are fed When a man has killed one of the sacred animals, if he did it with malice prepense, he is punished with death, if unwittingly, he has to pay such a fine as the priests choose to impose When an ibis, however, or a hawk is killed, whether it was done by accident or on purpose, the man must die

66 The number of domestic animals in Egypt is very great, and would be still greater were it not for what befalls the cats As the females, when they have kittened, no longer seek the company of the males, these last, to obtain once more their companionship, practise a curious artifice They seize the kittens, carry them off, and kill them, but do not eat them afterwards Upon this the females, being deprived of their young, and longing to supply their place, seek the males once more since they are particularly fond of their offspring On every occasion of a fire in Egypt the strangest prodigy occurs with the cats The inhabitants allow the fire to rage as it pleases while they stand about at intervals and watch these animals, which, slipping by the men or else leaping over them, rush headlong into the flames When this happens, the Egyptians are in deep affliction If a cat dies in a private house by a natural death, all the inma s of the house shave their eyebrows on the death of a dog they shave the head and the whole of the body

67 The cats on their decease are taken to the city of Bubastis, where they are embalmed, after which they are buried in certain sacred repositories The dogs are interred in the cities to which they belong, also in sacred burial places The same practice obtains with respect to the ichneumons, the hawks and shrew mice, on the contrary, are conveyed to the city of Buto for burial, and the ibises to Hermopolis The bears, which are scarce in Egypt, and the wolves, which are not much bigger than foxes, they bury wherever they happen to find them lying

68 The following are the peculiarities of the crocodile During the four winter months they eat nothing they are four footed and live indifferently on land or in the water The female lays and hatches her eggs ashore passing the greater portion of the day on dry land but at night retiring to the river the water of which is warmer than the night air and the dew Of all known animals this is the one which from the smallest size grows to be the greatest *for the egg of the crocodile is but little bigger than* that of the goose and the young crocodile is in proportion to the egg yet when it is full grown the animal measures frequently twenty five feet and even more It has the eyes of a pig teeth large and tusk like of a size proportioned to its frame unlike any other animal it is without a tongue it cannot move its under jaw and in this respect too it is singular being the only animal in the world which moves the upper jaw but not the under It has strong claws and a scaly skin impenetrable upon the back In the water it is blind but on land it is very keen of sight As it lives chiefly in the river it has the inside of its mouth constantly covered with leeches hence it happens that while all the other birds and beasts avoid it with the trochilus it lives at peace since it owes much to that bird for the crocodile when he leaves the water and comes out upon the land is in the habit of lying with his mouth wide open facing the western breeze at such times the trochilus goes into his mouth and devours the leeches This benefits the crocodile who is pleased and takes care not to hurt the trochilus

69 The crocodile is esteemed sacred by some of the Egyptians by others he is treated as an enemy Those who live near Thebes and those who dwell around lake Moeris regard them with especial veneration In each of these places they keep one crocodile in particular who is taught to be tame and tractable They adorn his ears with ear rings of molten stone[33] or gold and put bracelets on his forepaws giving him daily a set portion of bread with a certain number of victims and after having thus treated him with the greatest possible attention while alive

[33] By molt n st seem to b meant gl ss which was w ll kn w t th Egyptians.

they embalm him when he dies and bury him in a sacred repository The people of Elephantine, on the other hand, are so far from considering these animals as sacred that they even eat their flesh In the Egyptian language they are not called crocodiles, but champsae The name of crocodiles was given them by the Ionians, who remarked their resemblance to the lizards, which in Ionia live in the walls, and are called crocodiles

70 The modes of catching the crocodile are many and various I shall only describe the one which seems to me most worthy of mention They bait a hook with a chine of pork and let the meat be carried out into the middle of the stream, while the hunter upon the bank holds a living pig, which he belabours The crocodile hears its cries and, making for the sound, encounters the pork, which he instantly swallows down The men on the shore haul, and when they have got him to land the first thing the hunter does is to plaster his eyes with mud This once accomplished, the animal is despatched with ease, otherwise he gives great trouble

71 The hippopotamus,[34] in the nome of Papremis, is a sacred animal, but not in any other part of Egypt It may be thus described It is a quadruped, cloven footed, with hoofs like an ox, and a flat nose It has the mane and tail of a horse, huge tusks which are very conspicuous and a voice like a horse's neigh In size it equals the biggest oxen, and its skin is so tough that when dried it is made into javelins

72 Otters also are found in the Nile and are considered sacred Only two sorts of fish are venerated that called the lepidotus and the eel These are regarded as sacred to the Nile, as likewise among birds is the fox goose

73 They have also another sacred bird called the phoenix, which I myself have never seen except in pictures Indeed it is a great rarity even in Egypt, only coming there (according to the accounts of the people of Heliopolis) once in five hundred years, when the old phoenix dies Its size and appearance, if it is

[34] This animal was formerly common in Egypt but is now rarely seen as low as the second cataract The description of the hippopotamus by Herodotus is far from correct

like the pictures are as follows The plumage is partly red partly golden while the general make and size are almost exactly that of the eagle They tell a story of what this bird does which does not seem to me to be credible that he comes all the way from Arabia and brings the parent bird all plastered over with myrrh to the temple of the Sun and there buries the body In order to bring him they say he first forms a ball of myrrh as big as he finds that he can carry then he hollows out the ball and puts his parent inside after which he covers over the opening with fresh myrrh and the ball is then of exactly the same weight as at first so he brings it to Egypt plastered over as I have said and deposits it in the temple of the Sun Such is the story they tell of the doings of this bird

74 In the neighbourhood of Thebes there are some sacred serpents which are perfectly harmless They are of small size and have two horns[35] growing out of the top of the head These snakes when they die are buried in the temple of Zeus the god to whom they are sacred

75 I went once to a certain place in Arabia almost exactly opposite the city of Buto to make inquiries concerning the winged serpents [36] On my arrival I saw the back bones and ribs of erpents in such numbers as it is impo sible to describe of the ribs there were a multitude of heaps some great some small some middle-sized The place where the bones lie is at the entrance of a narrow gorge between steep mountains which there open upon a pacious plain communicating with the great plain of Egypt The story goes that with the sprin the winged snakes come flying from Arabia towards Egypt but are met in thi gorge by the birds called ibises who forbid their entrance and destroy them all The Arabians assert and the Egyptians also admit that it is on account of the service thus rendered that the Egyptians hold the ibis in so much reverence

[35] Th b t f th ra tes o h rn d nak is d lly b t f th m y serpe ts i Egypt th only po so th t th p d the c mm n pe

[36] Th w ged rpe ts f H od t s h puz l d ma y pe so but He od t s ly sa th bon the r t f th t ry h was t ld

76 The ibis is a bird of deep black colour, with legs like a crane, its beak is strongly hooked, and its size is about that of the landrail. This is a description of the black ibis which contends *with the serpents. The commoner sort, for there are two* quite distinct species, has the head and the whole throat bare of feathers, its general plumage is white, but the head and neck are jet black, as also are the tips of the wings and the extremity of *the tail, in its beak and legs it resembles the other species.* The winged serpent is shaped like the water snake. Its wings are not feathered, but resemble very closely those of the bat. And thus I conclude the subject of the sacred animals.

77 *With respect to the Egyptians themselves, it is to be re*marked that those who live in the corn country,[3] devoting themselves, as they do, far more than any other people in the world, to the preservation of the memory of past actions, are the best skilled in history of any men that I have ever met. The following is the mode of life habitual to them. For three successive days in each month they purge the body by means of emetics and clysters, which is done out of a regard for their health, since they have a persuasion that every disease to which men are liable is occasioned by the substances whereon they feed. Apart from any such precautions, they are, I believe, next to the Libyans, the healthiest people in the world—an effect of their climate, in my opinion, which has no sudden changes. Diseases almost always attack men when they are exposed to a change, and never more than during changes of the weather. They live on bread made of spelt, which they form into loaves called in their own tongue cyllestis. Their drink is a wine which they obtain from barley, as they have no vines in their country. Many kinds of fish they eat raw, either salted or dried in the sun. Quails also, and ducks and small birds they eat uncooked,

[3] This is in contradistinction to the marsh lands, and signifies Upper Egypt as it includes the city of Chemmis, but when he says they have no vines in the country and only drink beer, his statement is opposed to fact, and to the ordinary habits of the Egyptians. In the neighbourhood of Memphis, at Thebes, and the places between those two cities, as well as at Eileithyias, all corn growing districts, they ate wheaten bread and cultivated the vine.

merely first salting them All other birds and fishes excepting those which are set apart as sacred are eaten either roasted or boiled

78 In social meetings among the rich when the banquet is ended a ervant carries round to the several guests a coffin in which there is a wooden image of a corpse carved and painted *to resemble nature as nearly as possible* about a cubit or two cubits in length As he shows it to each guest in turn the servant says Gaze here and drink and be merry for when you die such will you be

79 The Egyptians adhere to their own national customs and adopt no foreign usages Many of these customs are worthy of note among others their song the Linus which is sung under various names not only in Egypt but in Phoenicia in Cyprus and in other places and which seems to be exactly the same as that in use among the Greeks and by them called Linus There were very many things in Egypt which filled me with astonishment and this was one of them Whence could the Egyptians have got the Linus? It appears to have been sung by them from the very earliest times For the Linus in Egyptian is called Maneros and they told me that Maneros was the only son of their first king and that on his untimely death he was honoured by the Egyptians with these dirgelike strains and in this way they got their first and only melody

80 There is another custom in which the Egyptians resemble a particular Greek people namely the Lacedaemonians Their young men when they meet their elders in the treets give way to them and step aside and if an elder come in where young men are present these latter rise from their seats In a third point they differ entirely from all the nations of Greece Instead of speaking to each other when they meet in the streets they make an obeisance sinking the hand to the knee

81 They wear a linen tunic fringed about the legs and called calasiris over this they have a white woollen garment thrown on afterwards Nothing of woollen however is taken into their temples or buried with them as their religion forbids it Here their practice resembles the rites called Orphic and Ba chic but

which are in reality Egyptian and Pythagorean, for no one initiated in these mysteries can be buried in a woollen shroud, a religious reason being assigned for the observance

82 The Egyptians likewise discovered to which of the gods each month and day is sacred, and found out from the day of a man's birth, what he will meet with in the course of his life,[38] and how he will end his days, and what sort of man he will be—discoveries whereof the Greeks engaged in poetry have made a use The Egyptians have also discovered more prognostics than all the rest of mankind besides Whenever a prodigy takes place, they watch and record the result, then, if anything similar ever happens again, they expect the same consequences

83 With respect to divination, they hold that it is a gift which no mortal possesses, but only certain of the gods, thus they have an oracle of Heracles, one of Apollo, of Athena, of Artemis, of Ares, and of Zeus Besides these, there is the oracle of Leto at Buto, which is held in much higher repute than any of the rest The mode of delivering the oracles is not uniform, but varies at the different shrines

84 Medicine is practised among them on a plan of separation, each physician treats a single disorder, and no more [39] thus the country swarms with medical practitioners, some undertaking to cure diseases of the eye, others of the head, others again of the teeth, others of the intestines, and some those which are not local

85 The following is the way in which they conduct their mournings and their funerals On the death in any house of a man of consequence, forthwith the women of the family beplaster their heads, and sometimes even their faces, with mud, and then, leaving the body indoors, sally forth and wander through the city, with their dress fastened by a band, and their

[38] Horoscopes were of very early use in Egypt as well as the interpretation of dreams and Cicero speaks of the Egyptians and Chaldees predicting future events as well as a man s destiny at his birth by their observations of the stars.

[39] The medical profession being so divided indicates a great advancement of civilisation as well as of medicinal knowledge

bosoms bare beating themselves as they walk All the female relations join them and do the same The men too similarly begirt beat their breasts separately When these ceremonies are over the body is carried away to be embalmed

86 There are a set of men in Egypt who practise the art of embalming and make it their proper business These persons *when a body is brought to them show the bearers various* models of corpses made in wood and painted so as to resemble nature The most perfect is said to be after the manner of him whom I do not think it religious to name in connexion with such a matter the second sort is inferior to the first and less costly the third is the cheapest of all All this the embalmers explain and then ask in which way it is wished that the corpse should be prepared The bearers tell them and having concluded their bargain take their departure while the embalmers *left to themselves proceed to their task The mode of embalming*[40] according to the most perfect process is the following They take first a crooked piece of iron and with it draw out the brain through the nostrils thus getting rid of a portion while the skull is cleared of the rest by rinsing with drugs next they make a cut along the flank with a sharp Ethiopian stone and take out the whole contents of the abdomen which they then cleanse washing it thoroughly with palm wine and again frequently with an infusion of pounded aromatics After this they *fill the cavity with the purest bruised myrrh* with cassia and every other sort of spicery except frankincense and sew up the opening Then the body is placed in natrum for seventy days[41] and covered entirely over After the expiration of that space of time which must not be exceeded the body is washed and wrapped round from head to foot with bandages of fine linen cloth smeared over with gum which is used generally by the Egyptians in the place of glue and in this state it is given back to the relations who enclose it in a wooden case which they have had made for the purpose shaped into the figure of a man

[40] H od tus c u t of mb lml g is n the wh l v ry a cur t

[41] This in l d d th wh l period of m rning Th embalming in natrum (saltpetre o soda) only occupied f rty days.

Then fastening the case, they place it in a sepulchral chamber, upright against the wall Such is the most costly way of embalming the dead

87 If persons wish to avoid expense, and choose the second process, the following is the method pursued Syringes are filled with oil made from the cedar tree, which is then, without any incision or disembowelling, injected into the bowel The passage is stopped, and the body laid in natrum the prescribed number of days At the end of the time the cedar oil is allowed to make its escape, and such is its power that it brings with it the whole stomach and intestines in a liquid state The natrum meanwhile has dissolved the flesh, and so nothing is left of the dead body but the skin and the bones It is returned in this condition to the relatives, without any further trouble being bestowed upon it

88 The third method of embalming, which is practised in the case of the poorer classes, is to clear out the intestines with a purge, and let the body lie in natrum the seventy days, after which it is at once given to those who come to fetch it away

89 The wives of men of rank are not given to be embalmed immediately after death, nor indeed are any of the more beautiful and valued women It is not till they have been dead three or four days that they are carried to the embalmers This is done to prevent the embalmers having intercourse with them It is said that once a man was detected in the act with a woman newly dead and denounced by his fellow workman

90 Whensoever any one, Egyptian or foreigner has lost his life by falling a prey to a crocodile, or by drowning in the river, the law compels the inhabitants of the city near which the body is cast up to have it embalmed, and to bury it in one of the sacred repositories with all possible magnificence No one may touch the corpse, not even any of the friends or relatives, but only the priests of the Nile, who prepare it for burial with their own hands—regarding it as something more than the mere body of a man—and themselves lay it in the tomb

91 The Egyptians are averse to adopt Greek customs, or, in a word, those of any other nation This feeling is almost uni

versal among them At Chemmis[4] however which is a large city in the Thebaic nome near Neapolis there is a square en closure sacred to Perseus son of Danae Palm trees grow all round the place which has a gateway of stone of an unusual size surmounted by two colossal statues also in stone Inside this precinct is a temple and in the temple an image of Perseus The people of Chemmis say that Perseus often appears to them sometimes within the sacred enclosure ometimes in the open country one of the sandals which he has worn is frequently found—three feet in length as they affirm—and then all Egypt flourishes greatly In the worship of Perseus Greek ceremonies are used gymnastic games are celebrated in his honour com prising every kind of contest with prizes of cattle cloaks and skins I made inquiries of the Chemmites why it was that Per eus appeared to them and not el ewhere in Egypt and how they came to celebrate gymnastic contests unlike the rest of the Egyptians to which they answered that Perseus belonged to their city by descent Danaus and Lynceus were Chemmite be fore they set sail for Greece and from them Perseus was de scended they said tracing the genealogy and he when he came to Egypt for the purpose (which the Greeks also assign) of bringing away from Libya the Gorgon s head paid them a visit and acknowledged them for his kinsmen—he had heard the name of their city from his mother before he left Greece—he bade them institute a gymnastic contest in his honour and that was the reason why they observed the practice

92 The customs hitherto described are tho e of the Egyptians who live above the marsh-country The inhabitants of the marshes have the same customs as the rest as well in those mat ters which have been mentioned above as in re pect of marriage each Egyptian taking to himself like the Greek single wife but for greater cheapness of living the marsh men pra tise cer tain peculiar customs such as these following They gather the blossoms of a certain water lily which grows n great abundance *all over the flat coun ry at the time when the Nile rises and*

[4] Chem the god f Chemmi bei supposed to nsw to P this city was called Pan polis by th Greeks d R ma

floods the regions along its banks—the Egyptians call it the lotus[43]—they gather, I say, the blossoms of this plant and dry them in the sun, after which they extract from the centre of each blossom a substance like the head of a poppy, which they crush and make into bread The root of the lotus is likewise eatable, and has a pleasant sweet taste it is round, and about the size of an apple There is also another species of the lily in Egypt, which grows, like the lotus, in the river, and resembles the rose The fruit springs up side by side with the blossom, on a separate stalk, and has almost exactly the look of the comb made by wasps It contains a number of seeds, about the size of an olive stone, which are good to eat and these are eaten both green and dried The papyrus, which grows year after year in the marshes, they pull up, and, cutting the plant in two, reserve the upper portion for other purposes, but take the lower, which is about eighteen inches long, and either eat it or else sell it Such as wish to enjoy the papyrus in full perfection bake it first in a closed vessel, heated to a glow Some of these folk, however, live entirely on fish, which are gutted as soon as caught, and then hung up in the sun when dry, they are used as food

93 Gregarious fish are not found in any numbers in the rivers they frequent the lagoons whence, at the season of breeding, they proceed in shoals towards the sea The males lead the way, and drop their milt as they go, while the females, following close behind, eagerly swallow it down From this they conceive,[44] and when, after passing some time in the sea, they begin to be in spawn the whole shoal sets off on its return to its ancient haunts Now, however, it is no longer the males, but the females, who take the lead they swim in front in a body, and do exactly as the male did before, dropping, little by little, their grains of spawn as they go, while the males in the rear devour

[43] This Nymphaea Lotus grows in ponds and small channels in the Delta during the inundation which are dry during the rest of the year but it is not found in the Nile itself It is nearly the same as our white water lily

[44] Aristotle (de Gen Anim iii. 5) shows the absurdity of this statement, quoting Herodotus by name and giving his exact words

the grains each one of which is a fish [5] A portion of the spawn escapes and is not swallowed by the males and hence come the fishes which grow afterwards to maturity When any of this sort of fish are taken on their passage to the sea they are found to have the left side of the head scarred and bruised while if taken on their return the marks appear on the right The reason is that as they swim down the Nile seaward they keep close to the bank of the river upon their left and returning again up stream they still cling to the same side hugging it and brushing in against it constantly to be sure that they miss not their road through the great force of the current When the Nile begins to ri e the hollows in the land and the marshy spots near the river are flooded before any other places by the percolation of the water through the river banks and these almost as soon as they become pools are found to be full of numbers of little fishes I think that I understand how it is this comes to pass On the subsidence of the Nile the year before though the fish retired with the retreating waters they had first deposited their spawn in the mud upon the banks and so when at the usual season the water returns small fry are r pidly engendered out of the spawn of the preceding year So much concerning the fish

94 The Egyptians who live in the marshes use for the anoint ing of their bodies an oil made from the castor berry which is known among them by the name of kiki To obtain this they plant the castor (which grows wild in Greece) along the banks of the rivers and by the sides of the lakes where it produces fruit in great abundance but with a very disagreeable smell This fruit is gathered and then bruised and pressed or else boiled down after roasting the liquid which comes from it is collected and is found to be unctuous and as well suited as olive-oil for lamps only that it gives out an unpleasant odour

95 The contrivances which they u e against gnats where with the country swarms are the following In the parts of

[5] The mal fish deposits the m lt ft r the f mal has d po ted th spaw d thus re d rs it pr lific Th w ll wi g of th p w is simply the act f a y hungry fish mal or femal wh happens t fi d it Th bruised heads a fable

Egypt above the marshes the inhabitants pass the night upon lofty towers, which are of great service, as the gnats are unable to fly to any height on account of the winds In the marsh country, where there are no towers each man possesses a net instead By day it serves him to catch fish, while at night he spreads it over the bed in which he is to rest and creeping in, goes to sleep underneath The gnats which, if he rolls himself up in his dress or in a piece of muslin, are sure to bite through the covering, do not so much as attempt to pass the net

96 The vessels used in Egypt for the transport of merchandise are made of the acacia, a tree which in its growth is very like the Cyrenaic lotus and from which there exudes a gum They cut a quantity of planks about three feet in length from this tree, and then proceed to their ship building arranging the planks like bricks, and attaching them by ties to a number of long stakes or poles till the hull is complete, when they lay the cross planks on the top from side to side They give the boats no ribs but caulk the seams with papyrus on the inside Each has a single rudder, which is driven straight through the keel The mast is a piece of acacia wood and the sails are made of papyrus These boats cannot make way against the current unless there is a brisk breeze they are therefore towed up-stream from the shore down stream they are managed as follows There is a raft belonging to each, made of the wood of the tamarisk, fastened together with a wattling of reeds and also a stone bored through the middle about 100 pounds in weight. The raft is fastened to the vessel by a rope, and allowed to float down the stream in front while the stone is attached by another rope astern The result is that the raft hurried forward by the current goes rapidly down the river and drags the baris (for so they call this sort of boat) after it while the stone, which is pulled along in the wake of the vessel, and lies deep in the water, keeps the boat straight There are a vast number of these vessels in Egypt and some of them are of many tons' burden.

97 When the Nile overflows the country is converted into a sea and nothing appears but the cities, which look like the islands in the Aegean At this season boats no longer keep the

course of the river but sail right across the plain On the voyage fr m Naucratis to Memphis at this season you pass close to the pyramids whereas the u ual course is by the apex of the Delta and the city of Cercasorus You can sail aLo from the maritime town of Canobus across the flat to Naucratis passing by the cities of Anthylla and Archandropolis

98 The former of these cities which is a place of note is assigned expressly to the wife of the ruler of Egypt for the time being to keep her in shoes Such has been the custom ever since Egypt fell under the Persian yoke The other city seems to me to have got its name of Archandropolis from Archander the Phthian son of Achaeus and son in law of Danaus There might certainly have been another Archander but any rate the name is not Egyptian

99 Thus far I have spoken of Egypt from my own observation relating what I myself saw the ideas that I formed and the results of my own researches What follows re ts on the accounts given me by the Egyptians which I shall now repeat adding thereto some particulars which fell under my own notice

The priests said that Min was the first king of Egypt [46] and that it was he who raised the dyke which protects Memphis from the inundations of the Nile Before his time the river flowed entirely along the sandy range of hills which skirts Egypt on the ide of Libya He however by banking up the river at the bend which it forms about eleven miles south of Memphis laid the ancient channel dry while he dug a new cour e for the stream half way between the two lines of hills To this day the elbow which the Nile forms at the point where it is forced asid into the new channel is guarded with the greatest care by the Persians and strengthened every year for if the river were to burst out at this place and pour over the mound there would be danger of Memphis being completely overwhelmed by the flood Min the first king having thus by turning the river made the tract where it used to run dry land proceeded in the first place to build the city now called Memphis [47] which lies in

[46] Th g ds w e said t have r ig d bef e M nes.

[47] The ea ly f u dat f Memphis is pro ed by th names of the kings f the ldest dyn stie being fo d th re.

the narrow part of Egypt, after which he further excavated a lake outside the town, to the north and west, communicating with the river, which was itself the eastern boundary Besides these works he also, the priests said, built the temple of Hephaestus which stands within the city, a vast edifice, very worthy of mention

100 Next, they read me from a papyrus, the names of 330 monarchs, who (they said) were his successors upon the throne In this number of generations there were eighteen Ethiopian kings, and one queen who was a native all the rest were kings and Egyptians The queen bore the same name as the Babylonian princess, namely, Nitocris [48] They said that she succeeded her brother, he had been king of Egypt, and was put to death by his subjects, who then placed her upon the throne Bent on avenging his death, she devised a cunning scheme by which she destroyed a vast number of Egyptians She constructed a spacious underground chamber and, on pretence of inaugurating it, contrived the following Inviting to a banquet those of the Egyptians whom she knew to have had the chief share in the murder of her brother, she suddenly, as they were feasting, let the river in upon them, by means of a secret duct of large size This and this only, did they tell me of her, except that, when she had done as I have said she threw herself into an apartment full of ashes that she might escape the vengeance whereto she would otherwise have been exposed

101 The other kings, they said were personages of no note or distinction,[49] and left no monuments of any account with the exception of the last, who was named Moeris [50] He left several

Nitocris was an early Egyptian queen if the word Neitakri occurring in the Turin Papyrus and as the last sovereign of Manetho s 6th dynasty is feminine in gender

[49] Their obscurity was owing to Egypt being part of the time under the domination of the Shepherds who finding Egypt divided into several kingdoms invaded the country and succeeded at length in dispossessing the Memphite kings of their territories

Herodotus passes over the Old Kingdom whose prominent rulers misplaced in chapter 1 4 Moeris (Amenemhet) belongs to the T Dynasty

memorials of his reign—the northern gateway of the temple of Hephaestus the lake excavated by his orders whose dimensions I shall give presently and the pyramids built by him in the lake the size of which will be stated when I describe the lake itself wherein they stand Such were his works the other kings left absolutely nothing

102 Passing over these monarchs therefore I shall speak of the king who reigned next whose name was Sesostris [51] He the priests said first of all proceeded in a fleet of ships of war from the Arabian gulf along the shores of the Red sea subduing the nations as he went until he finally reached a sea which could not be navi ated by reason of the shoals Hence he returned to Egypt where they told me he collected a vast armament and made a progress by land across the continent conquering every people which fell in his way In the countries where the natives withstood his attack and fought gallantly for their liberties he erected pillars on which he inscribed his own name and country and how that he had here reduced the inhabitants to subjection by the might of his arms where on the contrary they submitted readily and without a struggle he inscribed on the pillars in addition to these particulars female genitalia to mark that they were a nation of women that is unwarlike and effeminate

103 In this way he traversed the whole continent of A ia whence he passed on into Europe and made himself master of Scythia and of Thrace beyond which countries I do not think that his army extended its march For thus far the pillars which he erected are still visible but in the remoter regions they are no longer found Returning to Egypt from Thrace he came on his way to the banks of the river Phasis Here I cannot say with any certainty what took place Either he of his own accord detached a body of troops from his main army and left them to colonise the country or else a certain number of his soldiers

[51] It is p ob ble th t th exploits f Senusret I Se us et III a d R meses II a e amal m ted d th nam f Seso tris

[52] These m m rials whi h bel g t Rameses II r f d in Syria on the rocks abo the m th f th Lycus.

wearied with their long wanderings, deserted, and established themselves on the banks of this stream

104 There can be no doubt that the Colchians are an Egyptian race Before I heard any mention of the fact from others, I had remarked it myself After the thought had struck me, I made inquiries on the subject both in Colchis and in Egypt, and I found that the Colchians had a more distinct recollection of the Egyptians, than the Egyptians had of them Still the Egyptians said that they believed the Colchians to be descended from the army of Sesostris My own conjectures were founded, first, on the fact that they are black skinned and have woolly hair, which certainly amounts to but little, since several other nations are so too, but further and more especially, on the circumstance that the Colchians, the Egyptians, and the Ethiopians, are the only nations who have practised circumcision from the earliest times The Phoenicians and the Syrians of Palestine[3] themselves confess that they learnt the custom of the Egyptians, and the Syrians who dwell about the rivers Thermodon and Parthenius, as well as their neighbours the Macronians, say that they have recently adopted it from the Colchians Now these are the only nations who use circumcision, and it is plain that they all imitate herein the Egyptians With respect to the Ethiopians, indeed, I cannot decide whether they learnt the practice of the Egyptians, or the Egyptians of them—it is undoubtedly of very ancient date in Ethiopia—but that the others derived their knowledge of it from Egypt is clear to me, from the fact that the Phoenicians, when they come to have commerce with the Greeks, cease to follow the Egyptians in this custom, and allow their children to remain uncircumcised

105 I will add a further proof of the identity of the Egyptians and the Colchians These two nations weave their linen in exactly the same way, and this is a way entirely unknown to the rest of the world, they also in their whole mode of life and in their language resemble one another The Colchian linen is

[3] Herodotus apparently alludes to the Jews He may be excused for supposing that the Jews borrowed circumcision from the Egyptians, since they did not practise it as a regular and universal custom until left Egypt.

called by the Greeks Sardonian while that which comes from Egypt is known as Egyptian

106 The pillars which Sesostris erected in the conquered countries have for the most part disappeared but in the part of *Syria called Palestine I myself saw them still standing* with the writing above mentioned and the genitals distinctly visible In Ionia also there are two representations of this prince engraved upon rocks one on the road from Ephesus to Phocaea the other between Sardis and Smyrna In each case the figure is that of a man seven feet high with a spear in his right hand and a bow in his left the rest of his costume being likewise half Egyptian half Ethiopian There is an inscription across the breast from shoulder to shoulder in the sacred character of Egypt which says With my own shoulders I conquered this land The conqueror does not tell who he is or whence he comes though elsewhere Sesostris records these facts Hence it has been imagined by some of those who have seen these forms that they are figures of Memnon [8] but such as think so err very widely from the truth

107 This Sesostris the priests went on to say upon his return home accompanied by vast multitudes of the people whose countries he had subdued was received by his brother whom he had made viceroy of Egypt on his departure at Daphnae near Pelusium and invited by him to a banquet which he attended together with his sons Then his brother piled a quantity of wood all round the building and having so done set it alight Sesostris discovering what had happened took counsel instantly with his wife who had accompanied him to the feast and was advised by her to lay two of their six sons upon the fire and so make a bridge across the flames whereby the rest might effect their escape Sesostris did as she recommended and thus while two of his sons were burnt to death he himself and his other children were saved

[8] H od tus ho s his discriminati in r jecti g the n ti n f hi be ing Memno whi h had already becom p evalent m g the Greeks who saw M m n everywhere in Egypt m rely beca se h w s men tio ed in Homer

108 The king then returned to his own land and took vengeance upon his brother, after which he proceeded to make use of the multitudes whom he had brought with him from the conquered countries, partly to drag the huge masses of stone which were moved in the course of his reign to the temple of Hephaestus—partly to dig the numerous canals with which the whole of Egypt is intersected By these forced labours the entire face of the country was changed, for whereas Egypt had formerly been a region suited both for horses and carriages, henceforth it became entirely unfit for either Though a flat country throughout its whole extent, it is now unfit for either horse or carriage, being cut up by the canals, which are extremely numerous and run in all directions The king s object was to supply Nile water to the inhabitants of the towns situated in the mid country, and not lying upon the river, for previously they had been obliged, after the subsidence of the floods, to drink a brackish water which they obtained from the wells

109 Sesostris also, they declared, made a division of the soil of Egypt among the inhabitants, assigning square plots of ground of equal size to all, and obtaining his chief revenue from the rent which the holders were required to pay him every year If the river carried away any portion of a man s lot, he appeared before the king, and related what had happened, upon which the king sent persons to examine, and determine by measurement the exact extent of the loss and thenceforth only such a rent was demanded of him as was proportionate to the reduced size of his land From this practice, I think geometry first came to be known in Egypt, whence it passed into Greece The sun dial, however, and the gnomon, with the division of the day into twelve parts, were received by the Greeks from the Babylonians

110 Sesostris was king not only of Egypt, but also of Ethiopia He was the only Egyptian monarch who ever ruled over the latter country[*] He left, as memorials of his reign, the stone statues which stand in front of the temple of Hephaestus, two of which, representing himself and his wife, are forty five feet

[*] The Egyptians evidently overran all Ethiopia and part of the interior of Africa in the time of the 18th and 19th dynasties.

in height while the remaining four which represent his sons are thirty feet These are the statues in front of which the priest of Hephaestus very many years afterwards would not allow Darius the Persian [6] to place a statue of himself because he said Darius had not equalled the achievements of Sesostris the Egyptian for while Sesostris had subdued to the full as many nations as ever Darius had brought under he had likewise conquered the Scythians whom Darius had failed to master It was not fair therefore that he should erect his statue in front of the offerings of a king whose deeds he had been unable to surpass Darius they say pardoned the freedom of this speech

111 On the death of Sesostris his son Pheros [7] he priests said mounted the throne He undertook no warlike expeditions being struck with blindness owing to the following circumstance The river had swollen to the unusual height of twenty seven feet and had overflowed all the fields when a sudden wind arising the water rose in great waves Then the king in a spirit of impious violence seized his spear and hurled it into the strong eddies of the stream Instantly he was smitten with disease of the eyes from which after a little while he became blind continuing without the power of vision for ten years At last in the eleventh year an oracular announcement reached him from the city of Buto to the effect that the time of his punishment had run out and he should recover his sight by washing his eyes with urine He must find a woman who had been faithful to her husband and had never had intercourse with another man The king therefore first of all made trial of his wife but to no purpose—he continued as blind as before So he made the experiment with other women until at length he succeeded and in this way recovered his sight Hereupon he assembled all the women except the last and bringing them to the city which now

[6] Th name of D n s occurs in the sculptures a d great p rt f th principal T mple f Fl Kharg h (the G eat O sis was b ilt by him, his name be g th old t th

[7] Pher is prob bly t name but a c rrupti n f Ph ra h nd th whol tal a sature on w men dev loped f m an act l Egyptian remedy for phthalmia.

bears the name of Red soil, he there burnt them all, together with the place itself The woman to whom he owed his cure, he married, and after his recovery was complete, he presented offerings to all the temples of any note, among which the best worthy of mention are the two stone obelisks which he gave to the temple of the Sun [58] These are magnificent works, each is made of a single stone, twelve feet broad, and 150 feet in height

112 Pheros, they said, was succeeded by a man of Memphis, whose name, in the language of the Greeks, was Proteus There is a sacred precinct of this king in Memphis, which is very beautiful, and richly adorned, situated south of the great temple of Hephaestus Phoenicians from the city of Tyre dwell all round this precinct, and the whole place is known by the name of the camp of the Tyrians Within the enclosure stands a temple, which is called that of Aphrodite the Stranger I conjecture the building to have been erected to Helen, the daughter of Tyndarus first, because she, as I have heard say, passed some time at the court of Proteus and secondly, because the temple is dedicated to Aphrodite the Stranger for among all the many temples of Aphrodite there is no other where the goddess bears this title

113 The priests in answer to my inquiries on the subject of Helen,[59] informed me of the following particulars When Alexander had carried off Helen from Sparta, he took ship and sailed homewards On his way across the Aegean a gale arose, which drove him from his course and took him down to the sea of Egypt, hence, as the wind did not abate, he was carried on to the coast when he went ashore landing at the Salt Pans, in that mouth of the Nile which is now called the Canobic At this place there stood upon the shore a temple, which still exists, dedicated to Heracles If a slave runs away from his master, and taking

[58] They were therefore most probably at Heliopolis The height far exceeds that of any found in Egypt the highest being less than 100 feet

[59] The eagerness of the Greeks to inquire after events mentioned by Homer and the readiness of the Egyptians to take advantage of it are shown in this story related to Herodotus. The fact of Homer having believed that Helen went to Egypt only proves that the story was not invented in Herodotus time but was current long before

sanctuary at this shrine gives himself up to the god and receives certain sacred marks upon his person whosoever his master may be he cannot lay hand on him This law still remained un changed to my time Hearing therefore of the custom of the place the attendants of Alexander deserted him and fled to the temple where they sat as suppliants While there wishing to damage their master they accused him to the Egyptians nar rating all the circumstances of the rape of Helen and the wrong done to Menelaus These charges they brought not only before the prie ts but also before the warden of that mouth of the river whose name was Thonis

114 As soon as he received the intelligence Thonis sent a message to Proteus who was at Memphis to this effect A *stranger is arrived from Greece he is by race a Teucrian and* has done a wicked deed in the country from which he is come Having beguiled the wife of the man whose guest he was he carried her away with him and much treasure also Compelled by stress of weather he has now put in here Are we to let him depart as he came or shall we seize what he has brought? Proteus replied Seize the man be he who he may that has dealt thus wickedly with his friend and bring him before me that I may hear what he will say for himself

115 Thonis on receiving these orders arrested Alexander and stopped the departure of his ships then taking with him Alexander Helen the treasures and also the fugitive slaves he went up to Memphis When all were arrived Proteus a ked Alexander Who he was and whence he had come? Alexander replied by giving his descent the name of his country and a *true account of his late voyage Then Proteus questioned him as* to how he got possession of Helen In his reply Alexander became confused and diverged from the truth whereon the slaves interposed confuted his statements and told the whole history of the crime Finally Proteus delivered judgment as follows Did I not regard it as a matter of the utmost con equence that no stranger driven to my country by adverse winds should ever be put to death I would certainly have aven ed the Greek by

slaying you, basest of men, after accepting hospitality, to do so wicked a deed! First, you did seduce the wife of your own host —then, not content therewith, you must violently excite her mind, and steal her away from her husband. Nay, even so you were not satisfied, but on leaving, you plundered the house in which you had been a guest. Now then, as I think it of the greatest importance to put no stranger to death, I suffer you to depart, but the woman and the treasures I shall not permit to be carried away. Here they must stay, till the Greek stranger comes in person and takes them back with him. For yourself and your companions, I command you to leave my land within the space of three days—and I warn you, that otherwise at the end of that time you will be treated as enemies."

116. Such was the tale told me by the priests concerning the arrival of Helen at the court of Proteus. It seems to me that Homer was acquainted with this story, and while discarding it, because he thought it less adapted for epic poetry than the version which he followed, showed that it was not unknown to him. This is evident from the travels which he assigns to Alexander in the *Iliad*—and let it be borne in mind that he has nowhere else contradicted himself—making him be carried out of his course on his return with Helen, and after divers wanderings come at last to Sidon in Phoenicia. The passage is in the Bravery of Diomede,[60] and the words are as follows:

There were the robes, many coloured, the work of Sidonian
women:
They from Sidon had come, what time god shaped Alexander
Over the broad sea brought, that way, the high born Helen.

In the *Odyssey*[61] also the same fact is alluded to, in these words:

[60] The objection that the passage quoted is from *Iliad* vi and not *Iliad* v, which now bears the title of "Diomede's Bravery," is of no importance for our present division of the books dates from Aristarchus, and in the time of Herodotus a portion of the sixth book may have been included under the heading confined afterwards to the fifth.

[61] iv. 227-230.

Such so wisely prepared were the drugs that her stores afforded
Excellent gift which once Polydamna partner of Thoni
Gave her in Egypt where many the simples that grow in the meadows
Potent to cure in part in part as potent to injure

Menelaus too in the same poem [6] thus addresses Telemachus

Much did I long to return but the gods still kept me in Egypt—
Angry because I had failed to pay them their hecatombs duly

In these places Homer shows himself acquainted with the voyage of Alexander to Egypt for Syria borders on Egypt and the Phoenicians to whom Sidon belongs dwell in Syria

117 From these various passages and from that about Sidon especially it is clear that Homer did not write the *Cypria* [63] For there it is said that Alexander arrived at Ilium with Helen on the third day after he left Sparta the wind having been favour able and the sea smooth whereas in the *Iliad* the poet makes him wander before he brings her home Enough however for the present of Homer and the *Cypria*

118 I made inquiry of the priests whether the story which the Greeks tell about Ilium is a fable or no In reply they re lated the following particulars of which they declared that Menelaus had himself informed them After the rape of Helen a vast army of Greeks wishing to render help to Menelaus set sail for the Teucrian territory on their arrival they disem barked and formed their camp after which they sent ambassa dors to Ilium of whom Menelaus was one The embassy was received within the walls and demanded the restoration of Helen with the treasures which Alexander had carried off and likewise required satisfaction for the wrong done The Teu crians gave at once the answer in which they persisted ever afterwards backin their assertions ometimes even with oaths

[6] iv 351 35
[63] Th criticism here is better tha th gum t Th Cyp ia was pr b bl writ by S.asinus abo t 700 B.C

to wit, that neither Helen, nor the treasures claimed, were in their possession, both the one and the other had remained, they said, in Egypt, and it was not just to come upon them for what Proteus, king of Egypt, was detaining The Greeks, imagining that the Teucrians were merely laughing at them, laid siege to the town, and never rested until they finally took it As, however, no Helen was found, and they were still told the same story, they at length believed in its truth, and despatched Menelaus to the court of Proteus

119 So Menelaus travelled to Egypt, and on his arrival sailed up *the river as far as Memphis, and related all that had happened* He met with the utmost hospitality, received Helen back unharmed, and recovered all his treasures After this friendly treatment Menelaus, they said, behaved most unjustly towards the Egyptians, for as it happened that at the time when he wanted to take his departure, he was detained by the wind being contrary, and as he found this obstruction continue, he had recourse to a most wicked expedient He seized, they said, two children of the people of the country, and offered them up in sacrifice When this became known, the indignation of the people was stirred, and they went in pursuit of Menelaus, who, however, escaped with his ships to Libya, after which the Egyptians could not say whither he went The rest they knew full well, partly by *the inquiries which they had made*, and partly from the circumstances having taken place in their own land, and therefore not admitting of doubt

120 Such is the account given by the Egyptian priests, and I am myself inclined to regard as true all that they say of Helen from the following considerations If Helen had been at Troy, the inhabitants would, I think, have given her up to the Greeks whether Alexander consented to it or no For surely neither Priam, nor his family, could have been so infatuated as to endanger their own persons, their children, and their city, merely that Alexander might possess Helen At any rate, if they determined to refuse at first, yet afterwards when so many of the Trojans fell on every encounter with the Greeks, and Priam too in each battle lost a son, or sometimes two, or three, or

more if we may credit the epic poets[64] I do not believe that even if Priam himself had been married to her he would have declined to deliver her up with the view of bringing the series of calamities to a close Nor was it as if Alexander had been heir to the crown in which case he might have had the chief management of affairs since Priam was already old Hector who was his elder brother and a far braver man stood before him and was the heir to the kingdom on the death of their father Priam And it could not be Hector s interest to uphold his brother in his wrong when it brought such dire calamities upon himself and the other Trojans But the fact was that they had no Helen to deliver and so they told the Greeks but the Greeks would not believe what they said—Divine Providence as I think so willing that by their utter destruction it might be made evident to all men that when great wrongs are done the gods will surely visit them with great punishments Such at least is my view of the matter

121 When Proteus died Rhampsinitus[6] the priests informed me succeeded to the throne His monuments were the western gateway of the temple of Hephaestus and the two statues which stand in front of this gateway called by the Egyptians the one Summer the other Winter each forty feet in height The statue of Summer which is the northernmost of the two is worshipped by the natives and has offerings made to it that of Winter which stands towards the south is treated in exactly the contrary way King Rhampsinitus was possessed they said of great riches in silver indeed to such an amount that none of the princes his successors surpassed or even equalled his wealth For the better custody of this money he proposed to build a vast chamber of hewn stone one side of which was to form a part of the outer wall of his palace The builder therefore having designs upon the treasures contrived as he was making the building to insert in this wall a stone which could *easily be removed from its place by two men* or

[64] The wh l h pt r is a inst c of Greek rati al i g criticism

[65] This is evid ntly the nam f Rameses f th tw lf th dy asty with wh m Herod tus has c ected f milar piec f f lklore.

even by one So the chamber was finished, and the king's money stored away in it Time passed, and the builder fell sick, when finding his end approaching, he called for his two sons, and related to them the contrivance he had made in the king's treasure chamber, telling them it was for their sakes he had done it, that so they might always live in affluence Then he gave them clear directions concerning the mode of removing the stone, and communicated the measurements, bidding them carefully keep the secret, whereby they would be Stewards of the royal treas ury so long as they lived Then the father died, and the sons were not slow in setting to work, they went by night to the palace, found the stone in the wall of the building, and having removed it with ease, plundered the treasury of a round sum

When the king next paid a visit to the apartment, he was astonished to see that the money was sunk in some of the vessels wherein it was stored away Whom to accuse however, he knew not, as the seals were all perfect, and the fastenings of the room secure Still each time that he repeated his visits, he found that more money was gone The thieves in truth never stopped, but plundered the treasury ever more and more At last the king determined to have some traps made, and set near the vessels which containd his wealth This was done, and when the thieves came, as usual, to the treasure-chamber, and one of them entering through the aperture, made straight for the jars, suddenly he found himself caught in one of the traps Perceiving that he was lost, he instantly called his brother, and telling him what had happened, entreated him to enter as quickly as possible and cut off his head, that when his body should be discovered it might not be recognised, which would have the effect of bringing ruin upon both The other thief thought the advice good, and was persuaded to follow it, then, fitting the stone into its place, he went home, taking with him his brother s head

When day dawned, the king came into the room, and mar velled greatly to see the body of the thief in the trap without a head, while the building was still whole, and neither entrance nor exit was to be seen anywhere In this perplexity he com manded the body of the dead man to be hung up outside the

palace wall and set a guard to watch it with orders that if any persons were seen weeping or lamenting near the place they should be seized and brought before him When the mother heard of this exposure of the corpse of her on she took it sorely to heart and spoke to her surviving child bidding him devise some plan or other to get back the body and threatening that if he did not exert himself she would go herself to the king and denounce him as the robber

The son said all he could to persuade her to let the matter rest but in vain she still continued to trouble him until at last he yielded to her importunity and contrived as follows Filling some skins with wine he loaded them on donkeys which he drove before him till he came to the place where the guards were watching the dead body when pulling two or three of the skins towards him he untied some of the necks which dangled by the asses sides The wine poured freely out whereupon he began to beat his head and shout with all his might seeming not to know which of the donkeys he should turn to first When the guards saw the wine running delighted to profit by the occasion they rushed one and all into the road each with some vessel or other and caught the liquor as it was spilling The driver pretended anger and loaded them with abuse whereon they did their best to pacify him until at last he appeared to soften and recover his good humour drove his asses aside out of the road and set to work to rearrange their burdens meanwhile as he talked and chatted with the guards one of them began to rally him and make him laugh whereupon he gave them one of the skins as a gift They now made up their minds to sit down and have a drinking bout where they were so they begged him to remain and drink with them Then the man let himself be persuaded and stayed As the drinking went on they grew very friendly together so presently he gave them another skin upon which they drank so copiously that they were all overcome with the liquor and growing drowsy lay down and fell asleep on the spot. The thief waited till it was the dead of the night and then took down the body of his brother after which in mockery he shaved off the right side of all the soldiers beards and so left

them Laying his brother's body upon the asses, he carried it home to his mother, having thus accomplished the thing that she had required of him

When it came to the king's ears that the thief's body was stolen away, he was sorely vexed Wishing therefore, whatever it might cost, to catch the man who had contrived the trick, he had recourse (the priests said) to an expedient, which I can scarcely credit He sent his own daughter to the common stews, with orders to admit all comers, but first to require every man to tell her what was the cleverest and wickedest thing he had done in the whole course of his life If any one in reply told her the story of the thief, she was to lay hold of him, and not allow him to get away The daughter did as her father willed, whereon the thief, who was well aware of the king's motive, felt a desire to outdo him in craft and cunning Accordingly he contrived the following plan He procured the corpse of a man lately dead, and cutting off one of the arms at the shoulder, put it under his dress, and so went to the king's daughter When she put the question to him as she had done to all the rest, he replied that the wickedest thing he had ever done was cutting off the head of his brother when he was caught in a trap in the king's treasury, and the cleverest was making the guards drunk and carrying off the body As he spoke, the princess caught at him, but the thief took advantage of the darkness to hold out to her the hand of the corpse Imagining it to be his own hand, she seized and held it fast, while the thief leaving it in her grasp, made his escape by the door

The king, when word was brought him of this fresh success, amazed at the sagacity and boldness of the man, sent messengers to all the towns in his dominions to proclaim a free pardon for the thief, and to promise him a rich reward, if he came and made himself known The thief took the king at his word, and came boldly into his presence whereupon Rhampsinitus greatly admiring him and looking on him as the most knowing of men, gave him his daughter in marriage "The Egyptians" he said, "excelled all the rest of the world in wisdom, and this man excelled all other Egyptians"

122 The same king I was also informed by the priests after wards descended alive into the region which the Greeks call Hades and there played at dice with Demeter sometimes win ning and sometimes suffering defeat After a while he returned to earth and brought with him a golden napkin a gift which he had received from the goddess From this descent of Rhampsini tus into Hades and return to earth again the Egyptians I was told instituted a festival which they certainly celebrated in my day On what occasion it was that they instituted it whether upon this or upon any other I cannot determine The followin are the ceremonies On a certain day in the year the priests weave a mantle and binding the eyes of one of their number with a fillet they put the mantle upon him and take him with them into the roadway conducting to the temple of Demeter when they depart and leave him to himself Then the priest thus blindfolded is led (they say) by two wolves[66] to the temple of Demeter distant three miles from the city where he stays a while after which he is brought back from the temple by the wolves and left upon the spot where they first joined him

123 Such as think the tales told by the Egyptians credible are free to accept them for history For my own part I propose to myself throughout my whole work faithfully to record the traditions of the several nations The Egyptians maintain that Demeter and Dionysus[67] preside in the realms below They were also the first to broach the opinion that the soul of man is im mortal and that when the body dies it enters into the form of an animal[68] which is born at the moment thence passing on from one animal into another until it has circled through the forms of all the creatures which tenant the earth the water and the air after which it enters again into a human frame and is born anew The whole period of the transmigration is (they say)

[66] *The animal is n t a wolf it is j ckal the emblem of A his.*

[67] Answering t Isis and Osiris wh w th pri cipal d ities f Am ti the Egyptia H d

[68] H od t s has ppa ently c nfused th d ctrine f imm rtality with metempsych sis

3,000 years There are Greek writers, some of an earlier, some of a later date, who have borrowed this doctrine from the Egyptians, and put it forward as their own I could mention their names, but I abstain from doing so

124 Till the death of Rhampsinitus, the priests said, Egypt was excellently governed, and flourished greatly, but after him Cheops succeeded to the throne,[69] and plunged into all manner of wickedness He closed the temples, and forbade the Egyptians to offer sacrifice, compelling them instead to labour, one and all, in his service Some were required to drag blocks of stone down to the Nile from the quarries in the Arabian range of hills, others received the blocks after they had been conveyed in boats across the river, and drew them to the range of hills called the Libyan One hundred thousand men laboured constantly, and were relieved every three months by a fresh lot It took ten years' oppression of the people to make the causeway for the conveyance of the stones, a work not much inferior, in my judgment, to the pyramid itself This causeway is half a mile in length, sixty feet wide, and in height, at the highest part, forty eight feet It is built of polished stone, and is covered with carvings of animals To make it took ten years, as I said—or rather to make the causeway, the works on the mound where the pyramid stands, and the underground chambers, which Cheops intended as vaults for his own use these last were built on a sort of island, surrounded by water introduced from the Nile by a canal The pyramid itself was twenty years in building It is a square, 800 feet each way,[70] and the height the same, built entirely of polished stone fitted together with the utmost care The stones of which it is composed are none of them less than thirty feet in length

125 The pyramid was built in steps, battlement wise, as it is called, or, according to others, altar wise After laying the

[69] The pyramid builders are placed roughly [illegible]000 years too late

[70] The dimensions of the great pyramid were—each face 756 ft now reduced to [illegible]32 ft original height when entire 480 ft 9 in now 460 ft 9 in angles at the base 51 50 angle at the apex 6[illegible] 0 it covered an area of 5[illegible]1 536 square feet now 535,8[illegible]4 square feet

stones for the ba e th y raised the remaining sto s to the places by means of machines formed of short wooden plank The first machine raised them from the ground to the top of th first step On this there was another machine which receive the stone upon its arrival and conveyed it to the second step whence a third machine advanced it still higher Either the had as many machines as there were steps in the pyramid c possibly they had but a single machine which being easil moved was transferred from tier to tier as the stone rose—bot accounts are given and therefore I mention both The uppe portion of the pyramid was finished first then the middle an finally the part which was lowest and nearest the ground Ther is an inscription in Egyptian characters[71] on the pyramid which records the quantity of radishes onions and garlic consume by the labourers who constructed it and I perfectly well re member that the interpreter who read the writing to me said that the money expended in this way was 1 600 talents of silver If this then is a true record what a vast sum must have been spent on the iron tools used in the work and on the feeding and clothing of the labourers considering the length of time the work lasted which has already been stated and the additiona time—no mall pace I imagine—which must have been oc cupied by the quarrying of the stones their conveyance and the formation of the underground apartments

126 The wickedness of Cheops reached to such a pitch that, when he had spent all his treasures and wanted more he sent his daughter to the stews with orders to procure him a certain sum—how much I cannot say for I was not told she procured it however and at the same time bent on leaving a monument which should perpetuate her own memory she required each man who sought intercourse to make her a present of a stone towards the works which she contemplated With these stones she built the pyramid which stands midmost of the three that

[71] This must h bee i hi glyph cs, th m mental hara te Th oute sto es being g it is impossubl to nly di p o e th a se ti n of Herodotus whi h however w ld h e n thing imp b ble in it, p ided it was n t fined t th simple inscripti h gl es.

are in front of the great pyramid, measuring along each side 150 feet

127 Cheops reigned, the Egyptians said, fifty years, and was succeeded at his demise by Chephren, his brother

Chephren imitated the conduct of his predecessor, and, like him, built a pyramid, which did not, however, equal the dimensions of his brother's[72] Of this I am certain, for I measured them both myself It has no subterraneous apartments, nor any canal from the Nile to supply it with water as the other pyramid has In that, the Nile water, introduced through an artificial duct, surrounds an island, where the body of Cheops is said to lie Chephren built his pyramid close to the great pyramid of Cheops, and of the same dimensions, except that he lowered the height forty feet For the basement he employed the many coloured stone of Ethiopia These two pyramids stand both on the same hill, an elevation not far short of 100 feet in height The reign of Chephren lasted fifty six years

128 Thus the affliction of Egypt endured for the space of 106 years, during the whole of which time the temples were shut up and never opened The Egyptians so detest the memory of these kings that they do not much like even to mention their names Hence they commonly call the pyramids after Philitis, a shepherd who at that time fed his flocks about the place

129 After Chephren, Mycerinus (they said) son of Cheops ascended the throne This prince disapproved the conduct of his father, re opened the temples, and allowed the people, who were ground down to the lowest point of misery to return to their occupations, and to resume the practice of sacrifice His justice in the decision of causes was beyond that of all the former kings The Egyptians praise him in this respect more highly than any of their other monarchs, declaring that he not only gave his judgments with fairness, but also, when any one was dissatisfied with his sentence, made compensation to him out of his own purse, and thus pacified his anger Mycerinus had es

[72] The measurements of the second pyramid are present base 690 ft former base 707 ft 9 in present perpendicular height (calculating the angle 52 20), 446 ft 9 in former height 454 ft 3 in

tablished his character for mildness and was acting as I have described when the stroke of calamity fell on him First of all his daughter died the only child that he possessed Experiencing a bitter grief at this visitation in his sorrow he conceived the wish to entomb his child in some unusual way He therefore caused a cow to be made of wood and after the interior had been hollowed out he had the whole surface coated with gold and in this novel tomb laid the dead body of his daughter

130 The cow was not placed underground but continued visible to my times it was at Sais in the royal palace where it occupied a chamber richly adorned Every day there are burnt before it aromatics of every kind and all night long a lamp is kept burning in the apartment In an adjoining chamber are statues which the priests at Sais declared to represent the various concubines of Mycerinus They are colossal figures in wood of the number of about twenty and are represented naked Whose images they really are I cannot say—I can only repeat the account which was given to me

131 *Concerning these colossal figures and the sacred cow* there is also another tale narrated which runs thus Mycerinus was enamoured of his daughter and raped her—the damsel for *grief hanged herself and Mycerinus entombed her in the cow* Then her mother cut off the hands of all her tiring maids because they had sided with the father and betrayed the child and so the statues of the maids have no hands All this is mere fable in my judgment especially what is said about the hands of the colossal statues I could plainly see that the figures had only lost their hands through the effect of time They had dropped off and were still lying on the ground about the feet of the statues

132 As for the cow the greater portion of it is hidden by a scarlet coverture the head and neck however which are visible are coated very thickly with gold and between the horns there is a representation in gold of the orb of the sun The figure is not erect but lying down with the limbs under the body the dimensions being fully those of a large animal of the kind Every year it is taken from the apartment where it is kept and

exposed to the light of day—this is done at the season when the Egyptians beat themselves in honour of one of their gods, whose name I am unwilling to mention in connexion with such a matter They say that the daughter of Mycerinus requested her father in her dying moments to allow her once a year to see the sun

133 After the death of his daughter, Mycerinus was visited with a second calamity, of which I shall now proceed to give an account An oracle reached him from the town of Buto, which said, "*Six years only shall you live upon the earth and in the seventh you shall end your days*" Mycerinus, indignant, sent an angry message to the oracle, reproaching the god with his injustice, "My father and uncle," he said, "though they shut up the temples, took no thought of the gods, and destroyed multitudes of men, nevertheless enjoyed a long life, I, who am pious, am to die so soon!" There came in reply a second message from the oracle, "For this very reason is your life brought so quickly to a close Egypt was fated to suffer affliction 150 years—the two kings who preceded you upon the throne understood this—you have not understood it" Mycerinus, when this answer reached him, perceiving that his doom was fixed, had lamps prepared, which he lighted every day at eventime, and feasted and enjoyed himself unceasingly both day and night, moving about in the marsh country and the woods and visiting all the places that he heard were agreeable sojourns His wish was to prove the oracle false, by turning the nights into days, and so living twelve years in the space of six

134 He too left a pyramid, but much inferior in size to his father's It is a square, each side of which is 280 feet, and is built for half its height of the stone of Ethiopia Some of the Greeks call it the work of Rhodopis the courtesan, but they report falsely It seems to me that these persons cannot have any real knowledge who Rhodopis was, otherwise they would scarcely have ascribed to her a work on which uncounted treasures, so to speak, must have been expended Rhodopis also lived during the reign of Amasis, not of Mycerinus, and was thus very many years later than the time of the kings who built the

pyramids She was a Thracian by birth and was the slave of Iadmon son of Hephaestopolis a Samian Aesop the fable writer was one of her fellow slaves That Aesop belonged to Iadmon is proved by many facts—among others by this When the Delphians in obedience to the command of the oracle made proclamation that if any one claimed compensation for the mur der of Aesop he should receive it the person who at last came forward was Iadmon grandson of the former Iadmon and he received the compensation Aesop therefore must certainly have been the former Iadmon s slave

135 Rhodopis really arrived in Egypt under the conduct of Xantheus the Samian she was brought there to exercise her trade but was redeemed for a vast sum by Charaxus a Mytilen aean the son of Scamandronymus and brother of Sappho the poetess [73] After thus obtaining her freedom she remained in Egypt and as she was very beautiful amassed great wealth for a courtesan not however enough to enable her to erect such a work as this pyramid Any one who likes may go and see to what the tenth part of her wealth amounted and he will thereby learn that her riches must not be imagined to have been very wonderfully great Wishing to leave a memorial of herself in Greece she determined to have something made the like of which was not to be found in any temple and to offer it at the shrine at Delphi So she et apart a tenth of her possessions and purchased with the money a quantity of iron spits such as are fit for roasting oxen whole whereof she made a present to the oracle They are still to be seen there lying of a heap be- aind the altar which the Chians dedicated opposite the sanc tuary Naucratis seems somehow to be the place where such women are most attractive First there was this Rhodopis of whom we have been speaking so celebrated a per on that her name came to be familiar to all the Greeks and after wards there was another called Archidice notorious through out Greece though not so much talked of as her predecessor

[73] Ch raxus, the b ther of S ppho traded in wine f om Lesbos, which he was in the hab t f t ki g to Na cratis It is prob bl that both h d Rhod pis w lampoo ed by S ppho

Charaxus, after ransoming Rhodopis, returned to Mytilene, and was often lashed by Sappho in her poetry But enough has been said on the subject of this courtesan

136 After Mycerinus, the priests said, Asychis ascended the throne He built the eastern gateway of the temple of Hephaestus, which in size and beauty far surpasses the other three All the four gateways have figures graven on them, and a vast amount of architectural ornament, but the gateway of Asychis is by far the most richly adorned In the reign of this king, money being scarce and commercial dealings straitened, a law was passed that the borrower might pledge his father's body to raise the sum whereof he had need A proviso was appended to this law, giving the lender authority over the entire sepulchre of the borrower, so that a man who took up money under this pledge, if he died without paying the debt, could not obtain burial either in his own ancestral tomb, or in any other, nor could he during his lifetime bury in his own tomb any member of his family The same king, desirous of eclipsing all his predecessors upon the throne, left as a monument of his reign a pyramid of brick It bears an inscription, cut in stone, which runs thus, ' Despise me not in comparison with the stone pyramids, for I surpass them all, as much as Zeus surpasses the other gods A pole was plunged into a lake, and the mud which clave thereto was gathered and bricks were made of the mud, and so I was formed " Such were the chief actions of this prince

137 He was succeeded on the throne, they said, by a blind man a native of Anysis, whose own name also was Anysis Under him Egypt was invaded by a vast army of Ethiopians, led by Sabacos,[4] their king The blind Anysis fled away to the marsh country and the Ethiopian was lord of the land for fifty years during which his mode of rule was the following When an Egyptian was guilty of an offence his plan was not to punish him with death instead of so doing, he sentenced him, according to the nature of his crime, to raise the ground to a greater or a less extent in the neighbourhood of the city to which he

[4] Herodotus mentions only one Sabacos who must represent the twenty fifth dynasty (7 5 667 B.C.) of Manetho

belonged Thus the cities came to be elevated even more than they were before As early as the time of Sesostris they had been raised by those who dug the canals in his reign this second elevation of the soil under the Ethiopian king gave them a very lofty position Among the many cities which thus attained to a great elevation none (I think) was raised so much as the town called Bubastis where there is a temple of the goddess Bubastis which well deserves to be described Other temples may be grander and may have cost more in the building but there is none so pleasant to the eye as this of Bubastis The Bubastis of the Egyptians is the same as the Artemis of the Greeks

138 The following is a description of this edifice [75] Excepting the entrance the whole forms an island Two artificial channels from the Nile one on either side of the temple encompass the building leaving only a narrow passage by which it is approached These channels are each 100 feet wide and are thickly shaded with trees The gateway is sixty feet in height and is ornamented with figures cut upon the stone nine feet high and well worthy of notice The temple stands in the middle of the city and is visible on all sides as one walks round it for as the city has been raised up by embankment while the temple has been left untouched in its original condition you look down upon it wheresoever you are A low wall runs round the enclosure having figures engraved upon it and inside there is a grove of beautiful tall trees growing round the shrine which contains the image of the goddess The enclosure is 200 yards in length and the same in breadth The entrance to it is by a road paved with stone for a distance of about three eighths of a mile which passes straight through the market place with an easterly direction and is 400 feet in width Trees of an extraordinary height grow on each side of the road which conducts from the temple of Bubastis to that of Hermes

139 The Ethiopian finally quitted Egypt the priests said by a hasty flight under the following circumstances He saw in

[75] This acc t f the positi f th templ of B bastis is very a curate

his sleep a vision, a man stood by his side, and counselled him to gather together all the priests of Egypt and cut every one of them asunder On this, according to the account which he himself gave, it came into his mind that the gods intended hereby to lead him to commit an act of sacrilege, which would be sure to draw down upon him some punishment either at the hands of gods or men So he resolved not to do the deed suggested to him, but rather to retire from Egypt, as the time during which it was fated that he should hold the country had now (he thought) expired For before he left Ethiopia he had been told by the oracles which are venerated there, that he was to reign fifty years over Egypt The years were now fled, and the dream had come to trouble him, he therefore of his own accord withdrew from the land

140 As soon as Sabacos was gone, the blind king left the marshes, and resumed the government He had lived in the marsh region the whole time, having formed for himself an island there by a mixture of earth and ashes While he remained, the natives had orders to bring him food unbeknown to the Ethiopian, and latterly, at his request, each man had brought him, with the food, a certain quantity of ashes Before Amyrtaeus, no one was able to discover the site of this island, which continued unknown to the kings of Egypt who preceded him on the throne for the space of 700 years and more The name which it bears is Elbo It is about a mile across in each direction

141 The next king, I was told, was a priest of Hephaestus, called Sethos [6] This monarch despised and neglected the warrior class of the Egyptians as though he did not need their services Among other indignities which he offered them he took from them the lands which they had possessed under all the previous kings, consisting of twelve acres of choice land for each warrior Afterwards therefore when Sanacharib, king of the

No mention is made by Herodotus of Bocchoris and the lists of Manetho omit the Asychis and Anysis of Herodotus Sethos again whom Herodotus calls a contemporary of Sennacherib [Sanacharib] is unnoticed in Manetho's lists Herodotus probably has given to a priest of Ptthah the title of king

Arabians and Assyrians marched his vast army into Egypt the warriors one and all refused to come to his aid On this the monarch greatly distressed entered into the inner sanctuary and before the image of the god bewailed the fate which impended over him As he wept he fell asleep and dreamt that the god came and stood at his side bidding him be of good cheer and go boldly forth and meet the Arabian host which would do him no hurt as he himself would send those who should help him Sethos then relying on the dream collected such of the Egyptians as were willing to follow him who were none of them warriors but traders artisans and market people and with these marched to Pelusium which commands the entrance into Egypt and there pitched his camp As the two armies lay here opposite one another there came in the night a multitude of field mice which devoured all the quivers and bow strings of the enemy and ate the thongs by which they managed their shields Next morning they commenced their flight and great multitudes fell as they had no arms with which to defend themselves There stands to this day in the temple of Hephaestus a stone statue of Sethos with a mouse in his hand and an inscription to this effect Look on me and learn to reverence the gods

142 Thus far I have spoken on the authority of the Egyptians and their priests They declare that from their first king to this last mentioned monarch the priest of Hephaestus was a period of 341 generations such at least they say was the number both of their kings and of their high priests during this interval Now 300 generations of men make 10 000 years three generations filling up the century and the remaining forty-one generations make 1 340 years Thus the whole number of years is 11,340 in which entire pace they said no god had ever appeared in a human form nothing of this kind had happened either under the former or under the later Egyptian kings The sun howe r had within this period of time on four several occasions moved from his wonted course twice rising where he now sets and twice setting where he now rises Egypt was in no degree affected by these changes the productions of the land

and of the river, remained the same, nor was there anything unusual either in the diseases or the deaths

143 When Hecataeus the prose writer [7] was at Thebes, and, discoursing of his genealogy, traced his descent to a god in the person of his sixteenth ancestor, the priests of Zeus did to him exactly as they afterwards did to me, though I made no boast of my family They led me into the inner sanctuary, which is a spacious chamber, and showed me a multitude of colossal statues, in wood, which they counted up, and found to amount to the exact number they had said, the custom being for every high priest during his lifetime to set up his statue in the temple As they showed me the figures and reckoned them up they assured me that each was the son of the one preceding him, and this they repeated throughout the whole line, beginning with the representation of the priest last deceased, and continuing till they had completed the series When Hecataeus, in giving his genealogy, mentioned a god as his sixteenth ancestor the priests opposed their genealogy to his, going through this list, and refusing to allow that any man was ever born of a god Their colossal figures were each, they said, a Piromis, born of a Piromis, and the number of them was 345, through the whole series Piromis followed Piromis, and the line did not run up either to a god or a hero The word Piromis may be rendered gentleman"

144 Of such a nature were, they said, the beings represented by *these images—they were very far indeed from being god* However, in the times anterior to them it was otherwise then Egypt had gods for its rulers, who dwelt upon the earth with men, one being always supreme above the rest The last of these was Horus, the son of Osiris, called by the Greeks Apollo He

[7] This is the first distinct mention of Hecataeus who had done far more than any other writer to pave the way for Herodotus His works were of two kinds *geographical and historical Under the former head* he wrote a description of the known world chiefly the result of his own travels which must have been of considerable service to our author Under the latter he wrote his genealogies which were for the most part mythical but contained occasionally important history

deposed Typhon and ruled over Egypt as its last god king Osiris is named Dionysus by the Greeks

145 The Greeks regard Heracles Dionysus and Pan as the youngest of the gods With the Egyptians contrariwise Pan is exceedingly ancient and b longs to those whom they call the eight gods who existed before the rest Heracles is one of the gods of the second order who are known as the twelve and Dionysus belongs to the gods of the third order whom the twelve produced I have already mentioned how many years intervened according to the Egyptians between the birth of Heracles and the reign of Amasis From Pan to this period they count a still longer time and even from Dionysus who is the youngest of the three they reckoned 15 000 years to the reign of that king In these matters they ay they cannot be mistaken as they have always kept count of the years and noted them in their registers But from the present day to the time of Dionysus the reputed son of Semele daughter of Cadmus is a period of not more than 1 600 years to that of Heracles son of Alcmena is about 900 while to the time of Pan son of Penelope (Pan according to the Greeks was her child by Hermes) is a shorter space than to the Trojan war 800 years or thereabouts

146 It is open to all to receive whichever he may prefer of these two traditions my own opinion about them has been already declared If indeed these gods had been publicly known and had grown old in Greece as was the case with Heracles son of Amphitryon Dionysus son of Semele and Pan son of Penelope it might have been said that the las mentioned personages were men who bore *the names of certain previously existing* deities But Dionysus according to the Greek tradition was no sooner born than he was sewn up in Zeus s thi h and carried off to Nysa above Egypt in Ethiopia and as to Pan they do not even profess to know what happened to him after his birth To me therefore it is quite manifest that the name of these gods became known to the Greeks after tho e of their other deities and that they count their birth from the time *when they first* acquired a knowledge of them Thus far my narrative rests on the accounts given by the Egyptians

147 In what follows I have the authority, not of the Egyptians only, but of others also who agree with them I shall speak likewise in part from my own observation When the Egyptians regained their liberty after the reign of the priest of Hephaestus unable to continue any while without a king, they divided Egypt into twelve districts, and set twelve kings over them These twelve kings, united together by intermarriages, ruled Egypt in peace, having entered into engagements with one another not to depose any of their number, nor to aim at any aggrandisement of one above the rest, but to dwell together in perfect amity Now the reason why they made these stipulations, and guarded with care against their infraction, was, because at the very first establishment of the twelve kingdoms, an oracle had declared "That he among them who should pour in Hephaestus' temple a libation from a cup of bronze would become monarch of the whole land of Egypt" Now the twelve held their meetings at all the temples

148 To bind themselves yet more closely together it seemed good to them to have a common monument In pursuance of this resolution they made the Labyrinth which lies a little above lake Moeris in the neighbourhood of the place called the city of Crocodiles I visited this place and found it to surpass description for if all the walls and other great works of the Greeks could be put together in one, they would not equal, either for labour or expense this Labyrinth and yet the temple of Ephesus is a building worthy of note and so is the temple of Samos The pyramids likewise surpass description and are severally equal to a number of the greatest works of the Greeks, but the Labyrinth surpasses the pyramids It has twelve courts, all of them roofed, with gates exactly opposite to one another, six looking to the north and six to the south A single wall surrounds the entire building There are two different sorts of chambers throughout—half under ground half above ground the latter built upon the former, the whole number of these chambers is 3 000, 1 500 of each kind The upper chambers I myself passed through and saw, and what I say concerning them is from my own observation, of the underground chambers I

can only speak from report for the keepers of the building could not be got to show them since they contained (as they said) the sepulchres of the kings who built the Labyrinth and also those of the sacred crocodiles Thu it is from hearsay only that I can speak of the lower chambers The upper chambers however I saw with my own eyes and found them to excel all other human productions for the passages through the houses and the varied windings of the paths across the courts excited in me infinite admiration as I passed from the courts into chambers and from the chambers into colonnades and from the colonnades into fresh houses and again from these into courts *unseen before The roof was throughout of stone like the walls* and the walls were covered all over with figures every court wa surrounded with a colonnade which was built of white stones exquisitely fitted together At the corner of the Labyrinth *stands a pyramid 240 feet high with large figures engraved on* it which is entered by a subterranean passage

149 Wonderful as is the Labyrinth the work called the lake Moeris [78] which is close by the Labyrinth is yet more astonishing The measure of its circumference is sixty schoenes or 400 miles which is equal to the entire length of Egypt along the sea coast The lake stretches in its longest direction from north to south and in its deepest parts is of the depth of 300 feet It is manifestly an artificial excavation for nearly in the centre there stand two pyramids rising to the height of 300 feet above the surface of the water and extending as far beneath crowned each of them with a colossal statue sitting upon a throne Thus these pyramids are 100 fathoms high which is exactly a furlong of 600 feet the fathom being six feet in length or four cubits which is the same thing ince a cubit measures six and a foot four palms The water of the lake does not come out of the ground which is here excessively dry but is introduced by a canal from the Nile The current ets for six months into the lake from the river and for the next six months into the river from the lake While it runs outward it returns a talent of silver

[78] Lak Moeris w s used t regulat th fl w f the N le It siz d th siz f the st tues a m h ex gg ted by He od t s.

daily to the royal treasury from the fish that are taken but when the current is the other way the return sinks to one third of that sum

150 The natives told me that there was a subterranean passage from this lake to the Libyan Syrtis running westward into the interior by the hills above Memphis As I could not anywhere see the earth which had been taken out when the excavation was made and I was curious to know what had become of it, I asked the Egyptians who live closest to the lake where the earth had been put The answer that they gave me I readily accepted as true since I had heard of the same thing being done in Nineveh of the Assyrians There once upon a time certain thieves having formed a plan to get into their possession the vast treasures of Sardanapalus, the Ninevite king, which were laid up in subterranean treasuries, proceeded to tunnel a passage from the house where they lived into the royal palace calculating the distance and the direction At nightfall they took the earth from the excavation and carried it to the river Tigris which ran by Nineveh continuing to get rid of it in this manner until they had accomplished their purpose It was exactly in the same way that the Egyptians disposed of the mould from their excavation except that they did it by day and not by night for as fast as the earth was dug they carried it to the Nile which they knew would disperse it far and wide Such was the account which I received of the formation of this lake

151 The twelve kings for some time dealt honourably by one another but at length it happened that on a certain occasion when they had met to worship in the temple of Hephaestus, the high priest on the last day of the festival in bringing forth the golden goblets from which they were wont to pour the libations mistook the number and brought eleven goblets only for the twelve princes Psammetichus was standing last and being left without a cup he took his helmet which was of bronze, from off his head stretched it out to receive the liquor, and so made his libation All the kings were accustomed to wear helmets and all indeed wore them at this very time Nor was there any crafty design in the action of Psammetichus The

eleven however when they came to consider what had been done and bethought them of the oracle which had declared that he who of the twelve should pour a libation from a cup of bronze the same would be king of the whole land of Egypt doubted at first if they should not put Psammetichus to death Finding however upon examination that he had acted in the matter without any guilty intent they did not think it would be just to kill him but determined instead to strip him of the chief part of his power and to banish him to the marshes forbidding him to leave them or to hold any communication with the rest of Egypt

152 This was the second time that Psammetichus had been driven into banishment On a former occasion he had fled from Sabacos the Ethiopian who had put his father Necos to death and had taken refuge in Syria from whence after the retirement of the Ethiop in consequence of his dream he was brought back by the Egyptians of the Saitic nome Now it was his ill fortune to be banished a second time by the eleven kings on account of the libation which he had poured from his helmet on this occasion he fled to the marshes Feeling that he was an injured man and designing to avenge himself upon his per ecu tors Psammetichus sent to the city of Buto where there is an oracle of Leto the most veracious of all the oracles of the Egyp tians and having inquired concerning means of vengeance received for answer Vengeance would come from the ea when brazen men should appear Great was his incredulity when this answer arrived for never he thought would brazen men arrive to be his helpers However not long afterwards certain Carians and Ionians who had left their country on a voyage of plunder were carried by stress of weather to Egypt where they disem barked all equipped in their brazen armour and were seen by the natives one of whom carried the tidings to Psammetichus and as he had never before seen men clad in brass he reported that brazen men had come from the sea and were plundering the plain Psammetichus perceiving at once that the oracle was accompli hed made friendly advances to the trangers and en gaged them by plendid promises to enter into his service He

then, with their aid and that of the Egyptians who espoused his cause, attacked the eleven and vanquished them

153 When Psammetichus had thus become sole monarch of Egypt, he built the southern gateway of the temple of Hephaestus in Memphis, and also a court for Apis, in which Apis is kept whenever he makes his appearance in Egypt This court is opposite the gateway of Psammetichus, and is surrounded with a colonnade and adorned with a multitude of figures Instead of pillars, the colonnade rests upon colossal statues, eighteen feet in height The Greek name for Apis is Epaphus

154 To the Ionians and Carians who had lent them their assistance Psammetichus assigned as abodes two places opposite to each other, one on either side of the Nile, which received the name of the Camps He also made good all the splendid promises by which he had gained their support and further, he entrusted to their care certain Egyptian children, whom they were to teach the language of the Greeks These children thus instructed, became the parents of the entire class of interpreters in Egypt The Ionians and Carians occupied for many years the places assigned them by Psammetichus, which lay near the sea, a little below the city of Bubastis, on the Pelusiac mouth of the Nile [9] King Amasis, long afterwards, removed the Greeks hence, and settled them at Memphis to guard him against the native Egyptians From the date of the original settlement of these persons in Egypt we Greeks through our intercourse with them, have acquired an accurate knowledge of the several events in Egyptian history, from the reign of Psammetichus downwards, but before his time no foreigners had ever taken up their residence in that land The docks where their vessels were laid up and the ruins of their habitations were still to be seen in my day at the place where they dwelt originally before they were removed by Amasis Such was the mode by which Psammetichus became master of Egypt

155 I have already made mention more than once of the Egyptian oracle, and as it well deserves notice I shall now pro

[9] The site chosen for the Greek camps shows that they were thought necessary as a defence against foreign invasion from the eastward

ceed to give an account of it more at length It is a temple of Leto situated in the midst of a great city on the Sebennytic mouth of the Nile at some distance up the river from the sea The name of the city as I have before observed is Buto and in it are two other temples also one of Apollo and one of Artemis Leto s temple which contains the oracle is a spacious building with a gateway ixty feet in height The most wonder ful thing that was actually to be seen about this temple was a chapel in the enclosure made of a single stone the length and height of which were the same each wall being sixty feet square and the whole a single block! Another block of stone formed the roof and projected at the eaves to the extent of six feet

156 This as I have said was what astonished me the most of all the things that were actually to be seen about the temple The next greatest marvel was the island called Chemmis This island lies in the middle of a broad and deep lake clo e by the temple and the natives declare that it floats For my own part I did not see it float or even move and I wondered greatly when they told me concerning it whether there be really such a thing as a floating island [80] It has a grand temple of Apollo built upon it in which are three distinct altars Palm trees grow on it in great abundance and many other trees some of which bear fruit while others are barren The Egyptians tell the fol lowing story in connexion with this island to explain the way in which it first came to float In former times when the isle was still f xed and motionless Leto one of the eight gods of the f rst order who dwelt in the city of Buto where now she has her oracle received Apollo as a sacred charge from Isis and saved him by hiding him in what is now called the floating island Typhon meanwhile was searching everywhere in hopes of finding the child of O iris (According to the Egyptians Apollo and Artemis are the children of Dionysus and Isis while Leto is their nurse and their preserver They call Apollo in their language Horus Demeter they call Isis Artemis Bubastis.

[80] H catacu had r lated th mars ls of this i l d whi h h called Ch mbis w th t y ppe rance f inc d lity Th e ls a tacit all si t him in this p ge

From this Egyptian tradition, and from no other, it must have been that Aeschylus, the son of Euphorion, took the idea, which is found in none of the earlier poets, of making Artemis the daughter of Demeter) The island, therefore, in consequence of this event, was first made to float Such at least is the account which the Egyptians give

157 Psammetichus ruled Egypt for fifty four years, during twenty nine of which he pressed the siege of Azotus without intermission, till finally he took the place Azotus is a great town in Syria Of all the cities that we know, none ever stood so long a siege

158 Psammetichus left a son called Necos, who succeeded him upon the throne This prince was the first to attempt the construction of the canal to the Red Sea, a work completed afterwards by Darius the Persian, the length of which is four days' journey, and the width such as to admit of two triremes being rowed along it abreast The water is derived from the Nile, which the canal leaves a little above the city of Bubastis near Patumus, the Arabian town, being continued thence until it joins the Red Sea At first it is carried along the Arabian side of the Egyptian plain, as far as the chain of hills opposite Memphis, whereby the plain is bounded, and in which lie the great stone quarries, here it skirts the base of the hills running in a direction from west to east, after which it turns, and enters a narrow pass, trending southwards from this point, until it enters the Arabian Gulf From the northern sea to that which is called the southern or Red Sea, the shortest and quickest passage, which is from Mount Casius, the boundary between Egypt and Syria, to the Gulf of Arabia, is a distance of exactly 115 miles[81] But the way by the canal is very much longer on account of the crookedness of its course One hundred and twenty thousand of the Egyptians, employed upon the work in the reign of Necos, lost their lives in making the excavation He

[81] *The length of the canal was about eighty miles or if measured from* the Bubastite branch to the Red Sea about ninety six. The shortest distance from the Mediterranean to the Red Sea overland is about seventy six miles

at length desisted from his undertaking in consequence of an oracle which warned him that he was labouring for the bar barian The Egyptians call by the name of barbarians all such as speak a language different from their own

159 Necos when he gave up the construction of the canal turned all his thoughts to war and set to work to build a fleet of triremes some intended for service in the northern sea and some for the navigation of the Red Sea These last were built in the Arabian Gulf where the dry docks in which they lay are still visible These fleets he employed wherever he had occasion while he also made war by land upon the Syrians and defeated them in a pitched battle at Magdolus after which he made him self master of Cadytis a large city of Syria The dre s which he wore on these occasions he sent to Branchidae in Milesia as an offering to Apollo After having reigned in all sixteen years Necos died and at his death bequeathed the throne to his son Psammis

160 In the reign of Psammis ambassadors from Elis arrived in Egypt boasting that their arrangements for the conduct of the Olympic games were the best and fairest that could be de v sed and fancying that not even the Egyptians who surpassed all other nations in wisdom could add anything to their perfec tion When these persons reached Egypt and explained the reason of their visit the king summoned an assembly of all the wisest of the Egyptians They met and the Eleans having given them a full account of all their rules and regulations with respect to the contests said that they had come to Egypt for the express purpo e of learning whether the Egyptians could im prove the fairness of their regulations in any particular The Egyptians considered a while and then made inquiry If they allowed their own citizens to enter the lists? The Eleans an swered That the lists were open to all Greeks whether they belonged to Elis or to any other state Hereupon the Egyptians ob erved That if this were so they departed from justice very widely since it was impossible but that they would favour their own countrymen and deal unfairly by foreigners If therefore

they really wished to manage the games with fairness, and if this was the object of their coming to Egypt, they advised them to confine the contests to strangers, and allow no native of Elis to be a candidate" Such was the advice which the Egyptians gave to the Eleans

161 Psammis reigned only six years He attacked Ethiopia, and died almost directly afterwards Apries, his son, succeeded him upon the throne, who, excepting Psammetichus, his great-grandfather, was the most prosperous of all the kings that ever ruled over Egypt The length of his reign was twenty five years, and in the course of it he marched an army to attack Sidon, and fought a battle with the king of Tyre by sea When at length the time came that was fated to bring him woe, an occasion arose which I shall describe more fully in my Libyan history, only touching it very briefly here An army despatched by Apries to attack Cyrene having met with a terrible reverse the Egyptians laid the blame on him imagining that he had deliberately sent the troops into the jaws of destruction They believed he had wished a vast number of them to be slain, in order that he himself might reign with more security over the rest of the Egyptians Indignant therefore at this usage, the soldiers who returned and the friends of the slain broke instantly into revolt

162 Apries, on learning these circumstances, sent Amasis to the rebels, to appease the tumult by persuasion Upon his arrival as he was seeking to restrain the malcontents by his exhortations, one of them, coming behind him, put a helmet on his head, saying, as he put it on that he thereby crowned him king Amasis was not altogether displeased at the action as his conduct soon made manifest for no sooner had the insurgents agreed to make him actually their king than he prepared to march with them against Apries That monarch on tidings of these events reaching him, sent Patarbemis, one of his courtiers a man of high rank to Amasis, with orders to bring him alive into his presence Patarbemis, on arriving at the place where Amasis was, called on him to come back with him to the king

whereupon Amasis farted and said Take that back to your master When the envoy notwithstanding this reply persisted in his request exhorting Amasis to obey the summons of the king he answered that this was exactly what he had long been intending to do Apries would have no reason to complain of him on the score of delay he would shortly come himself to the king and bring others with him Patarbemis upon this comprehending the intention of Amasis partly from his replies and partly from the preparations which he saw in progress departed hastily wishing to inform the king with all speed of what was going on Apries however when he saw him approaching without Amasis fell into a paroxysm of rage and not giving himself time for reflection commanded the nose and ears of Patarbemis to be cut off Then the rest of the Egyptians who had hitherto sided with Apries when they saw a man of such note among them so shamefully outraged without a moment s hesitation went over to the rebels and put themselves at the disposal of Amasis

163 Apries informed of this new calamity armed his mercenaries and led them against the Egyptians this was a body of Carians and Ionians numbering 30 000 men which was now with him at Sais where his palace stood—a vast building well worthy of notice The army of Apries marched out to attack the host of the Egyptians while that of Amasis went forth to fight the strangers and now both armies drew near the city of Momemphis and prepared for the coming fight

164 The Egyptians are divided into even distinct classes—these are the priests the warriors the cowherds the swineherds the tradesmen the interpret rs and the boatmen Their titles indicate their occupation The warriors consist of Hermotybians and Calasirians who come from different nomes the whole of Egypt being parcelled out into districts bearing this name

165 The followin nomes furnish the Hermotybians—the nomes of Busiris Sais Chemmis Papremis that of the island called Prosopitis and half of Natho They number when most

numerous, 160,000 None of them ever practises a trade, but all are given wholly to war

166 The nomes of the Calasirians are different—they include the following the nomes of Thebes, Bubastis, Aphthis, Tanis, Mendes, Sebennytus, Athribis, Pharbaethus, Thmuis, Onuphis, Anysis, and Myecphoris—this last nome consists of an island which lies over against the town of Bubastis The Calasirians, when at their greatest number have amounted to 250,000 Like the Hermotybians they are forbidden to pursue any trade and devote themselves entirely to warlike exercises, the son following the father s calling

167 Whether the Greeks borrowed from the Egyptians their notions about trade, like so many others, I cannot say for certain I have remarked that the Thracians, the Scyths, the Persians, the Lydians, and almost all other barbarians hold the citizens who practise trades, and their children in less repute than the rest while they esteem as noble those who keep aloof from handicrafts, and especially honour such as are given wholly to war These ideas prevail throughout the whole of Greece, particularly among the Lacedaemonians Corinth is the place where mechanics are least despised

168 The warrior class in Egypt had certain special privileges in which none of the rest of the Egyptians participated except the priests In the first place each man had twelve aruræ[a] of land assigned him free from tax (The arura is a square of a hundred Egyptian cubits, the Egyptian cubit being of the same length as the Samian) All the warriors enjoyed this privilege together but there were other advantages which came to each in rotation the same man never obtaining them twice A thousand Calasirians, and the same number of Hermotybians, formed in alternate years the body guard of the king and during their year of service these persons, besides their aruræ, received a daily portion of meat and drink, consisting of five pounds of baked bread two pounds of beef, and four cups of wine

[a] The arura was about two thirds of an English acre and was only a land measure

made of the gold an image of one of the gods which he set up in the most public place in the whole city upon which the Egyptians flocked to the image and worshipped it with the utmost reverence Amasis finding this was so called an assembly and opened the matter to them explaining how the image had been made of the foot pan wherein they had been wont formerly to wash their feet vomit and piss yet now it was greatly reverenced And truly he went on to say it had gone with him as with the foot pan If he was a private person formerly yet now he had come to be their king And so he bade them honour and reverence him Such was the mode in which he won over the Egyptians and brought them to be content to do him service

173 The following was the general habit of his life From early dawn to the time when the market place is wont to fill he sedulously transacted all the business that was brought before him during the remainder of the day he drank and joked with his guests passing the time in witty and sometimes scarce seemly conversation It grieved his friends that he should thus demean himself and accordingly some of them chid him on the subject saying to him O king you demean your royal dignity while you allow yourself such levities You should sit in state upon a stately throne and busy yourself with affairs the whole day long So would the Egyptians feel that a great man rules them and you would be better poken of But now you conduct yourself in no kingly fashion Amasis answered them thus Bowmen bend their bows when they wish to shoot unbrace them when the shooting is over Were they kept always strung they would break and fail the archer in time of need So it is with men If they give themsel es constantly to serious work and never indulge a while in pastime or sport they lose their senses and become mad or moody Knowing this I divide my life between pastime and business Thus he answered his friends

174 It is said that Amasis even while he was a private man had the same tastes for drinking and jesting and was averse to engaging in any serious employment He lived in constant

feasts and revelries, and whenever his means failed him, he roamed about and robbed people On such occasions the persons from whom he had stolen would bring him, if he denied the charge, before the nearest oracle, sometimes, the oracle would pronounce him guilty of the theft, at other times it would acquit him When afterwards he came to be king, he neglected the temples of such gods as had declared that he was not a thief, and neither contributed to their adornment, nor frequented them for sacrifice, since he regarded them as utterly worthless, and their oracles as wholly false but the gods who had detected his guilt he considered to be true gods whose oracles did not deceive, and these he honoured exceedingly

175 First of all, therefore, he built the gateway of the temple of Athena at Sais, which is an astonishing work, far surpassing all other buildings of the same kind both in extent and height and built with stones of rare size and excellency In the next place, he presented to the temple a number of large colossal statues, and several prodigious man headed sphinxes, besides certain stones for the repairs, of a most extraordinary size Some of these he got from the quarries over against Memphis but the largest were brought from Elephantine, which is twenty days' voyage from Sais Of all these wonderful masses that which I most admire is a chamber made of a single stone, which was quarried at Elephantine It took three years to convey this block from the quarry to Sais and in the conveyance were employed no fewer than 2,000 labourers who were all from the class of boatmen The length of this chamber on the outside is thirty-one feet, its breadth twenty one feet, and its height twelve feet The measurements inside are the following the length twenty eight feet, the breadth, eighteen feet and the height, nine feet It lies near the entrance of the temple, where it was left in consequence of the following circumstance It happened that the architect, just as the stone had reached the spot where it now stands heaved a sigh, considering the length of time that the removal had taken and feeling wearied with the heavy toil The sigh was heard by Amasis who regarding it as an omen, would not allow the chamber to be moved forward

any further Some however say that one of the workmen engaged at the levers was crushed and killed by the mass and that this was the reason of its being left where it now stands

176 To the other temples of much note Amasis also made magnificent offerings—at Memphis for instance he gave the recumbent colossus[85] in front of the temple of Hephaestus which is seventy five feet long Two other colossal statues stand on the same base each twenty feet high carved in the stone of Ethiopia one on either side of the temple There is also a stone colossus of the same size at Sais recumbent like that at Memphis Amasis finally built the temple of Isis at Memphis a vast structure well worth seeing

177 It is said that the reign of Amasis was the most prosperous time that Egypt ever saw[86] the river was more liberal to the land and the land brought forth more abundantly for the service of man than had ever been known before while the number of inhabited cities was not less than 20 000 It was this king Amasis who established the law that every Egyptian should appear once a year before the governor of his nome[87] and show his means of living or failing to do so and to prove that he got an honest livelihood should be put to death Solon the Athenian borrowed this law from the Egyptians and im

[85] It was n al po its n f a Egypt n t t nd this s w ll s the th t M mphis and th m n lith m y ha bee l ft th g o d in o seq n f th t bl wh l cam upo Egypt t the tim and whi h the Egyptia l d f m H d t s.

[86] This can nly r lat t th int rn l t t of the c try a d what He d tus aft rw ds says sh w th w s his m ani g Th fl rishi g int rn l c ditn n of Egypt is c rt ly p o ed by the mo um t a d the w alth of pri t i d duals w ery ma k bl b t Egypt had lost ll it power br d d had l g been th t d lf n t ct lly l raded by the Babyl nians. I d d the il war between Apries nd Amasis h d p b bly gi e N b ch dn zz a pport ity f r i t rf ring in Egypt

[87] Each nom was g erned by a m na h. H od t ttributes thi law t Amasis but it ppears t ha been much ld i ce we find in the sculptures of th eightee th dyna ty bodi f m prese t g th m selves bef re the magistrates f r registration.

posed it on his countrymen, who have observed it ever since It is indeed an excellent custom

178 Amasis was partial to the Greeks, and among other favours which he granted them, gave to such as liked to settle in Egypt the city of Naucratis for their residence To those who only wished to trade upon the coast, and did not want to fix their abode in the country he granted certain lands where they might set up altars and erect temples to the gods Of these temples the grandest and most famous, which is also the most frequented, is that called the Hellenium It was built conjointly by the Ionians, Dorians and Aeolians the following cities taking part in the work the Ionian states of Chios Teos Phocaea, and Clazomenae Rhodes Cnidus, Halicarnassus and Phaselis of the Dorians and Mytilene of the Aeolians These are the states to whom the temple belongs and they have the right of appointing the governors of the port the other cities which claim a share in the building claim what in no sense belong to them Three nations however consecrated for themselves separate temples the Aeginetans one to Zeus, the Samians to Hera and the Milesians to Apollo

179 In ancient times there was no trading port but Naucratis in the whole of Egypt and if a person entered one of the other mouths of the Nile he was obliged to swear, that he had not come there of his own free will Having so done he was bound to sail in his ship to the Canobic mouth or were that impossible owing to contrary winds he must take his wares by boat all round the Delta and so bring them to Naucratis which had an exclusive privilege

180 It happened in the reign of Amasis that the temple of Delphi had been accidentally burnt [88] and the Amphictyons had contracted to have it rebuilt for 300 talents of which sum one fourth was to be furnished by the Delphians Under these circumstances the Delphians went from city to city begging contri

[88] The temple at Delphi was burnt in the year 548 B.C. consequently in the twenty first year of Amasis Herodotus is apparently refuting the story that it was purposely destroyed by the Pisistratidae

butions and amon, their other wanderings came to Egypt and asked for help From few other places did they obtain so much —Amasis gave them a thousand talents of alum and the Greek settlers twenty minae

181 A league was concluded by Amasis with the Cyrenaeans by which Cyrene and Egypt became close friends and allies He likewise took a wife from that city either as a sign of his friendly feeling or because he had a fancy to marry a Greek woman However this may be certain it is that he espoused a lady of Cyrene by name Ladice daughter some say of Battus or Arcesilaus the king—others of Critobulus one of the chief citizens When Amasis went to bed with her he was unable to have intercourse with her though he had shown no lack of viril ity with other women Astonished the king thus addressed his bride Woman you have certainly bewitched me—now there fore be sure you shall perish more miserably than ever woman perished yet Ladice protested her innocence but in vain Ama sis was not softened Hereupon she made a vow internally that if he had intercourse with her that ni ht (for no longer time was allowed her) she would present a statue to the temple of Aphrodite at Cyrene Immediately she obtained her wish and the king s weakness disappeared Amasis loved her greatly ever after and Ladice performed her vow The statue which she caused to be made and sent to Cyrene continued there to my day standing with its face looking outwards from the city Ladice herself when Cambyses conquered Egypt suffered no wrong for Cambyses on learning of her who she was sent her back unharmed to her country

182 Besides the marks of favour already mentioned Ama sis also enriched with offerings many of the Greek temples He sent to Cyrene a statue of Athena covered with plates of gold and a painted likeness of himself To the Athena of Lindus he gave two statues in stone and a linen corslet well worth inspec tion To the Samian Hera he presented two statues of himself made in wood which stood in the great temple to my day be hind the doors Samos was honoured with these gifts on account of the bond of friendship subsisting between Amasis and Polyc

rates, the son of Aeaces, Lindus, for no such reason, but because of the tradition that the daughters of Danaus touched there in their flight from the sons of Aegyptus, and built the temple of Athena Such were the offerings of Amasis He likewise took Cyprus, which no man had ever done before, and compelled it to pay him a tribute

The Third Book Entitled

THALIA

1 The above mentioned Amasis was the Egyptian king against whom Cambyses son of Cyrus made his expedition and with him went an army composed of the many nations under his rule among them being included both Ionic and Aeolic Greeks The reason of the invasion was the following Cambyses by the advice of a certain Egyptian who was angry with Amasis for having torn him from his wife and children and given him over to the Persians had sent a herald to Amasis to ask his daughter in marriage His adviser was a physician whom Amasis when Cyrus had requested that he would send him the most skilful of all the Egyptian eye-doctors singled out as the best from the whole number Therefore the Egyptian bore Amasis a grudge and his reason for urging Cambyses to ask the hand of the king's daughter was that if he complied it might cause him annoyance if he refused it might make Cambyses his enemy When the message came Amasis who much dreaded the power of the Persians was greatly perplexed whether to give his daughter or no for that Cambyses did not intend to make her his wife but would only receive her as his concubine he knew for certain He therefore cast the matter in his mind and finally resolved what he would do There was a daughter of

H od t has l dy t ld us th t th bj gatl f Egypt w am g th d gn f Cyru (l 53) I d ed tw m t f J !! cha ct e h by itself gh t a t f th tt k u g l the Persia rms i this di ect o res g d tl l t f c q est

the late king Apries, named Nitetis,[2] a tall and beautiful woman, the last survivor of that royal house. Amasis took this woman, and, decking her out with gold and costly garments, sent her to Persia as if she had been his own child. Some time afterwards, Cambyses, as he gave her an embrace, happened to call her by her father's name, whereupon she said to him, "I see, O king, you know not how you have been cheated by Amasis, who took me, and, tricking me out with gauds, sent me to you as his own daughter. But I am in truth the child of Apries, who was his lord and master, until he rebelled against him, together with the rest of the Egyptians, and put him to death." It was this speech, and the cause of quarrel it disclosed, which roused the anger of Cambyses, son of Cyrus, and brought his arms upon Egypt. Such is the Persian story.

2. The Egyptians, however, claim Cambyses as belonging to them, declaring that he was the son of this Nitetis. It was Cyrus, they say, and not Cambyses, who sent to Amasis for his daughter. But here they mis-state the truth. Acquainted as they are beyond all other men with the laws and customs of the Persians, they cannot but be well aware, first, that it is not the Persian custom to allow a bastard to reign when there is a legitimate heir; and next, that Cambyses was the son of Cassandane, the daughter of Pharnaspes, an Achaemenian, and not of this Egyptian. But the fact is, that they pervert history in order to claim relationship with the house of Cyrus. Such is the truth of this matter.

3. I have also heard another account, which I do not at all believe: that a Persian lady came to visit the wives of Cyrus, and seeing how tall and beautiful were the children of Cassandane, then standing by, broke out into loud praise of them, and admired them exceedingly. But Cassandane, wife of Cyrus, answered, "Though such the children I have borne him, yet Cyrus

[2] This account, which Herodotus says was that of the Persians, is utterly inadmissible. That of the Egyptians, who pretended that Cambyses was the son of a daughter of Apries, is quite eastern, and resembles the Persian story of Alexander the Great having been born of a Persian princess.

slights me and gives all his regard to the newcomer from Egypt Thus did she express her vexation on account of Nitetis whereupon Cambyses the eldest of her boys exclaimed Mother when I am a man I will turn Egypt upside down for you He was but ten years old as the tale runs when he said this and astonished all the women yet he never forgot it afterwards and on this account they say when he came to be a man and mounted the throne he made his expedition against Egypt

4 There was another matter quite distinct which helped to bring about the expedition One of the mercenaries of Amasis a Halicarnassian Phanes by name a man of good judgment and a brave warrior dissatisfied for some reason or other with his master deserted the service and taking ship fled to Cambyses wishing to get speech with him As he was a person of no small account among the mercenaries and one who could give very exact intelligence about Egypt Amasis anxious to recover him ordered that he should be pursued He gave the matter in charge to one of the most trusty of the eunuchs who went in quest of the Halicarnassian in a vessel of war The eunuch caught him in Lycia but did not contrive to bring him back to Egypt for Phanes outwitted him by making his guards drunk and then escaping into Persia Now it happened that Cambyses was meditating his attack on Egypt and doubting how he might best pass the desert when Phanes arrived and not only told him all the secrets of Amasis but advised him also how the desert might be crossed He counselled him to send an ambassador to the king of the Arabs and ask him for safe-conduct through the region

5 Now the only entrance into Egypt is by this desert the country from Phoenicia to the borders of the city Cadytis belongs to the people called the Palestine Syrians from Cadytis which it appears to me is a city almost as large as Sardis the marts upon the coast till you reach Ienysus are the Arabian king s after Ienysus the Syrians again come in and extend to Lake Serbonis near the place where Mount Casius juts out into the sea At Lake Serbonis where the tale goes that Typhon hid

himself, Egypt begins Now the whole tract between Ienysus on the one side, and Lake Serbonis and Mount Casius on the other, and this is no small space, being as much as three days' journey, is a dry desert without a drop of water

6 I shall now mention a thing of which few of those who sail to Egypt are aware Twice a year wine is brought into Egypt from every part of Greece as well as from Phoenicia, in earthen jars, and yet in the whole country you will nowhere see, as I may say, a single jar What then, every one will ask, becomes of the jars? This, too I will clear up The mayor of each town has to collect the wine jars within his district and to carry them to Memphis, where they are all filled with water by the Memphians, who then convey them to this desert tract of Syria And so it comes to pass that all the jars which enter Egypt year by year and are there put up to sale, find their way into Syria, whither all the old jars have gone before them

7 This way of keeping the passage into Egypt fit for use by storing water there was begun by the Persians so soon as they became masters of that country As however at the time of which we speak the tract had not yet been so supplied Cambyses took the advice of his Halicarnassian guest and sent messengers to the Arabian to beg a safe-conduct through the region The Arabian granted his prayer, and each pledged faith to the other

8 The Arabs keep such pledges more religiously than almost any other people They plight faith with the forms following When two men would swear a friendship they stand on each side of a third he with a sharp stone makes a cut on the inside of the hand of each near the middle finger, and taking a piece from their dress dips it in the blood of each and moistens therewith seven stones lying in the midst calling the while on Dionysus and Heavenly Aphrodite After this the man who makes the pledge commends the stranger (or the citizen if citizen he be) to all his friends, and they deem themselves bound to stand to the engagement They have but these two gods, to wit, Dionysus and Heavenly Aphrodite, and they say that in their

mode of cutting the hair they follow Dionysus Now their prac tice is to cut it in a ring away from the temples Dionysus they call in their language Orotal and Aphrodite Alilat

9 When therefore the Arabian had pledged his faith to the messengers of Cambyses he straightway contrived as follows he filled a number of camels skins with water and loading therewith all the live camels that he possessed drove them into the desert and awaited the coming of the army This is the more likely of the two tales that are told The other is an improbable story but as it is related I think that I ought not to pass it by There is a great river in Arabia called the Corys which empties itself into the Red Sea The Arabian king they say made a pipe of the skins of oxen and other beasts reaching from this river all the way to the desert and so brought the water to certain cisterns which he had had dug in the desert to receive it It is a twelve days journey from the river to this desert tract And the water they say was brought through three different pipes to three eparate places

10 Psammenitus on of Amasis lay encamped at the mouth of the Nile called the Pelusiac awaiting Cambyses For Cam by es when he went up against Egypt found Amasis no longer in life he had died after ruling Egypt forty four years during all which time no great misfortune had befallen him When he died his body was embalmed and buried in the tomb which he had himself caused to be made in the temple After his son Psammenitus had mounted the throne a strange prodigy oc curred in Egypt Rain fell at Egyptian Thebes a thing which never happened before and which to the present time has never happened again as the Thebans them elves testify In Upper Egypt it does not usually rain at all but on this occasion rain fell at Thebes in small drops

11 The Persians crossed the desert and pitching their camp close to the Egyptians made ready for battle Hereupon the mercenaries in the pay of Psammenitus who were Greeks and Carians full of anger a ainst Phanes for having brou ht a for eign army upon Egypt bethought themselves of a mode whereby they might be revenged on him Phanes had left sons in Egypt

The mercenaries took these, and leading them to the camp, displayed them before the eyes of their father, after which they brought out a bowl, and, placing it in the space between the two hosts, they led the sons of Phanes, one by one, to the vessel and slew them over it. When the last was dead, water and wine were poured into the bowl, and all the soldiers tasted of the blood, and so they went to the battle. Stubborn was the fight which followed, and it was not till vast numbers had been slain upon both sides, that the Egyptians turned and fled.

12. On the field where this battle was fought I saw a very wonderful thing which the natives pointed out to me. The bones of the slain lie scattered upon the field in two lots, those of the Persians in one place by themselves, as the bodies lay at the first—those of the Egyptians in another place apart from them. If, then, you strike the Persian skulls, even with a pebble, they are so weak, that you break a hole in them; but the Egyptian skulls are so strong, that you may smite them with a stone and you will scarcely break them in. They gave me the following reason for this difference, which seemed to me likely enough. The Egyptians (they said) from early childhood have the head shaved, and so by the action of the sun the skull becomes thick and hard. The same cause prevents baldness in Egypt, where you see fewer bald men than in any other land. Such, then, is the reason why *the skulls of the Egyptians are so strong*. The Persians, on the other hand, have feeble skulls, because they keep themselves shaded from the first, wearing turbans upon their heads. What I have here mentioned I saw with my own eyes, and I observed also the like at Papremis, in the case of the Persians who were killed with Achæmenes, the son of Darius, by *Inarus the Libyan*.

13. The Egyptians who fought in the battle, no sooner turned their backs upon the enemy, than they fled away in complete disorder to Memphis, where they shut themselves up within the walls. Hereupon Cambyses sent a Mytilenæan vessel, with a Persian herald on board, who was to sail up the Nile to Memphis, and *invite the Egyptians to a surrender*. They, however, when they saw the vessel entering the town, poured forth in

crowds from the castle destroyed the ship and tearing the crew limb from limb so bore them into the fortress After this Memphis was besieged and in due time surrendered Hereon the Libyans who bordered upon Egypt fearing the fate of that country gave themselves up to Cambyses without a battle made an agreement to pay tribute to him and forthwith sent him gifts The Cyrenaeans too and the Barcaeans having the same fear as the Libyans immediately did the like Cambyses received the Libyan presents very graciously but not so the gifts of the Cyrenaeans They had sent no more than five hundred minae of silver which Cambyses I imagine thought too little He therefore snatched the money from them and with his own hands scattered it among his soldiers

14 Ten days after the fort had fallen Cambyses resolved to try the spirit of Psammenitus the Egyptian king whose whole reign had been but six months He therefore had him set in one of the suburbs and many other Egyptians with him and there subjected him to insult First of all he sent his daughter out from the city clothed in the garb of a slave with a pitcher to draw water Many virgins the daughters of the chief nobles accompanied her wearing the same dress When the damsels came opposite the place where their fathers sat shedding tears and uttering cries of woe the fathers all but Psammenitus wept and wailed in return grieving to see their children in so sad a plight but he when he had looked and seen bent his head towards the ground In this way passed by the water-carrier Next to them came Psammenitus son and 2 000 Egyptians of the same age with him—all of them having ropes round their necks and bridles in their mouths—and they too passed by on their way to suffer death for the murder of the Mytilenaeans who were destroyed with their vessel in Memphis For so had the royal judges given their sentence for each Mytilenaean ten of the noblest Egyptians must forfeit life King Psammenitus saw the train pass on and knew his son was being led to death but while the other Egyptians who sat around him wept and were sorely troubled he showed no further sign than when he saw his daughter And now when they too were gone it chanced

that one of his former boon companions, a man advanced in years who had been stripped of all that he had and was a beggar, came where Psammenitus, son of Amasis, and the rest of the Egyptians were asking alms from the soldiers At this sight the king burst into tears, and weeping out aloud, called his friend by his name, and smote himself on the head Now there were some who had been set to watch Psammenitus and see what he would do as each train went by so these persons went and told Cambyses of his behaviour Then he astonished at what was done, sent a messenger to Psammenitus and questioned him saying, Psammenitus Cambyses asks you why when you saw your daughter brought to shame and your son on his way to death, you neither cried nor wept while to a beggar who is he hears, a stranger to your race you gave those marks of honour To this question Psammenitus made answer, O son of Cyrus my own misfortunes were too great for tears but the woe of my friend deserved them When a man falls from splendour and plenty into beggary at the threshold of old age one may well weep for him When the messenger brought back this answer Cambyses owned it was just, Croesus likewise the Egyptians say burst into tears—for he too had come into Egypt with Cambyses—and the Persians who were present wept Even Cambyses himself was touched with pity, and he forthwith gave an order that the son of Psammenitus should be spared from the number of those appointed to die and Psammenitus himself brought from the suburb into his presence

15 The messengers were too late to save the life of Psammenitus son who had been cut in pieces the first of all but they took Psammenitus himself and brought him before the king Cambyses allowed him to live with him and gave him no more harsh treatment indeed could he have kept from meddling with affairs he might have recovered Egypt and ruled it as governor For the Persian custom is to treat the sons of kings with honour and even to give their fathers kingdoms to the children of such as revolt from them There are many cases from which one may collect that this is the Persian rule and especially those of Pausiris and Thannyras Thannyras was son

of Inarus the Libyan and was allowed to succeed his father a. was also Pausiris son of Amyrtaeus yet certainly no two persons ever did the Persians more damage than Amyrtaeus and Inarus[3] In this case Psammenitus plotted evil and received his reward accordingly He was discovered to be stirring up revolt in Egypt wherefore Cambyses when his guilt clearly appeared compelled him to drink bull s blood[4] which presently caused his death Such was the end of Psammenitus

16 After this Cambyses left Memphis and went to Sais wishing to do that which he actually did on his arrival there He entered the palace of Amasis and strai htway commanded that the body of the king should be brought forth from the sepulchre When the attendants did according to his commandment he further bade them scourge the body and prick it with goads and pluck the hair from it and heap upon it all manner of insults The body however having been embalmed resisted and refused to come apart do what they would to it so the attendants grew weary of their work whereupon Cambyses bade them take the corpse and burn it This was truly an impious command to give for the Persians hold fire to be a god and never by any chance burn their dead Indeed this practice is unlawful both with them and with the Egyptians—with them for the reason above ment oned since they deem it wrong to give the corpse of a man to a god and with the Egyptians because they believe fire to be a live animal which eats whatever it can seize and then glutted with the food dies with the matter wh ch it feeds upon Now to give a man s body to be devoured by beasts is in no wise agreeable to their customs and indeed this is the very reason why they embalm their dead namely to prevent them from being eaten in the grave by worms Thus Cambyses commanded what both nations accounted unlawful Accordin~ to the Egyptians it was not Amasis

It is not u lik ly th t M eth s six ye f Amyrt th Sait a e the l years (f om 460 B C to 455 B.C) in th n f A ta erxes d g which Egypt i kn w t h e been l d pe l t f P l th gh the ex rt ns of I rus d Amyrtaeu

Bull blood was supposed t c gul t nd ch k the dri k r

who was thus treated, but another of their nation who was of about the same height The Persians, believing this man's body to be the king's, abused it in the fashion described above Amasis, they say, was warned by an oracle of what would happen to him after his death in order, therefore, to prevent the impending fate, he buried the body, which afterwards received the blows, inside his own tomb near the entrance, commanding his son to bury him, when he died, in the farthest recess of the same sepulchre For my own part I do not believe that these orders were ever given by Amasis the Egyptians, as it seems to me, falsely assert it, to save their own dignity

17 After this Cambyses took counsel with himself, and planned three expeditions One was against the Carthaginians another against the Ammonians, and a third against the long lived Ethiopians, who dwelt in that part of Libya which borders upon the southern sea He judged it best to despatch his fleet against Carthage and to send some portion of his land army to act against the Ammonians while his spies went into Ethiopia under the pretence of carrying presents to the king but in reality to take note of all they saw, and especially to observe whether there was really what is called the table of the sun in Ethiopia

18 Now the table of the sun, according to the accounts given of it, may be thus described It is a meadow in the skirts of their city full of the boiled flesh of all manner of beasts, which the magistrates are careful to store with meat every night, and where whoever likes may come and eat during the day The people of the land say that the earth itself brings forth the food Such is the description which is given of this table

19 When Cambyses had made up his mind that the spies should go, he forthwith sent to Elephantine for certain of the Fish eaters who were acquainted with the Ethiopian tongue and while they were being fetched issued orders to his fleet to sail against Carthage But the Phoenicians said they would not go since they were bound to the Carthaginians by solemn oaths and since besides it would be wicked in them to make war on their own children Now when the Phoenicians refused the rest

of the fleet was unequal to the undertaking and thus it was that the Carthaginians escaped and were not enslaved by the Persians Cambyses thought it not right to force the war upon the Phoenicians because they had yielded themselves to the Persians and becau e upon the Phoenicians all his sea service depended The Cyprians had also joined the Persians of their own accord and took part with them in the expedition against Egypt

20 As soon as the Fish-eaters arrived from Elephantine Cambyses having told them what they were to say forthwith despatched them into Ethiopia with these following gifts a purple robe a gold chain for the neck armlets an alabaster box of myrrh and a cask of palm wine The Ethiopians to whom this embassy was sent are said to be the tallest and handsomest men in the whole world In their customs they differ greatly from the rest of mankind and particularly in the way they choose their kings for they find out the man wl o is the tallest of all the citizens and of strength equal to his height and appoint him to rule over them

21 The Fish-eate s on reachi ig th s people delivered the gifts to the king of the country and poke as follows Cambyses king of the Persians anxious to become your ally and sworn friend has sent us to address you and to bear you the gifts you see which are the things wherein he himself delights the most Hereon the Ethiopian who knew they came as pies made answer The king of the Persians ent you not with these gifts because he much desired to become my sworn friend—nor is the account which you give of yourselves true for you have come to search out my kingdom Also your king is not a ju t man—for were he so he had not coveted a land which is not his own nor brought slavery on a people who never did him an wrong Bear him this bow and say The king of the Ethiops thus advises the king of the Persians—when the Persians can pull a bow of this strength easily then let them come with ar army of superior stren th against the long lived Ethiopians—till then let them thank the gods that they have not put it into the heart of the sons of th Ethiops to covet countries which do not belong to them.

22 So speaking, he unstrung the bow, and gave it into the hands of the messengers Then, taking the purple robe, he asked them what it was, and how it had been made They answered truly, telling him concerning the purple, and the art of the dyer —whereat he observed that the men were deceitful, and their garments also Next he took the necklace and the armlets, and asked about them So the Fish eaters explained their use as ornaments Then the king laughed, and fancying they were fetters, said that the Ethiopians had much stronger ones Thirdly, he inquired about the myrrh and when they told him how it was made and rubbed upon the limbs he said the same concerning it that he had said of the robe Last of all he came to the wine, and having learnt their way of making it, he drank a draught, which greatly delighted him whereupon he asked what the Persian king ate, and to what age the longest lived of the Persians had been known to attain They told him that the king ate bread, and described the nature of wheat—adding that eighty years was the longest term of man's life among the Persians Hereat he remarked It did not surprise him if they fed on manure that they died so soon indeed he was sure they never would have lived so long as eighty years, except for the refreshment they got from that drink (meaning the wine) wherein he confessed that the Persians surpassed the Ethiopians

23 The Fish eaters then in their turn questioned the king concerning the term of life and diet of his people and were told that most of them lived to be 1 0 years old while some even went beyond that age—they ate boiled flesh and had for their drink nothing but milk When the Fish eaters showed wonder at the number of the years he led them to a fountain wherein when they had washed they found their flesh all glo[illegible] and sleek as if they had bathed in oil—and a scent came from the spring like that of violets The water was so weak they said that nothing would float in it neither wood nor any lighter substance but all went to the bottom If their account of this fountain be true it would be their constant use of the water from it which makes them so long lived When they quitted the fountain the king led them to a prison where the prisoners were

all bound with fetters of gold [5] Among these Ethiopians copper is of al metals the most scarce and valuable After they had seen the prison they were likewise shown what is called the table of the sun

4 Also last of all they were allowed to behold the coffins of the Ethiopians which are made (according to report) of crystal after the following fashion When the dead body has been dried either in the Egyptian or in some other manner they cover the whole with gypsum and adorn it with painting until it is as like the living man as possible Then they place the body in a crystal pillar which has been hollowed out to receive it crystal being dug up in great abundance in their country and of a kind very easy to work You may see the corp e through the pillar within which t lies and it neither gives out any unpleasant odour nor is it in any re pect unseemly yet there is no part that is not as plainly visible as if the body was bare The next of kin keep the crystal pillar in their houses a full year from the time of the death and give it the first fruits continually and honour it with sacrifice After the year is out they bear the pillar forth and set it up near the town

5 When the pies had now seen everything they returned back to Egypt and made report to Cambyses who was stirred to anger by their words Forthwith he set out on his march against the Ethiopians without having made any provision for the sustenance of his army or reflected that he was about to wage war in the uttermost parts of the earth Like a senseless madman as he was no sooner did he receive the report of the Fish-eaters than he began his march bidding the Greeks who were with his army remain where they were and taking his land force with him At Thebes which he passed through on his way he detached from his main body some 50 000 men and sent them against the Ammonians with orders to carry the people into captivity and burn the oracle of Zeus Meanwhile he him self went on with the rest of his forces again t the Ethiopians Before however he had accomplished one-fifth part of the distance all that the army had in the way of provisions failed

[5] This is prob ly all a tra ell r's tale b t gold was found in Ethiopia

whereupon the men began to eat the pack animals, which shortly failed also. If then, at this time, Cambyses, seeing what was happening, had confessed himself in the wrong, and led his army back, he would have done the wisest thing that he could after the mistake made at the outset; but as it was, he took no manner of heed, but continued to march forward. So long as the earth gave them anything, the soldiers sustained life by eating the grass and herbs; but when they came to the bare sand, a portion of them were guilty of a horrid deed: by tens they cast lots for a man, who was slain to be the food of the others. When Cambyses heard of these doings, alarmed at such cannibalism, he gave up his attack on Ethiopia, and retreating by the way he had come, reached Thebes, after he had lost vast numbers of his soldiers. From Thebes he marched down to Memphis, where he dismissed the Greeks, allowing them to sail home. And so ended the expedition against Ethiopia.

26. The men sent to attack the Ammonians, started from Thebes, having guides with them, and may be clearly traced as far as the city Oasis, which is inhabited by Samians, said to be of the tribe Aeschrionia. The place is distant from Thebes seven days' journey across the sand, and is called in our tongue the Island of the Blessed. Thus far the army is known to have made its way; but thenceforth nothing is to be heard of them, except what the Ammonians, and those who get their knowledge from them, report. It is certain they neither reached the Ammonians, nor ever came back to Egypt. Further than this, the Ammonians relate as follows: That the Persians set forth from Oasis across the sand, and had reached about half way between that place and themselves, when, as they were at their midday meal, a wind arose from the south, strong and deadly, bringing with it vast columns of whirling sand, which entirely covered up the troops, and caused them wholly to disappear. Thus, according to the Ammonians, did it fare with this army.

27. About the time when Cambyses arrived at Memphis, Apis appeared to the Egyptians. Now Apis is the god whom the Greeks call Epaphus. As soon as he appeared, straightway all the Egyptians arrayed themselves in their gayest garments, and

fell to feasting and jollity which when Cambyses saw making sure that these rejoicings were on account of his own ill success he called before him the officers who had charge of Memphis and demanded of them Why when he was in Memphis before the Egyptians had done nothing of this kind but waited until now when he had returned with the loss of so many of his troops? The officers made answer One of their gods had appeared to them a god who at long intervals of time had been accustomed to show himself in Egypt—and that always on his appearance the whole of Egypt feasted and kept jubilee When Cambyses heard this he told them that they lied and as liars he condemned them all to suffer death

28 When they were dead he called the priests to his presence and questionin~ them received the same answer whereupon he observed that he would soon know whether a tame god had really come to dwell in Egypt and straightway without another word he bade them bring Apis to him So they went out from his presence to fetch the god Now this Apis or Epaphus the calf of a cow which is never afterwards able to bear young The Egyptians say that fire comes down from heaven upon the cow which thereupon conceives Apis The calf which is so called has the following marks He is black with a square spot of white upon his forehead and on his back the figure of an eagle the hairs in his tail are double and there is a beetle upon his tongue

29 When the priests returned bringing Apis with them Cambyses like the harebrained person that he was drew his dagger and aimed at the belly of the animal but missed his mark and stabbed him in the thigh Then he laughed and said to the priests Blockheads do you think that gods become like thi of flesh and blood and sensible to steel? A fit god indeed for Egyptians such an one! But it shall cost you dear that you have made me your laughing stock When he had so spoken he ordered those whose business it was to scourge the priests and if they found any of the Egyptians keeping festival to put them to death Thus was the feast topped throughout the land of Egypt and the priests suffered punishment Apis wounded in

the thigh, lay some time pining in the temple, at last he died of his wound, and the priests buried him secretly without the knowledge of Cambyses

30 And now Cambyses, who even before had not been quite in his right mind, was forthwith, as the Egyptians say, smitten with madness for this crime The first of his outrages was the slaying of Smerdis,[6] his full brother, whom he had sent back to Persia from Egypt out of envy, because he drew the bow brought from the Ethiopians by the Fish eaters (which none of the other Persians were able to bend) the distance of two fingers' breadth When Smerdis was departed into Persia, Cambyses had a vision in his sleep—he thought a messenger from Persia came to him with tidings, that Smerdis sat upon the royal throne, and with his head touched the heaven Fearing therefore for himself and thinking it likely that his brother would kill him, and rule in his stead, Cambyses sent into Persia Prexaspes whom he trusted beyond all the other Persians bidding him put Smerdis to death So this Prexaspes went up to Susa and slew Smerdis Some say he killed him as they hunted together others that he took him down to the Red Sea and there drowned him

31 This it is said was the first outrage which Cambyses committed The second was the slaying of his sister who had accompanied him into Egypt, and lived with him as his wife, though she was his full sister, the daughter both of his father and his mother The way wherein he had made her his wife was the following It was not the custom of the Persians before his time to marry their sisters—but Cambyses happening to fall in love with one of his and wishing to take her to wife as he knew that it was an uncommon thing called together the royal judges and asked them whether there was any law which allowed a brother if he wished to marry his sister? Now the royal judges are certain picked men among the Persians who hold their office

The Persian name of this prince was Bardiya

The Behistun inscription expressly confirms the fact of the putting to death of Smerdis by his brother and also states that the death was not generally known

for life or until they are found guilty of some misconduct By them justice is administered in Persia and they are the interpreters of the old laws all disputes being referred to their decision When Cambyses therefore put his question to these judges they gave him an answer which was at once true and safe They did not find any law they said allowing a brother to take his sister to wife but they found a law that the king of the Persians might do whatever he pleased And so they neither warped th law through fear of Cambyses nor ruined themselves by over stiffly maintaining the law but they brought another quite distinct law to the king s help which allowed him to have his wish Cambyses therefore married the object of his love [8] and no long time afterwards he took to wife another sister It was the younger of the e who went with him into Egypt and there suffered death at his hands

3 Concerning the manner of her death as concerning that of Sm rdis two different accounts are given The story which the Greeks tell is that Cambyses had set a young dog to fight the cub of a lioness—his wife looking on at he time Now the dog was getting the worse when a pup of the same litter broke his chain and came to his brother s aid—then the two dogs together fought the lion and conquered him The thing greatly plea ed Cambyses but his sister who was sitting by shed tears When Cambyses saw this he asked her why she wept whereon she told him that seeing the young dog come to his brother s aid made her think of Smerdis whom there was none to help For this peech the Greeks say Cambyses put her to death But the Egyptians tell the story thus The two were itting at table when the sister took a lettuce and stripping the leaves off asked her brother when he thought the lettuce looked the prettie t—when it had all its leaves on or now that it was stripped? He answered When the leaves were on But you she rejoined have done as I did to the lettuce and made bare the house of Cyrus Then Cambyses was angry and pran f ercely upon

[8] This was At ssa th m the f X rx s h w th w f ccessi ely of Cambyses, th Pseu l Sm dis a d Dar us Hy ta pes.

her, though she was with child at the time And so it came to pass that she miscarried and died

33 Thus mad was Cambyses upon his own kindred, and this either from his usage of Apis, or from some other among the many causes from which calamities are wont to arise They say that from his birth he was afflicted with a dreadful disease, the disorder which some call the sacred sickness [9] It would be by no means strange, therefore, if his mind were affected in some degree, seeing that his body laboured under so sore a malady

34 He dealt madly with others besides his kindred, among the rest, upon Prexaspes the man whom he esteemed beyond all the rest of the Persians, who carried his messages, and whose son held the office—an honour of no small account in Persia—of his cupbearer Him Cambyses is said to have once addressed as follows, "What sort of man, Prexaspes, do the Persians think me? What do they say of me? Prexaspes answered, 'Sire, they praise you greatly in all things but one—they say you are too much given to love of wine Such Prexaspes told him was the judgment of the Persians whereupon Cambyses, full of rage, answered, 'What? they say now that I drink too much wine, and so have lost my senses, and am gone out of my mind! Then their former speeches about me were untrue' For once, when the Persians were sitting with him, and Croesus also, he had asked them, What sort of man they thought him compared to his father Cyrus? Hereon they had answered That he surpassed his father, for he was lord of all that his father ever ruled, and further had made himself master of Egypt and the sea' Then Croesus who was standing near and disliked the comparison spoke thus to Cambyses In my judgment, son of Cyrus, you are not equal to your father, for you have not yet left behind you such a son as he' Cambyses was delighted when he heard this reply and praised the judgment of Croesus

35 Recollecting these answers Cambyses spoke fiercely to Prexaspes, saying, Judge now Prexaspes whether the Persians tell the truth or whether it is not they who are mad for speaking

[9] The disease known under this name was epilepsy

as they do Look there now at your son standing in the vestibule —if I shoot and hit him right in the middle of the heart it will be plain the Persians have no grounds for what they say if I miss him then I allow that the Persians are right and that I am out of my mind So speaking he drew the bow to the full and struck the boy who straightway fell down dead Then Cambyses ordered the body to be opened and the wound examined and when the arrow was found to have entered the heart the king was quite overjoyed and said to the father with a laugh Now you see plainly Prexaspes that it is not I who am mad but the Persians who have lost their senses I pray you tell me did you ever see a man send an arrow with a better aim? Prexaspes seeing that the king was not in his right mind and fearing for himself replied My lord I do not think that god himself could shoot so dexterously Such was the outrage which Cambyses committed at this time at another he took twelve of the noblest Persians and without bringing any charge worthy of death against them buried them all up to the neck

36 Hereupon Croesus the Lydian thought it right to admonish Cambyses which he did in these words following O king do not give way entirely to youth and the heat of your temper but check and control yourself It is well to look to consequences and in forethought is true wisdom You lay hold of men who are your fellow-citizens and without cause of complaint slay them—you even put children to death—think now if you often do things like these will not the Persians rise in revolt against you? It is by your father s wish that I offer you advice he charged me strictly to give you such counsel as I might see to be good In thus advising Cambyses Croesus meant nothing but what was friendly But Cambyses answered him Do you presume to offer me advice? Right well you ruled your own country when you were a king and right sage advice you gave my father Cyrus bidding him cross the Araxes and fight the Massagetae in their own land when they were willing to have passed over into ours By your misdirection of your own affairs you brought ruin upon yourself and by your bad counsel which he followed you brought ruin upon Cyrus my father

But you shall not escape punishment now, for I have long been seeking to find some occasion against you." As he thus spoke, Cambyses took up his bow to shoot at Croesus, but Croesus ran hastily out, and escaped. So when Cambyses found that he could not kill him with his bow, he ordered his servants to seize him, and put him to death. The servants, however, who knew their master's humour, thought it best to hide Croesus, that so, if Cambyses relented, and asked for him, they might bring him out, and get a reward for having saved his life—if, on the other hand, he did not relent, or regret the loss, they might then despatch him. Not long afterwards, Cambyses did in fact regret the loss of Croesus, and the servants, perceiving it, let him know that he was still alive. "I am glad," said he, "that Croesus lives, but as for you who saved him, you shall not escape my vengeance, but shall all of you be put to death." And he did even as he had said.

37. Many other wild outrages of this sort did Cambyses commit, both upon the Persians and the allies, while he still stayed at Memphis; among the rest he opened the ancient sepulchres, and examined the bodies that were buried in them. He likewise went into the temple of Hephaestus, and made great sport of the image. For the image of Hephaestus is very like the Pataici of the Phoenicians, wherewith they ornament the prows of their ships of war. If persons have not seen these, I will explain in a different way—it is a figure resembling that of a pigmy. He went also into the temple of the Cabeiri, which it is unlawful for any one to enter except the priests, and not only made sport of the images, but even burnt them. They are made like the statue of Hephaestus, who is said to have been their father.

38. Thus it appears certain to me, by a great variety of proofs, that Cambyses was raving mad; he would not else have set himself to make a mock of holy rites and long-established usages. For if one were to offer men to choose out of all the customs in the world such as seemed to them the best, they would examine the whole number, and end by preferring their own; so convinced are they that their own usages far surpass those of all others. Unless, therefore, a man was mad, it is not likely that he

would make sport of such matters That people have this feeling about their laws may be seen by very many proofs among others by the following Darius after he had got the kingdom called into his presence certain Greeks who were at hand and asked what he should pay them to eat the bodies of their fathers when they died To which they answered that there was no sum that would tempt them to do such a thing He then sent for certain Indians of the race called Callatians men who eat their *fathers and asked them while the Greeks stood by and knew by the help of an interpreter all that was said what he should give them to burn the bodies of their fathers at their dece e The Indians exclaimed aloud and bade him forbear such language Such is men s custom and Pindar was right in my judgment when he said Law is king over all*

39 *While Cambyses was carrying on this war in Egypt the Lacedaemonians likewise ent a force to Samos against Pol c rates the son of Aeaces who had by insurrection made himself master of that island At the outset he divided the tate into three parts and shared the kingdom with his brothers Pantagnotus and Syloson but later having killed the former and banished the latter who was the younger of the two he held the whole isl nd Hereupon he made a contract of friendship with Amasis the Egyptian king sending him gifts and receiving from him others in return In a little while his power so greatly increased that the fame of it went abroad throughout Ionia and the rest of Greece Wherever he turned hi arms success waited on him He had a fleet of 100 fifty-oared ships and bowmen to the number of 1 000 Herewith he plundered all without distinction of friend or foe for he argued that a friend was better pleased if you gave him back what you had taken from him than if you spared him at the first He captured many of the islands and several towns upon the mainland Among his other doings he overcame the Lesbians in a ea f ght when they came with all their forces to the help of Miletus and made a*

*Th date of P lycrate a ces n is bout 53 B.C H rod t st ry bears marks of personal bserv ti but h has c nceal d th treachery of Samo b stres g th N mesis attendant on good fortun

number of them prisoners These persons, laden with fetters, dug the moat which surrounds the castle at Samos

40 The exceeding good fortune of Polycrates did not escape the notice of Amasis, who was much disturbed thereat When therefore his successes continued increasing, Amasis wrote him the following letter, and sent it to Samos 'Amasis to Polycrates speaks thus It is a pleasure to hear of a friend and ally prospering, but your exceeding prosperity does not cause me joy, for as much as I know that the gods are envious My wish for myself, and for those whom I love, is, to be now successful, and now to meet with a check, thus passing through life amid alternate good and ill, *rather than with perpetual good fortune* For never yet did I hear tell of any one succeeding in all his undertakings, who did not meet with calamity at last, and come to utter ruin Now, therefore, give ear to my words, and meet your good luck in this way Think which of all your treasures you value most and can least bear to part with take it, whatsoever it be, and throw it away, so that it may be sure never to come any more into the sight of man Then, if your good fortune be not thenceforth chequered with ill, save yourself from harm by again doing as I have counselled "

41 When Polycrates read this letter, and perceived that the advice of Amasis was good, he considered carefully with himself which of the treasures that he had it would grieve him most to lose After much thought he made up his mind that it was a signet ring which he wore, an emerald set in gold, the workmanship of Theodore, son of Telecles a Samian So he determined to throw this away, and, manning a fifty-oared ship, he went on board, and bade the sailors put out into the open sea When he was now a long way from the island he took the ring from his finger, and, in the sight of all those who were on board, flung it into the deep This done, he returned home, and gave vent to his sorrow

42 Now it happened five or six days afterwards that a fisherman caught a fish so large and beautiful that he thought it well deserved[1] to be made a present of to the king So he took it with him to the gate of the palace and said that he wanted to see

Polycrates Then Polycrates allowed him to come in and the fisherman gave him the fish with these words O king when I took this prize I thought I would not carry it to market though I am a poor man who live by my trade I said to myself it is worthy of Polycrates and his greatness and so I brought it here to give it to you The speech pleased the king who thus spoke in reply You did right well friend and I am doubly indebted both for the gift and for the speech Come now and sup with me So the fisherman went home esteeming it a high honour that he had been asked to sup with the king Meanwhile the servants on cutting open the fish found the signet of their master in its belly No sooner did they see it than they seized upon it and hastening to Polycrates with great joy restored it to him and told him in what way it had been found The king who saw something providential in the matter forthwith wrote a letter to Amasis telling him all that had happened what he had himself done and what had been the upshot—and despatched the letter to Egypt

43 When Amasis had read the letter of Polycrates he perceived that it does not belong to man to save his fellow man from the fate which is in store for him likewise he felt certain that Polycrates would end ill as he prospered in everything even finding what he had thrown away So he sent a herald to Samos and dissolved the contract of friendship[1] This he did that when the great and heavy misfortune came he might escape the grief which he would have felt if the sufferer had been his bond friend

44 It was with this Polycrates so fortunate in every undertaking that the Lacedaemonians now went to war Certain Samians the same who afterwards founded the city of Cydonia in Crete had earnestly entreated their help For Polycrates at the time when Cambyses son of Cyrus was gatherin together an armament against Egypt had ent to be him not to omit to a k a d from Samos whereupon Cambyses with much readin despatched a messenger to the island and made request that

[1] It wa p b bly P lycrat wh b ke ff h f l l h p w th Ama s finding it suitabl t his policy t cu ti at th f ian f C mb s

Polycrates would give some ships to the naval force which he was collecting against Egypt Polycrates straightway picked out from among the citizens such as he thought most likely to stir revolt against him, and manned with them forty triremes,[12] which he sent to Cambyses, bidding him keep the men safe, and never allow them to return home

45 Now some accounts say that these Samians did not reach Egypt, for that when they were off Carpathus, they took counsel together and resolved to sail no further But others maintain that they did go to Egypt, and, finding themselves watched, deserted, and sailed back to Samos There Polycrates went out against them with his fleet, and a battle was fought and gained by the exiles after which they disembarked upon the island and engaged the land forces of Polycrates but were defeated, and so sailed off to Lacedaemon Some relate that the Samians from Egypt overcame Polycrates, but it seems to me untruly, for had the Samians been strong enough to conquer Polycrates by themselves, they would not have needed to call in the aid of the Lacedaemonians And moreover it is not likely that a king who had in his pay so large a body of foreign mercenaries and maintained likewise such a force of native bowmen would have been worsted by an army so small as that of the returned Samians As for his own subjects to hinder them from betraying him and joining the exiles Polycrates shut up their wives and children in the sheds built to shelter his ships, and was ready to burn sheds and all in case of need

46 When the banished Samians reached Sparta, they had audience of the magistrates before whom they made a long speech as was natural with persons greatly in want of aid Accordingly at this first sitting the Spartans answered them that they had forgotten the first half of their speech and could make nothing of the remainder Afterwards the Samians had another audience, whereat they simply said, showing a bag which they

[12] The naval force of Polycrates was said to have consisted of vessels propelled by fifty rowers but his ships are now called triremes [illegible] having three banks of oars These are probably his best [illegible] of the vessels some few of which—certainly not forty—were triremes

had brought with tnem The bag wants flour' The Spartans answered that they did not need to have said the bag however they resolved to give them aid

47 Then the Lacedaemonians made ready and et forth to the attack of Samos from a motive of gratitude if we may believe the Samians because the Samians had once sent ships to their aid against the Messenians but as the Spartans themselves say not so much from any wish to assist the Samians who begged their help as from a desire to punish the people who had seized the bowl which they sent to Croesus and the corslet which Amasis king of Egypt sent as a present to them The Samians made prize of this corslet the year before they took the bowl—it was of linen and had a vast number of figures of animals inwoven into its fabric and was likewise embroidered with gold and cotton What is most worthy of admiration in it is that *each of the twists although of fine texture contains within it* 360 threads all of them clearly visible The corslet which Amasis gave to the temple of Athena in Lindus is just such another

48 The Corinthians likewise right willingly lent a helping hand towards the expedition against Samos for a generation earlier about the time of the seizure of the wine bowl they too had suffered insult at the hands of the Samians It happened that Periander on of Cyp elus had taken 300 boys children of the ch ef nobles among the Corcyraeans and ent them to Alyattes for eunuchs the men who had them in charge touched at Samos on their way to Sardis whereupon the Samians having found out what was to become of the boys when they reached that city first prompted them to take sanctuary at the temple of Artemis and after this when the Corinthians as they were forbidden to tear the suppliants from the holy place sou ht to cut off from them all supplies of food invented a festival in their behalf which they celebrate to this day with the elf same rites Each evening as ni ht clo ed in durin the whole time that the boys continued there choirs of youths and virgins were placed about the temple carrying in their hands cakes made of sesame and honey in order that the Corcyraean boys might snatch the cakes and so get enough to live upon

49 And this went on for so long that at last the Corinthians who had charge of the boys gave them up, and took their departure, upon which the Samians conveyed them back to Corcyra If, now, after the death of Periander, the Corinthians and Corcyraeans had been good friends, it is not to be imagined that the former would ever have taken part in the expedition against Samos for such a reason as this, but as in fact, the two people have always, ever since the first settlement of the island, been enemies to one another, this outrage was remembered, and the Corinthians bore the Samians a grudge for it Periander had chosen the youths from among the first families in Corcyra and sent them to Sardis for castration, to revenge a wrong which he had received For it was the Corcyraeans who began the quarrel and injured Periander by an outrage of a horrid nature

50 After Periander had put to death his wife Melissa it chanced that on this first affliction a second followed of a different kind His wife had borne him two sons and one of them had now reached the age of seventeen, the other of eighteen years, when their mother's father, Procles tyrant of Epidaurus, asked them to his court They went, and Procles treated them with much kindness as was natural considering they were his own daughter's children At length, when the time for parting came, Procles, as he was sending them on their way said, "Know you now my children, who it was that caused your mother's death?" The elder son took no account of this speech, but the younger whose name was Lycophron was sorely troubled at it—so much so, that when he got back to Corinth looking upon his father as his mother's murderer, he would neither speak to him nor answer when spoken to nor utter word in reply to all his questionings So Periander at last growing furious at such behaviour banished him from his house

51 *The younger son gone he turned to the elder and asked* him what it was that their grandfather had said to them Then he related in how kind and friendly a fashion he had received them but not having taken any notice of the [illegible] Procles had uttered at parting he quite *forgot* to mention it Periander insisted that it was not possible this [illegible]

their grandfather must have given them some hint or other—and he went on pressing him till at last the lad remembered the parting speech and told it Periander after he had turned the whole matter over in his thoughts and felt unwilling to give way at all sent a messenger to the persons who had opened their houses to his outcast son and forbade them to harbour him Then the boy when he was chased from one friend sought refuge with another but was driven from shelter to shelter by the threats of his father who menaced all those that took him in and commanded them to shut their doors against him Still as fast as he was forced to leave one house he went to another and was received by the inmates for his acquaintance al though in no small alarm yet gave him shelter as he was Peri ander s sor

52 At last Periander made proclamation that whoever har boured his son or even spoke to him should forfeit a certain sum of money to Apollo On hearing this no one any longer liked to take him in or even to converse with him and he him elf did not think it right to seek to do what was forbidden so abiding by his resolve he made his lodging in the public porticos When four days had passed in this way Periander eeing ho v wretched his on was that he neither washed nor took any food felt moved with compassion towards him wherefore foregoin his anger he approached him and said Which is better my son to fare as now you fare or to receive my crown and all the good things that I possess on the one condition of submitting to your father? See now though my own child and lord of thi wealthy Corinth you have brought yourself to a beggar s life because you resist and treat with anger him whom you hould lea t oppose If there has been a calamity and you bear me ill will on that account think that I too feel it and am the greatest sufferer in as much as it was by me that the dee l was done For yourself now that you know how much better a thing it is to be envied than pitied and how dangerous it is to indulge an er again t parents and superiors come back with me to your home With such words as these did Periander chide his son but the son made no reply except to remind his father that he

owed the god the penalty for coming and talking with him Then Periander knew that there was no cure for the youth's malady, nor means of overcoming it, so he prepared a ship and sent him away out of his sight to Corcyra, which island at that time belonged to him As for Procles Periander, regarding him as the true author of all his present troubles, went to war with him as soon as his son was gone, and not only made himself master of his kingdom Epidaurus, but also took Procles himself, and carried him into captivity

53 As time went on, and Periander came to be old, he found himself no longer equal to the oversight and management of affairs Seeing, therefore, in his eldest son no manner of ability but knowing him to be dull and blockish he sent to Corcyra and recalled Lycophron to take the kingdom Lycophron, however, did not even ask the bearer of this message a question But Periander's heart was set upon the youth so he sent again to him, this time by his own daughter, the sister of Lycophron who would, he thought, have more power to persuade him than any other person Then she, when she reached Corcyra spoke thus with her brother, 'Do you wish the kingdom, brother to pass into strange hands, and our father's wealth to be made a prey, rather than yourself return to enjoy it? Come back home with me and cease to punish yourself It is scant gain this obstinacy Why seek to cure evil by evil? Mercy remember is by many set above justice Many, also while pushing their mother's claims have forfeited their father's fortune Power is a slippery thing—it has many suitors and he is old and stricken in years—let not your inheritance go to another Thus did the sister who had been tutored by Periander what to say urge all the arguments most likely to have weight with her brother He however answered that so long as he knew his father to be still alive he would never go back to Corinth When the sister brought Periander this reply he sent to his son a third time by a herald and said he would come himself to Corcyra and let his son take his place at Corinth as heir to his kingdom To these terms Lycophron agreed and Periander was making ready to pass into Corcyra and his son to return to Corinth when the

Corcyraeans being informed of what was taking place to keep Periander away put the young man to death For this reason it was that Periander took vengeance on the Corcyraeans

54 The Lacedaemonians arrived before Samos with a mighty armament and laid siege to the place In one of the assaults upon the walls they forced their way to the top of the tower which stands by the sea on the side where the suburb is but Polycrates came in person to the rescue with a strong force and beat them back Meanwhile at the upper tower which stood on the ridge of the hill the besieged both mercenaries and Samians made a sally but after they had withstood the Lacedaemonians a short time they fled backwards and the Lacedaemonians pressing upon them slew numbers

55 If now all who were present had behaved that day like Archias and Lycopas two of the Lacedaemonians Samos might have been taken For these two heroes following hard upon the flying Samians entered the city along with them and being all alone and their retreat cut off were slain within the walls of the place I myself once fell in with the grandson of this Archias a man named Archias like his grandsire and the son of Samius whom I met at Pitana to which township he belonged He respected the Samians beyond all other foreigners and he told me that his father was called Samius because his grandfather Archias died in Samos so gloriously and that the reason why he respected the Samians so greatly was that his grandsire was buried with public honours by the Samian people

56 The Lacedaemonians besieged Samos during forty days but not making any progress before the place they raised the siege at the end of that time and returned home to the Peloponnese There is a silly tale told that Polycrates struck a quantity of the coin of his country in lead and coating it with gold gave it to the Lacedaemonians who on receiving it took their departure

This was the first expedition into Asia of the Lacedaemonian Dorians[13]

[13] These w ds re mph t They m k th pl ce whi h this expe liti occup es in the mind f H od tus It is agg essi of th G ks po

57 The Samians who had fought against Polycrates, when they knew that the Lacedaemonians were about to forsake them, left Samos themselves, and sailed to Siphnos. They happened to be in want of money; and the Siphnians at that time were at the height of their greatness, no islanders having so much wealth as they. There were mines of gold and silver in their country, and of so rich a yield, that from a tithe of the ores the Siphnians furnished out a treasury at Delphi which was on a par with the grandest there. What the mines yielded was divided year by year among the citizens. At the time when they formed the treasury, the Siphnians consulted the oracle, and asked whether their good things would remain to them many years. The priestess made answer as follows:

When the Prytanies' seat shines white in the island of Siphnos,
White-browed all the market—need then of a true seer's wisdom—
Danger will threat from a wooden host, and a herald in scarlet.

Now about this time the market place of the Siphnians and their town hall or prytaneum had been adorned with Parian marble.

58 The Siphnians, however, were unable to understand the oracle, either at the time when it was given, or afterwards on the arrival of the Samians. For these last no sooner came to anchor off the island than they sent one of their vessels, with ambassadors on board, to the city. All ships in these early times were painted with vermilion, and this was what the priestess had meant when she told them to beware of danger from a wooden host, and a herald in scarlet. So the ambassadors came ashore and besought the Siphnians to lend them ten talents; but the Siphnians refused, whereupon the Samians began to plunder their lands. Tidings of this reached the Siphnians, who straightway sallied forth to save their crops; then a battle was fought, in which the Siphnians suffered defeat, and many of their number were cut off from the city by the Samians, after

Asia, and therefore a passage in the h[illegible] of the great contest between [illegible] and Greece, for all Asia is the King's.

which these latter forced the Siphnians to give them 100 talents

59 With this money they bought of the Hermionians the island of Hydrea off the coast of the Peloponnese and this they gave in trust to the Troezenians to keep for them while they themselves went on to Crete and founded the city of Cydonia They had not meant when they set sail to settle there but only to drive out the Zacynthians from the island However they rested at Cydonia where they flourished greatly for five years It was they who built the various temples that may still be seen at that place and among them the temple of Dictyna[14] But in the sixth year they were attacked by the Aeginetans who beat them in a sea fight and with the help of the Cretans reduced them all to slavery The beaks of their ships which carried the figure of a wild boar they sawed off and laid them up in the temple of Athena in Aegina The Aeginetans took part against the Samians on account of an ancient grudge since the Samians had first when Amphicrates was king of Samos made war on them and done great harm to their island suffering however much damage also themselves Such was the reason which moved the Aeginetans to make this attack

60 I have dwelt the longer on the affairs of the Samians because three of the greatest works in all Greece were made by them One is a tunnel under a hill 900 feet high carried entirely through the base of the hill with a mouth at either end[15] The length of the cutting is almost a mile—the height and width are each eight feet Along the whole course there is a second cutting thirty feet deep and three feet broad whereby water is brought through pipes from an abundant source into the city The architect of this tunnel was Eupalinus son of Naustrophus a Megarian Such is the first of their great works the second is a mole in the sea which goes all round the harbour nearly 1 o feet deep and in length over 400 yards The

[14] D tyna o D tynna was th sam as B t martis, ci t god dess f th Cr t ns. Th G eeks u lly rega led l as id tl l ith beir A t mis

[15] D sc ry of th t l h co firmed th cu cy f H odot cc nt x ept i th matt f length whi h i ly oo feet.

third is a temple, the largest of all the temples known to us, whereof Rhoecus, son of Phileus, a Samian, was first architect. Because of these works I have dwelt the longer on the affairs of Samos.*

61. While Cambyses, son of Cyrus, after losing his senses, still lingered in Egypt, two Magi, brothers, revolted against him. One of them had been left in Persia by Cambyses as comptroller of his household; and it was he who began the revolt. Aware that Smerdis was dead, and that his death was hid and known to few of the Persians, while most believed that he was still alive, he laid his plan, and made a bold stroke for the crown. He had a brother—the same of whom I spoke before as his partner in the revolt—who happened greatly to resemble Smerdis the son of Cyrus, whom Cambyses his brother had put to death. And not only was this brother of his like Smerdis in person, but he also bore the selfsame name, to wit Smerdis.** Patizeithes, the other Magus, having persuaded him that he would carry the whole business through, took him and made him sit upon the royal throne. Having so done, he sent heralds through all the land, to Egypt and elsewhere, to make proclamation to the troops that henceforth they were to obey Smerdis the son of Cyrus, and not Cambyses.

62. The other heralds therefore made proclamation as they were ordered, and likewise the herald whose place it was to proceed into Egypt. He, when he reached Agbatana in Syria, finding Cambyses and his army there, went straight into the middle of the host, and standing forth before them all made the proclamation which Patizeithes the Magus had commanded. Cambyses no sooner heard him, than believing that what the herald said was true, and imagining that he had been betrayed by

* Aristotle looks upon these works as marks of the grinding tyranny under which the Samians groaned at this period, but it may be questioned whether they were really of an oppressive character. The policy of Polycrates seems to have been to conciliate the masses and his works were doubtless in great part to give employment to the poorer classes.

** Here Herodotus was most certainly mistaken. The pretender's name was Gaumata.

Prexaspes (who he supposed had not put Smerdis to death when sent into Persia for that purpose) he turned his eyes full upon Prexaspes and said Is this the way Prexaspes that you did my errand? My liege answered the other there is no truth in the tidin s that Smerdis your brother has revolted again t you nor need you to fear in time to come any quarrel great or small with that man With my own hands I did what you commanded and with my own hands I buried him If of a truth the dead can leave their graves expect Astyages the Mede to rise and fight against you but if the course of nature be the same as formerly then be sure no ill will ever come upon you from this quarter Now therefore my counsel is that we send in pursuit of the herald and strictly question him who it was that charged him to bid us obey king Smerdis

63 When Prexaspes had so spoken and Cambyses had approved his words the herald was forthwith pursued and brought back to the king Then Prexaspes said to him You bear us a message you say from Smerdis son of Cyrus Now answer truly and go your way in safety Did Smerdis have you in his presence and give you your orders or had you them from one of his offic rs? The herald answered Truly I have not et eyes on Smerdis son of Cyrus since the day when king Cambyses led the Persians into Egypt The man who gave me my orders was the Magus that Cambyses left in charge of the household but he said that Smerdis son of Cyrus sent you the me sage In all this the herald spoke nothing but the strict truth Then Camby es said thus to Prexaspes You are free from all blame Prexa pes ince as a right good man you have not failed to do the thing which I commanded But tell me now which of the Persian can have taken the name of Smerdis and volted from me? I think my lie e he answered that I apprehend the whole business The men who have risen in revolt against you are the two Magi Patizeithes who was left comptroller of your household and his brother who is named Smerdis

64 Cambyses no sooner heard th name of Smerdis than he was truck with the truth of Prexaspes words and the fulfil

ment of his own dream—the dream I mean, which he had in former days, when one appeared to him in his sleep and told him that Smerdis sat upon the royal throne and with his head touched the heavens. So when he saw that he had needlessly slain his brother Smerdis, he wept and bewailed his loss; after which, smarting with vexation as he thought of all his ill luck, he sprang hastily upon his steed, meaning to march his army with all haste to Susa against the Magus. As he made his spring, the button of his sword sheath fell off, and the bared point entered his thigh, wounding him exactly where he had himself once wounded the Egyptian god Apis.[1] Then Cambyses, feeling that he had got his death wound, inquired the name of the place where he was, and was answered, "Agbatana." Now before this it had been told him by the oracle at Buto that he should end his days at Agbatana. He, however, had understood the Median Agbatana, where all his treasures were, and had thought that he should die there at a good old age; but the oracle meant Agbatana in Syria. So when Cambyses heard the name of the place, the double shock that he had received, from the revolt of the Magus and from his wound, brought him back to his senses. And he understood now the true meaning of the oracle, and said, "Here then Cambyses, son of Cyrus, is doomed to die."

65. At this time he said no more; but twenty days afterwards he called to his presence all the chief Persians who were with the army, and addressed them as follows: "Persians, I must tell you now what hitherto I have striven with the greatest care to keep concealed. When I was in Egypt I saw in my sleep a vision, which would that I had never beheld! I thought a messenger came to me from my home, and said that Smerdis sat upon the royal throne, and with his head touched the heavens. Then I feared to be cast from my throne by Smerdis my brother, and I did what was more hasty than wise. Truly, do what they may, it is impossible for men to turn aside the coming fate. I,

[1] The details here are suspicious, since they evidently come from the Egyptian priests, who wish to represent the death of Cambyses as a judgment upon him for his impiety.

in my folly sent Prexaspes to Susa to put my brother to death So this great woe was accomplished and I then lived without fear never imagining that after Smerdis was dead I need dread revolt from any other But herein I had quite mistaken what was about to happen and so I slew my brother without any need and nevertheless have lost my crown For it was Smerdis the Magus and not Smerdis my brother of whose rebellion God forewarned me by the vision The deed is done however and Smerdis son of Cyrus be sure is lost to you The Magi have the royal power—Patizeithes whom I left at Susa to over ee my hou ehold and Smerdis his brother There was one who would have been bound beyond all others to aven e the wrongs I have uffered from these Magians but he alas! has perished by a horrid fate deprived of life by those nearest and dearest to him In his default nothing now remains for me but to tell you O Persians what I would wish to have done after I have breathed my last Therefore in the name of the gods that watch over our royal house I charge you all and especially such of you as are Achaemenids that you do not tamely allow the kin dom to go back to the Medes Recover it one way or another by force or fraud by fraud if it is by fraud that they have seized on it by force if force has helped them in their enterpri e Do this and then may your land bring you forth fruit abundantly and your wives bear children and your herds increa e and freedom be your portion for ever but do it not—make no brave struggle to regain the kingdom—and then my curse be on you and may the opposite of all these things happen to you—and not only so but may you one and all perish at the la t by such a fate as mine' Then Camby es when he left peaking bewailed his whole misfortune from beginnin to end

66 Whereupon the Persians seeing their king weep rent the garments that they had on and uttered cries of lamentation after which as the bone presently grew carious and the l mb gan rened Cambyses son of Cyrus died He had reigned in all even years and five months and left no issue behind him male or female The Persians who had heard his words pu no faith in anything that he said concerning the Magi having the royal

power but believed that he spoke out of hatred towards Smerdis, and had invented the tale of his death to cause the whole Persian race to rise up in arms against him Thus they were convinced that it was Smerdis the son of Cyrus who had rebelled and now sat on the throne For Prexaspes stoutly denied that he had slain Smerdis, since it was not safe for him after Cambyses was dead, to allow that a son of Cyrus had met death at his hands

67 Thus then Cambyses died and the Magus now reigned in security and passed himself off for Smerdis the son of Cyrus And so went by the seven months which were wanting to complete the eighth year of Cambyses The Magus subjects while his reign lasted received great benefits from him insomuch that, when he died all the dwellers in Asia mourned his loss exceedingly, except only the Persians For no sooner did he come to the throne than forthwith he sent round to every nation under his rule, and granted them freedom from war service and from taxes for the space of three years

68 In the eighth month however it was discovered who he was in the mode following There was a man called Otanes the son of Pharnaspes who for rank and wealth was equal to the greatest of the Persians This Otanes was the first to suspect that the Magus was not Smerdis the son of Cyrus, and to surmise moreover who he really was He was led to guess the truth by the king never quitting the citadel, and never calling before him any of the Persian noblemen As soon therefore as his suspicions were aroused, he adopted the following measures One of his daughters, who was called Phaedima, had been married to Cambyses and was taken to wife, together with the rest of Cambyses' wives, by the Magus To this daughter Otanes sent a message, and inquired of her who it was whose bed she shared, was it Smerdis the son of Cyrus, or was it some other man Phaedima in reply declared that she did not know—Smerdis the son of Cyrus she had never seen and so she could not tell whose bed she shared Upon this Otanes sent a second time, and said, "If you do not know Smerdis son of Cyrus yourself, ask queen Atossa who it is with whom you both live—she cannot fail to know her

own brother To this the daughter made answer I can neither get peech with Atossa nor with any of the women who lodge in the palace For no sooner did this man be he who he may obtain the kingdom than he parted us from one another and gave us all separate chambers

69 This made the matter seem still more plain to Otanes Nevertheless he sent a third message to his daughter in these words following Daughter you are of noble blood—you will not shrink from a risk which your father bids you encounter If this fellow be not Smerdis the son of Cyrus but the man whom I think him to be his boldness in taking you as his wife and lording it over the Persians must not be allowed to pass unpunished Now therefore do as I command—when next he passes the night with you wait till you are sure he is fast asleep and then feel for his ears If you find him to have ears then believe him to be Smerdis the son of Cyrus but if he has none know him for Smerdis the Magian Phaedima answered that it would be a great risk If he was without ears and caught her feeling for them she well knew he would make away with her—nevertheless she would venture So Otanes got his daughter s promise that she would do as he desired Now Smerdis the Magian had had his ears cut off in the lifetime of Cyrus son of Cambyses as a punishment for a crime of no slight heinousness. Phaedima therefore Otanes daughter bent on accomplishing what she had promised her father when her turn came and she was taken to the bed of the Magus (in Persia a man s wives sleep with him in their turns) waited till he was sound asleep and then felt for his ears. She quickly perceived that he had no ears and of this as soon as day dawned she sent word to her father

70 Then Otanes took to him two of the chief Persians Aspathines and Gobryas men whom it was most advisable to trust in such a matter and told them everything Now they had already of themselves suspected how the matter stood When Otanes therefore laid his reasons before them they at once came into his views and it was agreed that each of the three should take as companion in the work the Persian in whom he placed

the greatest confidence Then Otanes chose Intaphernes, Gobryas Megabyzus, and Aspathines Hydarnes After the number had thus become six, Darius, the son of Hystaspes, arrived at Susa from Persia, whereof his father was governor [10] On his coming it seemed good to the six to take him likewise into their counsels

71 After this, the men, being now seven in all, met together to exchange oaths and hold discourse with one another And when it came to the turn of Darius to speak his mind, he said as follows, "I thought no one but I knew that Smerdis the son of Cyrus was not now alive, and that Smerdis the Magian ruled over us, on this account I came hither with speed, to compass the death of the Magian But as it seems the matter is known to you all, and not to me only, my judgment is that we should act at once, and not any longer delay For to do so were not well" Otanes spoke upon this Son of Hystaspes, said he, "you are the child of a brave father, and seem likely to show yourself as bold as he Beware, however, of rash haste in this matter, do not hurry so, but proceed with soberness We must add to our number before we venture to strike the blow" Not so," Darius rejoined, "for let all present be well assured, that if the advice of Otanes guide our acts, we shall perish most miserably Some one will betray our plot to the Magians for gain You ought to have kept the matter to yourselves, and so made the venture, but as you have chosen to take others into your secret, and have opened the matter to me, take my advice and make the attempt today—or if not, if a single day be suffered to pass by, be sure that I will let no one betray me to the Magian I myself will go to him, and plainly denounce you all"

72 Otanes, when he saw Darius so hot, replied, "But if you will force us to action, and not allow a day's delay, tell us, I pray you how we shall get entrance into the palace, so as to set upon them Guards are placed every where as you yourself well know —for if you have not seen, at least you have heard of them How

[10] The curious fact that Darius became king in his father's lifetime, is confirmed by the great inscription where we find Hystaspes one of his son's generals in subduing the rebellious Parthians.

are we to pass these guards I ask you? Otanes answered Darius there are many things easy enough in act which by speech it is hard to explain There are also things concerning which speech is easy but no noble action follows when the speech is done As for these guards you know well that we shall not find it hard to make our way through them Our rank alone would cause them to allow us to enter—shame and fear alike forbidding them to say us nay But besides I have the fairest plea that can be conceived for gaining admission I can say that I have just come from Persia and have a message to deliver to the king from my father An untruth must be spoken where need requires For whether men lie or say true it is with one and the same object Men lie because they think to gain by deceiving others and speak the truth because they expect to get something by their true speaking and to be trusted afterwards in more important matters Thus though their conduct is so opposite the end of both is alike If there were no gain to be got your true-speaking man would tell untruths as much as your liar and your liar would tell the truth as much as your true-speaking man The doorkeeper who lets us in readily shall have his reward some day or other but woe to the man who resists us he must forthwith be declared an enemy Forcing our way past him we will press in and go straight to our work

3 After Darius had thus said Gobryas spoke as follows Dear friends when will a fitter occasion offer for us to recover *the kin dom or if we are not strong enough at least die in the* attempt? Consider that we Persians are governed by a Median Magus and one too who has had his ears cut off Some of you were present when Cambyses lay upon his deathbed—such doubtless remember what curses he called down upon the Persians if they made no effort to recover the kingdom Then indeed we paid but little heed to what he said because we thought he spoke out of hatred to set us against his brother Now however my vote is that we do as Darius has counselled —march straight in a body to the palace from the place where we now are and forthwith set upon the Magian So Gobryas spoke and the others all approved

74 While the seven were thus taking counsel together, it so chanced that the following events were happening The Magi had been thinking what they had best do, and had resolved for many reasons to make a friend of Prexaspes They knew how cruelly he had been outraged by Cambyses, who slew his son with an arrow, they were also aware that it was by his hand that Smerdis the son of Cyrus fell, and that he was the only person privy to that prince's death and they further found him to be held in the highest esteem by all the Persians So they called him to them, made him their friend, and bound him by a promise and by oaths to keep silence about the fraud which they were practising upon the Persians, and not discover it to any one, and they pledged themselves that in this case they would give him thousands of gifts of every sort and kind So Prexaspes agreed, and the Magi, when they found that they had persuaded him so far, went on to another proposal, and said they would assemble the Persians at the foot of the palace wall, and he should mount one of the towers and harangue them from it, assuring them that Smerdis the son of Cyrus, and none but he, ruled the land This they bade him do, because Prexaspes was a man of great weight with his countrymen, and had often declared in public that Smerdis the son of Cyrus was still alive, and denied being his murderer

75 Prexaspes said he was quite ready to do their will in the matter, so the Magi assembled the people, and placed Prexaspes upon the top of the tower, and told him to make his speech Then this man, forgetting of set purpose all that the Magi had entreated him to say, began with Achaemenes, and traced down the descent of Cyrus, after which, when he came to that king he recounted all the services that had been rendered by him to the Persians, from whence he went on to declare the truth, which hitherto he had concealed, he said, because it would not have been safe for him to make it known, but now necessity was laid on him to disclose the whole Then he told how, forced to it by Cambyses, he had himself taken the life of Smerdis, son of Cyrus, and how that Persia was now ruled by the Magi of all, with many curses upon the Persians if they did

the kingdom and wreak vengeance on the Magi he threw him self headlong from the tower into the abyss below Such was the end of Prexaspes a man all his life of high repute among the Persians

76 And now the seven Persians having resolved that they would attack the Magi without more delay first offered prayers to the gods and then set off for the palace quite unacquainted with what had been done by Prexaspes The news of his doings reached them upon their way when they had accomplished about half the distance Hereupon they turned aside out of the road and consulted together Otanes and his party said they must certainly put off the business and not make the attack when affairs were in such a ferment Darius on the other hand and his friends were against any change of plan and wished to go straight on and not lose a moment Now as they strove together suddenly there came in sight two pairs of vultures and even pairs of hawks pursuing them and the hawks tore the vultures both with their claws and bills At this sight the seven with one accord came in to the opinion of Darius and encour aged by the omen hastened on towards the palace

77 At the gate they were received as Darius had foretold The guards who had no uspicion that they came for any ill purpose and held the chief Persians in much reverence let them pass without difficulty—it seemed as if they were under the special protection of the gods—none even a ked them any question When they were now in the great court they fell in with certain of the eunuchs whose bu iness it was to carry the king s messages who stopped them and asked what they wanted while at th same time they threatened the doorkeepers for havin let them in The even sought to press on but the eunuchs would not suffer them Then the e men with cheers encouraging one another drew their daggers and stabbing those who strove to withstand them ru hed forward to the men s apartment

78 Now both the Magi were at this time within holdin counsel upon the matter of Prexa pes So when they heard the stir among the eunuchs and their loud cries they ran out them selves o see what was happening Instantly perceiving their

danger, they both flew to arms, one had just time to seize his bow, the other got hold of his lance when straightway the fight began The one whose weapon was the bow found it of no service at all, the foe was too near, and the combat too close to allow of his using it But the other made a stout defence with his lance, wounding two of the seven Aspathines in the leg, and Intaphernes in the eye This wound did not kill Intaphernes, but it cost him his sight The other Magus when he found his bow of no avail, fled into a chamber which opened out into the men's apartment, intending to shut to the doors But two of the seven entered the room with him Darius and Gobryas Gobryas seized the Magus and grappled with him, while Darius stood over them, not knowing what to do, for it was dark, and he was afraid that if he struck a blow he might kill Gobryas Then Gobryas, when he perceived that Darius stood doing nothing, asked him why his hand was idle "I fear to hurt you," he answered "Fear not," said Gobryas, "strike, though it be through both" Darius did as he desired, drove his dagger home and by good luck killed the Magus

79 Thus were the Magi slain, and the seven, cutting off both the heads, and leaving their own wounded in the palace, partly because they were disabled, and partly to guard the citadel, went forth from the gates with the heads in their hands, shouting and making an uproar They called out to all the Persians that they met, and told them what had happened, showing them the heads of the Magi, while at the same time they slew every Magus who fell in their way Then the Persians, when they knew what the seven had done, and understood the fraud of the Magi, thought it but just to follow the example set them, and, drawing their daggers, they killed the Magi wherever they could find any Such was their fury, that, unless night had closed in, not a single Magus would have been left alive The Persians observe this day with one accord, and keep it more strictly than any other in the whole year It is then that they hold the great festival, which they call the Slaughter of the Magi No Magus may show himself abroad during the whole time that the feast lasts, but all must remain at home the entire day

80 And now when five days were gone and the hubbub had settled down the conspirators met together to consult about the situation of affairs At this meeting speeches were made to which many of the Greeks give no credence but they were made nevertheless [a] Otanes recommended that the management of public affairs should be entrusted to the whole nation To me he said it seems advisable that we should no longer have a single man to rule over us—the rule of one is neither good nor pleasant You cannot have forgotten to what lengths Cambyses went in his haughty tyranny and the haughtiness of the Magi you have experienced How indeed is it possible that monarchy should be a well adjusted thing when it allows a man to do as he likes without being answerable? Such licence is enough to stir strange and unwonted thoughts in the heart of the worthiest of men Give a person this power and straightway his manifold good things puff him up with pride while envy is so natural to human kind that it cannot but arise in him But pride and envy together include all wickedness both leading on to deeds of savage violence True it is that kings possessing as they do all that heart can desire ought to be void of envy but the contrary is seen in their conduct towards the citizens They are jealous of the most virtuous among their subjects and wish their death while they take delight in the meanest and basest being ever ready to listen to the tale of slanderers A king besides is beyond all other men inconsistent with himself Pay him court in moderation and he is angry because you do not show him more profound respect—show him profound respect and he is offended again because (as he says) you fawn on him But the worst of all is that he sets aside the laws of the land puts men to death without trial and rapes women The rule of the many on the other hand has in the first place the fairest of names equality before the law and further it is free from all those outrages which a king is wont to commit There places are given by lot the magistrate is answerable for what he does and measures rest with the commonalty I vote therefore that we do away

[a] Moderns ha e gen lly seen th u historical ch t f th ra ty but it is int re ting as n exampl f Greek political phi sophy

with monarchy, and raise the people to power For the people are all in all"

81 Such were the sentiments of Otanes Megabyzus spoke next, and advised the setting up of an oligarchy "In all that Otanes has said to persuade you to put down monarchy," he observed, "I fully concur, but his recommendation that we should call the people to power seems to me not the best advice For there is nothing so void of understanding, nothing so full of wantonness as the unwieldy rabble It were folly not to be borne for men, while seeking to escape the wantonness of a tyrant, to give themselves up to the wantonness of a rude unbridled mob The tyrant, in all his doings, at least knows what he is about, but a mob is altogether devoid of knowledge, for how should there be any knowledge in a rabble, untaught, and with no natural sense of what is right and fit? It rushes wildly into state affairs with all the fury of a stream swollen in the winter, and confuses everything Let the enemies of the Persians be ruled by democracies, but let us choose out from the citizens a certain number of the worthiest, and put the government into their hands For thus both we ourselves shall be among the governors and power being entrusted to the best men, it is likely that the best counsels will prevail in the state"

82 This was the advice which Megabyzus gave, and after him Darius came forward, and spoke as follows, "All that Megabyzus said against democracy was well said, I think, but about oligarchy he did not speak advisedly, for take these three forms of government, democracy, oligarchy, and monarchy, and let them each be at their best, I maintain that monarchy far surpasses the other two What government can possibly be better than that of the very best man in the whole state? The counsels of such a man are like himself, and so he governs the mass of the people to their heart's content, while at the same time his measures against evil-doers are kept more secret than in other states Contrariwise, in oligarchies, where men vie with each other in the service of the commonwealth, fierce enmities are apt to arise between man and man, each wishing to be leader, and to carry his own measures, whence violent quarrels come, which

lead to open strife often ending in bloodshed Then monarchy is sure to follow and this too shows how far that rule surpasses all others Again in a democracy it is impossible but that there will be malpractices these malpractices however do not lead to enmities but to close friendships which are formed among those engaged in them who must hold well together to carry on their villanies And so things go on until a man stands forth as champion of the commonalty and puts down the evil-doers Straightway the author of so great a service is admired by all and from being admired soon comes to be appointed king so that here too it is plain that monarchy is the best government Lastly to sum up all in a word whence I ask was it that we got the freedom which we enjoy?—did democracy give it us or oligarchy or a monarch? As a single man recovered our freedom for us my sentence is that we keep to the rule of one Even apart from this we ought not to change the laws of our forefathers when they work fairly for to do so is not well

83 Such were the three opinions brought forward at this meeting the four other Persians voted in favour of the last Otanes who wished to give his countrymen a democracy when he found the decision against him arose a second time and spoke thus before the assembly Brother conspirators it is plain that the king who is to be chosen will be one of ourselves whether we make the choice by casting lots for the prize or by letting the people decide which of us they will have to rule over them or in any other way Now as I have neither a mind to rule nor to be ruled I shall not enter the lists with you in this matter I withdraw however on one condition—none of you shall claim to exercise rule over me or my seed for ever The six agreed to these terms and Otanes withdrew and stood aloof from the contest And still to this day the family of Otanes continues to be the only free family in Persia those who belong to it submit to the rule of the king only so far as they themselves choose they are bound however to observe the laws of the land like the other Persians.

84 After this the six took counsel together as to the fairest way of setting up a king and first with respect to Otanes they

resolved, that if any of their own number got the kingdom, Otanes and his seed after him should receive year by year, as a mark of special honour a Median robe, and all such other gifts as are accounted the most honourable in Persia And these they resolved to give him, because he was the man who first planned the outbreak and who brought the seven together These privileges, therefore, were assigned specially to Otanes The following were made common to them all It was to be free to each, whenever he pleased to enter the palace unannounced unless the king were sleeping with a woman and the king was to be bound to marry into no family excepting those of the conspirators Concerning the appointment of a king the resolve to which they came was the following They would ride out together next morning into the skirts of the city and he whose steed first neighed after the sun was up should have the kingdom

85 Now Darius had a sharp witted groom called Oebares After the meeting had broken up, Darius sent for him and said, "Oebares, this is the way in which the king is to be chosen—we are to mount our horses, and the man whose horse first neighs after the sun is up is to have the kingdom If then you have any cleverness, contrive a plan whereby the prize may fall to us and not go to another" "Truly, master," Oebares answered, 'if it depends on this whether you shall be king or no set your heart at ease, and fear nothing I have a charm which is sure not to fail" "If you really have anything of the kind,' said Darius, "hasten to get it ready The matter does not brook delay, for the trial is to be tomorrow" So Oebares when he heard that, did as follows When night came, he took one of the mares, the chief favourite of the horse which Darius rode, and tethering it in the suburb, brought his master's horse to the place then, after leading him round and round the mare several times, nearer and nearer at each circuit, he ended by letting him cover her

86 And now, when the morning broke, the six Persians, according to agreement, met together on horseback, and rode out to the suburb As they went along they neared the spot where the mare was tethered the night before, whereupon the horse of Darius sprang forward and neighed Just at the same time,

though the sky was clear and bright there was a flash of lightning followed by a thunder clap It seemed as if the heavens conspired with Darius and hereby inaugurated him king so the five other nobles leaped with one accord from their steeds and bowed down before him and owned him for their king [1]

87 This is the account which some of the Persians gave of the contrivance of Oebares but there are others who relate the matter differently They say that in the morning he stroked the mare s genitals with his hand which he then hid in his trousers until the sun rose and the horses were about to start when he suddenly drew his hand forth and put it to the nostrils of his master s hor e which immediately snorted and neighed

88 Thus was Darius, on of Hystaspes, appointed king and except the Arabians all they of A ia were subject to him for Cyrus ard after him Cambyses had brought them all under The Arabians were never subject as slaves to the Persians but had a league of friendship with them from the time when they brought Cambyses on his way as he went into Egypt for had they been unfriendly the Persians could never have made their invasion

Darius married first of all the following women who were all of them Persians namely two daughters of Cyrus Atossa and Artystone of these Atossa had been twice married before once to Cambyses her brother and once to the Magus the other Artystone was a virgin He married also Parmys daughter of Smerdis son of Cyrus and he likewise took to wife the daughter of Otanes who had made the discovery about the Magus And now when his power was established firmly throughout all the kingdoms the first thing that he did was to set up a carving in stone which showed a man mounted upon a horse with an inscription in these words following Darius son

[1] It has be l eady bserved that D n s p b bly u d d to the th e by ri ht f b th Fail g the li of Cyrus, whi h w n w ex u t the lin of D n was next in s ccessi Of rse if thi iew be correct Hystaspes wa th right l h ir b t as his yea p es ted him from u d rtaking the po t f leader in th conspiracy he ced d his rights to his son.

of Hystaspes, by aid of his good horse" (here followed the horse's name), "and of his good groom Oebares, got himself the kingdom of the Persians."

89 This he set up in Persia, and afterwards he proceeded to establish twenty governments of the kind which the Persians call satrapies, assigning to each its governor, and fixing the tribute which was to be paid him by the several nations. And generally he joined together in one satrapy the nations that were neighbours, but sometimes he passed over the nearer tribes, and put in their stead those which were more remote. The following is an account of these governments, and of the yearly tribute which they paid to the king.[22] Such as brought their tribute in silver were ordered to pay according to the Babylonian talent, while the Euboic was the standard measure for such as brought gold. Now the Babylonian talent contains seventy Euboic minae. During all the reign of Cyrus, and afterwards when Cambyses ruled, there were no fixed tributes, but the nations severally brought gifts to the king. On account of this and other like doings, the Persians say that Darius was a huckster, Cambyses a master, and Cyrus a father; for Darius looked to making a gain in everything; Cambyses was harsh and reckless, while Cyrus was gentle, and procured them all manner of goods.

90 The Ionians, the Magnesians of Asia, the Aeolians, the Carians, the Lycians, the Milyans, and the Pamphylians, paid their tribute in a single sum, which was fixed at 400 talents of silver. These formed together the first satrapy.

The Mysians, Lydians, Lasonians, Cabalians, and Hygennians paid the sum of 500 talents. This was the second satrapy.

The Hellespontians, of the right coast as one enters the straits, the Phrygians, the Asiatic Thracians, the Paphlagonians, the Mariandynians, and the Syrians paid a tribute of 360 talents. This was the third satrapy.

The Cilicians gave 360 white horses, one for each day in the

[22] Chapters 89-96 give an official statistical account of the empire; chapters 97-117 describe remote dependencies and are mostly travellers' tales.

year and 500 tal nts of silver Of this sum 140 talents went to pay the cavalry which guarded the country while the remaining 360 were received by Darius This was the fourth satrapy

91 The country reaching from the city of Posideium (built by Amphilocus son of Amphiaraus on the confines of Syria and Cilicia) to the borders of Egypt excluding therefrom a district which belonged to Arabia and was free from tax paid a tribute of 350 talents All Phoenicia Pale tine Syria and Cyprus were herein contained This was the fifth satrapy

From Egypt and the neighbouring parts of Libya together with the towns of Cyrene and Barca which belon ed to the Egyptian satrapy the tribute which came in was 700 talents These 700 talents did not include the profits of the fisheries of Lake Moeris nor the corn furnished to the troops at Memphis Corn was supplied to 120 000 Persians who dwelt at Memphis in the quarter called the White Castle and to a number of auxiliaries This was the sixth satrapy

The Sattagydians the Gandarians the Dadicae and the Aparytae who were all reckoned together paid a tribute of 170 talents This was the seventh satrapy

Susa and the other parts of Cissia paid 300 talents This was the eighth satrapy

92 From Babylonia and the rest of Assyria were drawn 1 000 talents of silver and 500 boy-eunuchs This was the ninth satrapy

Agbatana and the other parts of Media together with the Paricanians and Orthocorybantes paid in all 450 talents This was the tenth satrapy

The Caspians Pausicae Pantimathi and Daritae were joined in one government and paid the sum of 200 talents This was the eleventh satrapy

From the Bactrian tribes as far as the Aegli the tribute received was 360 talents This was the twelfth satrapy

93 From Pactyica Armenia and the countries reachin thence to the Euxine the sum drawn was 400 talents This was the thirteenth satrapy

The Sagartians, Sarangians, Thamanaeans, Utians, and Mycians, together with the inhabitants of the islands in the Red Sea, where the king sends those whom he banishes, furnished altogether a tribute of 600 talents This was the fourteenth satrapy

The Sacans and Caspians gave 250 talents This was the fifteenth satrapy

The Parthians Chorasmians, Sogdians and Arians gave 300 This was the sixteenth satrapy

94 The Paricanians and Ethiopians of Asia furnished a tribute of 400 talents This was the seventeenth satrapy

The Matienians Saspeires, and Alarodians were rated to pay 200 talents This was the eighteenth satrapy

The Moschi, Tibareni, Macrones Mosynoeci and Mares had to pay 300 talents This was the nineteenth satrapy

The Indians, who are more numerous than any other nation with which we are acquainted, paid a tribute exceeding that of every other people, 360 talents of gold-dust This was the twentieth satrapy

95 If the Babylonian money here spoken of be reduced to the Euboic scale, it will make 9,540 such talents, and if the gold be reckoned at thirteen times the worth of silver the Indian gold-dust will come to 4 680 talents Add these two amounts together, and the whole revenue which came in to Darius year by year will be found to be in Euboic money 14,560 talents, not to mention parts of a talent [23]

96 Such was the revenue which Darius derived from Asia

[23] It is impossible to reconcile Herodotus numbers and equally impossible to say where the mistake lies According to the items of his account the sum total of the silver amounts to 7 740 Babylonian talents This would equal 9 030 Euboic talents instead of which he gives in his present text 9 540 being an excess over the items of 510 Euboic talents Again having stated the silver to amount to 9 540 Euboic talents and the gold dust to be equal to 4 680 Euboic talents (a correct estimate on his premises) he gives the whole amount as 14 560 instead of 14 220 talents so that again he is in excess this time by 340 talents Thus we seem to have a double error which it is quite impossible to remedy

and a sma l part of Lib a Later in his reign the sum was in crea ed by the tribute of the islands and of the nations of Eu rope as far as Thes aly The great king stores away the tribute which he receives after this fashion—he melts it down and while it is in a liquid state runs it into earthen vessels which are afterwards removed leaving the metal in a solid mass When money is wanted he coins as much of this bullion as the occa sion requires

97 Such then were the governments and such the amounts of tribute at which they were assessed respectively Persia alone has not been reckoned among the tributaries—and for this rea son because the country of the Persians is altogether exempt from tax The following peoples paid no settled tribute but brought gifts to the king first the Ethiopians bordering upon Egypt who were reduced by Cambyses when he made war on the long lived Ethiopians and who dwell about the sacred city *of Nysa and have festivals in honour of Dionysus The grain on* which they and their next neighbours feed is the sa ne as that used by the Calantian Indians Their dwelling houses are under ground Every third year these two nations brought—and they still bring to my day—two quarts of virgin gold oo logs of ebony five Ethiopian boys and twenty elephant tu ks The Colchians and the neighbouring tribes who dwell between them nd the Caucasus—for so far the Persian rule reaches while north of the Caucasus no one fears them any longer—undertook to furnish a gift which in my day was still brought every fifth year consisting of 100 boys and the same number of maidens The Arabs brought every year 1 000 talents of frankincense Such were the gifts which the king received over and above the tribute money

98 The way in which the Indians get the plentiful supply of gold which enables them to furnish year by year so va t an amount of gold-dust to the king is the following Eastward of India lies a tract which is entirely sand Indeed of all the inhabi tants of Asia concerning whom anything certain is kno n the Indians dwell the nearest to the east and the rising of the sun Beyond them the whole country is desert on account of the

and [24] The tribes of Indians are numerous, and do not all speak the same language—some are nomads, others not They who dwell in the marshes along the river,[25] live on raw fish, which they take in boats made of reeds each formed out of a single joint These Indians wear a dress of sedge, which they cut in the river and bruise afterwards they weave it into mats, and wear it as we wear a breast plate

99 Eastward of these Indians are another tribe called Padaeans, who are wanderers, and live on raw flesh This tribe is said to have the following customs If one of their number be ill, man or woman, they take the sick person, and if he be a man, the men of his acquaintance proceed to put him to death, because, they say, his flesh would be spoilt for them if he pined and wasted away with sickness The man protests he is not ill in the least but his friends will not accept his denial—in spite of all he can say, they kill him, and feast themselves on his body So also if a woman be sick, the women, who are her friends, take her and do with her exactly the same as the men If one of them reaches to old age, about which there is seldom any question, as commonly before that time they have had some disease or other, and so have been put to death—but if a man, notwithstanding, comes to be old, then they offer him in sacrifice to their gods, and afterwards eat his flesh

100 There is another set of Indians whose customs are very different They refuse to put any live animal to death,[26] they sow no corn, and have no dwelling houses Vegetables are their only food There is a plant which grows wild in their country, bearing seed about the size of millet seed in a calyx their wont is to gather this seed and having boiled it, calyx and all, to use

[24] The India of Herodotus is the true ancient India the region about the Upper Indus best known to us at present under the name of the Punjab Herodotus knows nothing of the great southern peninsula

[25] By the river is meant the Indus It does not appear that Herodotus was aware of the existence of the Ganges which only became known to the Greeks by the expedition of Alexander

[26] The repugnance of true Brahmins to take away life is well known The Mahrattas are said to have the same prejudice

it for food If one of them is attacked with sickness he goes forth into the wilderness and lies down to die no one has the least concern either for the sick or for the dead

101 All the tribes which I have mentioned copulate openly like the brute beasts they have also all the same tint of skin which approaches that of the Fthiopians Their semen too is not white like other men s but black like that of the Ethiopians Their country is a long way from Persia towards the south nor had king Darius ever any authority over them

10 Besides these there are Indians of another tribe who border on the city Caspatyrus and the country of Pactyica these people dwell northward of all the rest of the Indians and follow nearly the same mode of life as the Bactrians They are more warlike than any of the other tribes and from them the men are sent forth who go to procure the gold For it is in this part of India that the sandy desert lies Here in this desert there lived amid the sand great ants [2] in size somewhat less than dogs but bigger than foxes The Persian king has a number of them which have been caught by the hunters in the land whereof we are speaking These ants make their dwellings underground and like the Greek ants which they very much resemble in shape throw up sand heaps as they burrow Now the sand which they throw up is full of gold The Indian when they go into the desert to collect this sand take three camels and harness them together a female in the middle and a male on either side in a leading rein The rider sits on the female and they are particular to choose for the purpose one that has but just dropped her young for their femal camels can run as fast as horses while they bear burdens very much better

103 As the Greeks are well acquainted with the shape of the camel I shall not trouble to describe it but I hall mention what seems to have escaped their notice The camel has in its hind legs four thigh bones and four knee joints an l the gerl

[n] It is curi us t fi l th same na tl t ld ly by I rst r J k In th th cent ry H r th t seven l gs a l f wi gs.
[m] Th is f c urse tru b t H od t w dec i d by th way the c mel k eel t recei l d

tals, which lie between its hind legs are turned towards the tail

104 When the Indians therefore have thus equipped themselves they set off in quest of the gold, calculating the time so that they may be engaged in seizing it during the most sultry part of the day, when the ants hide themselves to escape the heat The sun in those parts shines fiercest in the morning, not, as elsewhere, at noonday the greatest heat is from the time when he has reached a certain height, until the hour at which the market closes During this space he burns much more furiously than at midday in Greece, so that the men there are said at that time to drench themselves with water At noon his heat is much the same in India as in other countries after which, as the day declines, the warmth is only equal to that of the morning sun elsewhere Towards evening the coolness increases, till about sunset it becomes very cold

105 When the Indians reach the place where the gold is, they fill their bags with the sand, and ride away at their best speed the ants, however, scenting them, as the Persians say, rush forth in pursuit Now these animals are so swift, they declare, that there is nothing in the world like them if it were not, therefore, that the Indians get a start while the ants are mustering, not a single gold gatherer could escape During the flight the male camels, which are not so fleet as the females, grow tired, and begin to drag, first one, and then the other but the females recollect the young which they have left behind, and never give way or flag Such according to the Persians, is the manner in which the Indians get the greater part of their gold, some is dug out of the earth, but of this the supply is more scanty

106 It seems as if the extreme regions of the earth were blessed by nature with the most excellent productions, just in the same way that Greece enjoys a climate more excellently tempered than any other country In India, which, as I observed lately, is the furthest region of the inhabited world towards the east, all the four footed beasts and the birds are very much bigger than those found elsewhere, except only the horses which are surpassed by the Median breed called the Nisaean

Gold too is produced there in vast abundance some dug from the earth some washed down by the rivers some carried off in the mode which I have but now described And further there are trees which grow wild there the fruit whereof is a wool exceeding in beauty and goodness that of sheep The natives make their clothes of this tree wool [79]

107 Arabia is the last of inhabited lands towards the south and it is the only country which produces frankincense myrrh cassia cinnamon and laudanum The Arabians do not get any of these except the myrrh without trouble The frankincense they procure by means of the gum storax which the Greeks obtain from the Phoenicians this they burn and thereby obtain the spice For the trees which bear the frankincense are guarded by winged serpents small in size and of varied colours whereof vast numbers hang about every tree They are of the same kind as the serpents that invade Egypt and there is nothing but the smoke of the storax which will drive them from the trees

108 *The Arabians say that the whole world would swarm* with these serpents if they were not kept in check in the way in which I know that vipers are Of a truth divine Providence does appear to be as indeed one might expect beforehand a wise contriver For timid animals which are a prey to others are all made to produce young abundantly that so the species may not be entirely eaten up and lost while savage and noxious creatures are made very unfruitful The hare for instance which is hunted alike by beasts birds and men breeds so abundantly as even to conceive while pregnant a thing which is true of no other animal You find in a hare s belly at one and the same time some of the young all covered with fur others quite naked others again just fully formed in the womb while the hare perhaps has lately conceived afresh The lioness on the other hand which is one of the strongest and boldest of brutes brings forth young but once in her lifetime [80] and then a single cub she

[79] Tree wool is the G k wo d f r c tt n.

[80] Aristotle observes that th lioness breeds o a y a d usually has three cubs.

cannot possibly conceive again, since she loses her womb at the same time that she drops her young The reason of this is, that as soon as the cub begins to stir inside the dam, his claws, which are sharper than those of any other animal, scratch the womb, as time goes on, he grows bigger, he tears it ever more and more, so that at last, when the birth comes, there is not a morsel in the whole womb that is sound

109 Now with respect to the vipers and the winged snakes of Arabia if they increased as fast as their nature would allow, impossible were it for man to maintain himself upon the earth Accordingly it is found that when the male and female couple together, at the very moment of impregnation, the female seizes the male by the neck, and having once fastened, cannot be brought to leave go till she has bit the neck entirely through And so the male perishes, but after a while he is revenged upon the female by means of the young, which, while still unborn, gnaw a passage through the womb and then through the belly of their mother, and so make their entrance into the world Contrariwise, other snakes, which are harmless lay eggs, and hatch a vast number of young Vipers are found in all parts of the world, but the winged serpents are nowhere seen except in Arabia, where they are all congregated together This makes them appear so numerous

110 Such, then, is the way in which the Arabians obtain their frankincense their manner of collecting the cassia is the following They cover all their body and their face with the hides of oxen and other skins, leaving only holes for the eyes, and thus protected go in search of the cassia, which grows in a lake of no great depth All round the shores and in the lake itself there dwell a number of winged animals, much resembling bats, which screech horribly, and are very valiant These creatures they must keep from their eyes all the while that they gather the cassia

111 Still more wonderful is the mode in which they collect the cinnamon Where the wood grows, and what country produces it, they cannot tell—only some, following probability, relate that it comes from the country in which Dionysus was

brought up Great birds they say bring the sticks which we Greeks taking the word from the Phoenicians call cinnamon and carry them up into the air to make their nests These are fastened with a sort of mud to a sheer face of rock where no foot of man is able to climb So the Arabians to get the cinna mon use the following artifice They cut all the oxen and asses and beasts of burden that die in their land into large pieces which they carry with them into those regions and place near the nests then they withdraw to a distance and the old birds swooping down seize the pieces of meat and fly with them up to their nests which not being able to support the weight break off and fall to the ground [31] Hereupon the Arabians return and collect the cinnamon which is afterwards carried from Arabia nto other countries

112 Ledanum which the Arabs call ladanon is procured in a yet stranger fashion Found in a most inodorous place it is the sweetest scented of all substances It is gathered from th beards of he-goats where it is found sticking like gum having come from the bushes on which they browse It is u ed in many sorts of unguents and is what the Arabs burn chiefly as incense

113 Concerning the spices of Arabia let no more be said The whole country is scented with them and exhales an odour mar vellously sweet There are also in Arabia two kinds of sheep worthy of admiration the like of which is nowhere else to be seen the one kind has long tails not less than four and one half feet in length which if they were allowed to trail on the ground would be bruised and fall into sores As it is all the hepherds know enough of carpentering to make little trucks for their sheep s tails The trucks are placed under the tails each heep having one to himself and the tails are then tied down upon them The other kind has a broad tail which is eighteen inches cross sometimes

14 Where the south declines towards the setting sun lies the country called Ethiopia the last inhabited lan l in that di rection There gold is obtained in great plenty hu e elephants

[31] Th st ry id tly bel s to a wh le lass f East rn t les, wh rein a Important part i play d by gre t birds.

abound, with wild trees of all sorts, and ebony, and the men are taller, handsomer, and longer lived than anywhere else

115 Now these are the furthest regions of the world in Asia and Libya Of the extreme tracts of Europe towards the west I cannot speak with any certainty for I do not allow that there is any river, to which the barbarians give the name of Eridanus, emptying itself into the northern sea, whence (as the tale goes) amber is procured nor do I know of any islands called the Tin Islands,[32] whence the tin comes which we use For in the first place the name Eridanus is manifestly not a barbarian word at all, but a Greek name, invented by some poet or other, and secondly, though I have taken vast pains, I have never been able to get an assurance from an eye witness that there is any sea on the further side of Europe Nevertheless, tin and amber[33] do certainly *come to us from the ends of the earth*

116 The northern parts of Europe are very much richer in gold than any other region [34] but how it is procured I have no certain knowledge The story runs, that the one eyed Arimaspi purloin it from the griffins, but here too I am incredulous, and cannot persuade myself that there is a race of men born with one eye, who in all else resemble the rest of mankind Nevertheless it seems to be true that the extreme regions of the earth, which surround and shut up within themselves all other countries, produce the things which are the rarest, and which men reckon the most beautiful

117 There is a plain in Asia which is shut in on all sides by a mountain range, and in this mountain range are five openings The plain lies on the confines of the Chorasmians, Hyrcanians Parthians, Sarangians, and Thamanaeans and belonged formerly

[32] This name was applied to the Selinae or Scilly Isles and the imperfect information respecting the site of the mines of tin led to the belief that they were there instead of on the mainland of Cornwall

[33] Herodotus is quite correct in his information respecting amber being found at the extremity of Europe though not at the West

[34] It appears by the mention of the Arimaspi that the European gold region of which Herodotu here speaks is the district east of the Ural Mountains which modern geography would assign to Asia Herodotu regards Europe as extending the whole length of both Africa and Asia

to the first mentioned of those peoples Ever since the Persians, however obtained the mastery of Asia it has been the property of the Great King A mighty river called the Aces [35] flows from the hills inclosing the plain and this stream formerly splitting into five channels ran through the five openings in the hill and watered the lands of the five nations which dwell around The Persian came however and conquered the region and then it went ill with the people of these lands The Great King blocked up all the passages between the hills with dykes and flood gates and so prevented the water from flowing out Then the plain within the hills became a sea for the river kept rising and the water could find no outlet From that time the five nations which were wont formerly to have the use of the stream losing their accustomed supply of water have been in great distress In winter indeed they have rain from heaven like the rest of the world but in summer after sowing their millet and their sesame they always stood in need of water from the river When therefore they suffer from this want hastening to Persia men and women alike they take their station at the gate of the king s palace and wail aloud Then the king orders the flood gates to be opened towards the country whose need is greatest and lets the soil drink until it has had enough after which the gates on this side are shut and others are unclosed for the nation which of the remainder needs it most It has been told me that the king never gives the order to open the gates till the suppliants have paid him a large sum of money over and above the tribute

118 Of the seven Persians who rose up against the Magus one Intaphernes lost his life very shortly after the outbreak for an act of insolence He wished to enter the palace and transact a certain business with the king Now the law was that all those who had taken part in the rising against the Magus might enter unannounced into the king s presence unless he happened

[35] No river can be found which at all answers the description but the origin of the tale may be found in the distribution by the Persian of the waters. Under a strong government the water supply would of course have been regulated and so good an opportunity of raising a revenue was seized with alacrity

to be having intercourse So Intaphernes would not have any one announce him, but, as he belonged to the seven, claimed it as his right to go in The doorkeeper, however, and chief usher forbade his entrance, since the king they said, was lying with a woman But Intaphernes thought they told lies so drawing his scimitar he cut off their noses and their ears, and, hanging them on the bridle of his horse, put the bridle round their necks, and so let them go

119 Then these two men went and showed themselves to the king, and told him how it had come to pass that they were thus treated Darius trembled lest it was by the common consent of the six that the deed had been done he therefore sent for them all in turn, and sounded them to know if they approved the conduct of Intaphernes When he found by their answers that there had been no concert between him and them, he laid hands on Intaphernes, his children, and all his near kindred, strongly suspecting that he and his friends were about to raise a revolt When all had been seized and put in chains, as malefactors condemned to death, the wife of Intaphernes came and stood continually at the palace gates, weeping and wailing sore So Darius after a while, seeing that she never ceased to stand and weep, was touched with pity for her, and bade a messenger go to her and say, "Lady, King Darius gives you as a boon the life of one of your kinsmen—choose which you will of the prisoners" Then she pondered awhile before she answered, "If the king grants me the life of one alone, I make choice of my brother" Darius when he heard the reply, was astonished, and sent again, saying, "Lady, the king bids you tell him why it is that you pass by your husband and your children, and prefer to have the life of your brother spared He is not so near to you as your children, nor so dear as your husband" She answered, "O king, if the gods will, I may have another husband and other children when these are gone But as my father and my mother are no more, it is impossible that I should have another brother [36] This was my thought when I asked to have my brother spared" Then it

[36] The resemblance of this to Antigone s speech (Sophocles *Antigone* 909 912) is very striking

seemed to Darius that the lady spoke well and he gave her besides the life that she had asked the life also of her eldest son because he was greatly pleased with her But he slew all the rest Thus one of the seven died in the way I have described very shortly after the insurrection

120 About the time of Cambyses last sickness the following events happened There was a certain Oroetes a Persian whom Cyrus had made governor of Sardis This man conceived a most unholy wish He had never suffered wrong or had an ill word from Polycrates the Samian—nay he had not so much as seen him in all his life yet notwithstanding he conceived the wish to seize him and put him to death This wish according to the account which the most part give arose from what happened one day as he was sitting with another Persian in the gate of the king s palace The man s name was Mitrobates and he was ruler of the satrapy of Dascyleium He and Oroetes had been talking together and from talking they fell to quarrelling and comparing their merits whereupon Mitrobates said to Oroetes reproachfully Are you worthy to be called a man when near as Samos lies to your government and easy as it is to conquer you have omitted to bring it under the dominion of the king? Easy to conquer said I? Why a mere common citizen with the help of fifteen men at arms mastered the island and is still king of it Oroetes they say took this reproach greatly to heart but instead of seeking to revenge himself on the man by whom it was uttered he conceived the desire of destroying Polycrates since it was on Polycrates account that the reproach had fallen on him

121 *Another less common version of the story is that Oroetes* sent a herald to Samos to make a request the nature of which is not stated Polycrates was at the time reclining in the men s apartment and Anacreon the Teian was with him when therefore the herald came forward to converse Polycrates either out of studied contempt for the power of Oroetes or it may be merely by chance was lying with his face turned away towards th wall and so he lay all the time that the herald poke and when he ended did not even vouchsafe him a word

122. Such are the two reasons alleged for the death of Polycrates; it is open to all to believe which they please. What is certain is, that Oroetes, while residing at Magnesia on the Maeander, sent a Lydian, by name Myrsus, the son of Gyges, with a message to Polycrates at Samos, well knowing what that monarch designed. For Polycrates entertained a design which no other Greek, so far as we know, ever formed before him, unless it were Minos the Cnossian and those (if there were any such) who had the mastery of the Aegean at an earlier time—Polycrates, I say, was the first of mere human birth who conceived the design of gaining the empire of the sea, and aspired to rule over Ionia and the islands. Knowing then that Polycrates was thus minded, Oroetes sent his message, which ran as follows:

'Oroetes to Polycrates speaks thus: I hear you raised your thoughts high, but your means are not equal to your ambition. Listen then to my words, and learn how you may at once serve yourself and preserve me. King Cambyses is bent on my destruction—of this I have warning from a sure hand. Come therefore, and fetch me away, me and all my wealth—share my wealth with me, and then, so far as money can aid, you may make yourself master of the whole of Greece. But if you doubt my wealth, send the trustiest of your followers, and I will show my treasures to him.'

123. Polycrates, when he heard this message, was full of joy, and straightway approved the terms; but, as money was what he chiefly desired, before stirring in the business he sent his secretary, Maeandrius, son of Maeandrius, a Samian, to look into the matter. This was the man who, not very long afterwards, made an offering at the temple of Hera of all the furniture which had adorned the male apartments in the palace of Polycrates, an offering well worth seeing. Oroetes learning that one was coming to view his treasures, contrived as follows: he filled eight great chests almost brimful of stones, and then covering over the stones with gold, corded the chests, and so held them in readiness. When Maeandrius arrived, he was shown this as Oroetes' treasure, and having seen it returned to Samos.

124. On hearing his account, Polycrates, notwithstanding

many warnings given him by the soothsayers and much dissuasion of his friends made ready to go in person Even the dream which visited his daughter failed to check him She had dreamed that she saw her father hanging high in air washed by Zeus and anointed by the sun Having therefore thus dreamed she used every effort to prevent her father from going even as he went on board his fifty-oared galley crying after him with words of evil omen Then Polycrates threatened her that if he returned in safety he would keep her unmarried many years She answered that he might perform his threat far better for her to remain long unmarried than to be bereft of her father!

125 Polycrates however making light of all the counsel offered him set sail and went to Oroetes Many friends accompanied him among the rest Democedes the son of Calliphon a native of Croton who was a physician and the best skilled in his art of all men then living Polycrates on his arrival at Magnesia perished miserably in a way unworthy of his rank and of his lofty schemes For if we except the Syracusans there has never been one of the Greek tyrants who was to be compared with Polycrates for magnificence Oroetes however slew him and in a mode which is not fit to be described and then hung his dead body upon a cross His Samian followers Oroetes let go free bidding them thank him that they were allowed their liberty the rest who were in part slaves in part free foreigners he alike treated as his slaves by conquest Then was the dream of the daughter of Polycrates fulfilled for Polycrates as he hung upon the cross and rain fell on him was washed by Zeus and he was anointed by the sun when his own moisture overspread his body And so the vast good fortune of Polycrates came at last to the end which Amasis the Egyptian king had prophesied in days gone by

126 It was not long before retribution for the murder of Polycrates overtook Oroetes After the death of Cambyses and during all the time that the Magus sat upon the throne Oroetes remained in Sardis and brought no help to the Persians whom the Medes had robbed of the sovereignty On the contrary amid *the troubles of this season he slew Mitrobates the satrap of*

Dascyleium, who had cast the reproach upon him in the matter of Polycrates, and he slew also Mitrobates' son, Cranaspes, both men of high repute among the Persians. He was likewise guilty of many other acts of insolence, among the rest, of the following: There was a courier sent to him by Darius whose message was not to his mind—Oroetes had him waylaid and murdered on his road back to the king: the man and his horse both disappeared, and no traces were left of either.

127. Darius therefore was no sooner settled upon the throne than he longed to take vengeance upon Oroetes for all his misdoings, and especially for the murder of Mitrobates and his son. To send an armed force openly against him, however, he did not think advisable, as the whole kingdom was still unsettled, and he too was but lately come to the throne, while Oroetes, as he understood, had a great power. In truth 1,000 Persians attended on him as a body guard, and he held the satrapies of Phrygia, Lydia, and Ionia. Darius therefore proceeded by artifice. He called together a meeting of all the chief of the Persians, and thus addressed them, "Who among you, Persians, will undertake to accomplish me a matter by skill without force or tumult? Force is misplaced where the work wants skilful management. Who, then, will undertake to bring me Oroetes alive, or else to kill him? He never did the Persians any good in his life, and he has wrought us abundant injury. Two of our number, Mitrobates and his son, he has slain; and when messengers go to recall him, even though they have their mandate from me, with an insolence which is not to be endured, he puts them to death. We must kill this man, therefore, before he does the Persians any greater hurt."

128. Thus spoke Darius, and straightway thirty of those present came forward and offered themselves for the work. As they strove together, Darius interfered, and bade them have recourse to the lot. Accordingly lots were cast, and the task fell to Bagaeus, son of Artontes. Then Bagaeus caused many letters to be written on various matters, and sealed them all with the king's signet, after which he took the letters with him, and departed for Sardis. On his arrival he was shown into the presence

of Oroetes when he uncovered the letters one by one and giving them to the king s secretary—every satrap has with him a king s secretary—commanded him to read their contents Herein his design was to try the fidelity of the body guard and to ee if they would be likely to fall away from Oroetes When therefore he saw that they showed the letters all due respect and even more highly reverenced their contents he gave the secretary a paper in which was written Persians king Darius forbids you to guard Oroetes The soldiers at the e words laid aside their spears So Bagaeus finding that they obeyed this mandate took courage and gave into the secretary s hands the last letter wherein it was written King Darius commands the Persians who are in Sardis to kill Oroetes Then the guards drew their swords and slew him upon the spot Thus did retribution for the murder of Polycrates the Samian overtake Oroetes the Persian

129 Soon after the treasures of Oroetes had been conveyed to Sardis it happened that king Darius as he leaped from his hor e during the cha e sprained his foot The sprain was one of no common severity for the ankle bone was forced quite out of the socket Now Darius already had at his court certain Egyptians whom he reckoned the best skilled physicians in all the world to their aid therefore he had recourse but they twi ted the foot o clumsily and u ed such violence that they only made the mischief greater For seven days and even nights the kin lay without sleep so grievous was the pain he suffered On the eighth day of his indisposition one who had heard before leaving Sardis of the skill of Democedes the Crotoniat told Darius who commanded that he should be brought with all speed into his presence When therefore they had found him among the slaves of Oroetes quite uncared for by any one they brought him just as he was clanking his fetters and all clothed in ra s before the king

130 As oon as he was entered into the presence Darius asked him if he knew medicine—to which he answered No" for he feared that if he made himself known he woul l lose all chance of ever again beholdin Greece Darius however per ceivin that he dealt deceitfuly and really understood the art,

bade those who had brought him to the presence, go fetch the scourges and the pricking irons Upon this Democedes confessed, but at the same time said, that he had no thorough knowledge of medicine—he had but lived some time with a physician, and in this way had gained a slight smattering of the art However, Darius put himself under his care, and Democedes, by using the remedies customary among the Greeks, and exchanging the violent treatment of the Egyptians for milder means, first enabled him to get some sleep, and then in a very little time restored him altogether, after he had quite lost the hope of ever having the use of his foot Hereupon the king presented Democedes with two sets of fetters wrought in gold so Democedes asked if he meant to double his sufferings, because he had brought him back to health? Darius was pleased at the speech, and bade the eunuchs take Democedes to see his wives, which they did accordingly, telling them all that this was the man who had saved the king's life Then each of the wives dipped with a saucer into the chest of gold, and gave so bountifully to Democedes, that a slave named Sciton, who followed him, and picked up the staters which fell from the saucers, gathered together a great heap of gold

131 This Democedes left his country and became attached to Polycrates in the following way His father, who dwelt at Croton, was a man of a savage temper, and treated him cruelly When, therefore, he could no longer bear such constant ill usage, Democedes left his home, and sailed away to Aegina There he set up in business, and succeeded the first year in surpassing all the best skilled physicians of the place, notwithstanding that he was without instruments, and had with him none of the appliances needful for the practice of his art In the second year the state of Aegina hired his services at the price of a talent, in the third the Athenians engaged him at a hundred minae, and in the fourth Polycrates at two talents So he went to Samos, and there took up his abode It was in no small measure from his success that the Crotoniats came to be reckoned such good physicians, for about this period the physicians of Croton had the name of being the best, and those of Cyrene the

second best in all Greece The Argives about the same time were thought to be the first musicians in Greece

132 After Democedes had cured Darius at Susa he dwelt there in a large house and feasted daily at the king s table nor did he lack anything that his heart desired excepting liberty to return to his country By interceding for them with Darius he saved the lives of the Egyptian physicians who had had the care of the king before he came when they were about to be impaled because they had been surpassed by a Greek and further he succeeded in rescuing an Elean soothsayer who had followed the fortunes of Polycrates and was lying in utter neglect among his slaves In short there was no one who stood so high as Democedes in the favour of the king

133 Moreover within a little while it happened that Atossa the daughter of Cyrus who was married to Darius had a boil form upon her breast which after it burst began to spread and increase Now so long as the sore was of no great size she hid it through shame and made no mention of it to any one but when it became worse she sent at last for Democedes and showed it to him Democedes said that he would make her well but she must first promise him with an oath that if he cured her she would grant him whatever request he might prefer assuring her at the same time that it should be nothing which she could blush to hear

134 On these terms Democedes applied his art and soon cured the abscess and Atossa when she had heard his request spoke thus one night to Darius It seems to me strange my lord that with the mighty power which is yours you sit idle and neither make any conquest nor advance the power of the Persians I think that one who is so young and so richly endowed with wealth should perform some noble achievement to prove to the Persians that it is a man who governs them Another reason too should urge you to attempt some enterprise Not only does it befit you to show the Persians that a man rules them but for your own peace you should waste their strength in wars lest idleness breed revolt against your authority Now too while you are still young you may well accomplish some ex

ploit, for as the body grows in strength the mind too ripens and as the body ages the mind's powers decay till at last it becomes dulled to everything'

So spake Atossa as Democedes had instructed her Darius answered, "Dear lady, you have uttered the very thoughts that occupy my brain I am minded to construct a bridge which shall join our continent with the other, and so carry war into Scythia In a brief space and all will be accomplished as you desire

But Atossa rejoined Look now, this war with Scythia were best reserved awhile—for the Scythians may be conquered at any time Lead your host first into Greece I long to be served by some of those Lacedaemonian maids of whom I have heard so much I want also Argive and Athenian, and Corinthian women There is now at the court a man who can tell you better than any one else in the whole world whatever you would know concerning Greece, and who might serve you right well as guide I mean him who performed the cure on your foot"

"Dear lady," Darius answered, "since it is your wish that we try first the valour of the Greeks, it were best, I think, before marching against them, to send some Persians to spy out the land, they may go in company with the man you mention, and when they have seen and learned all, they can bring us back a full report Then, having a more perfect knowledge of them, I will begin the war"

135 Darius, having so spoke, put no long distance between the word and the deed, but as soon as day broke he summoned to his presence fifteen Persians of note, and bade them take Democedes for their guide, and explore the sea coasts of Greece Above all, they were to be sure to bring Democedes back with them, and not suffer him to run away and escape After he had given these orders, Darius sent for Democedes, and asked him to serve as guide to the Persians, and when he had shown them the whole of Greece to come back to Persia He should take, he said, all the valuables he possessed as presents to his father and his brothers, and he should receive on his return a far more abundant store Moreover, the king added, he would give him, as his contribution towards the presents, a merchant ship laden

with all manner of precious things which should accompany him on his voyage Now I do not believe that Darius when he made these promises had any guile in his heart Democedes however who suspected that the king spoke to try him took care not to snatch at the offers with any haste but said he would leave his own goods behind to enjoy upon his return—the merchant ship which the king proposed to grant him to carry gifts to his brothers that he would accept at the king s hands So when Darius had laid his orders upon Democedes he sent him and the Persians away to the coast

136 The men went down to Phoenicia to Sidon the Phoenician town where straightway they fitted out two triremes and a trading vessel which they loaded with all manner of precious merchandise and everything being now ready they set sail for Greece When they had made the land they kept along the shore and examined it taking notes of all that they aw and in this way they explored the greater portion of the country and all the most famous regions until at last they reached Tarentum in Italy There Aristophil des king of the Tarentines out of kindness to Democedes took the rudders off the Median ships and detained their crews as pies. Meanwhile Democedes es caped to Croton his native city whereupon Aristophilides re leased the Persians from prison and gave their rud lers back to them

137 The Persians now quitted Tarentum and sailed to Croton in pursuit of Democedes they found him in the market place where they straightway laid violent hands on him Some of the Crotoniats who greatly feared the power of the Persians were willing to give him up but others re iste l held Democe les fast and even struck the Persians with their walking sticks. They on their part kept crying out Men of Croton beware what you do It is the king s runaway slave that you are rescu ing Think you Darius will tamely submit to such an insult? Think you that if you carry off the man fr m us it will here after go well with you? Will yo not rather be the first persons on whom we shall make war? Will not your city I e the f rst we shall seek to lead away captive? Thus they spol e but the

Crotoniats did not heed them they rescued Democedes, and seized also the trading ship which the Persians had brought with them from Phoenicia Thus robbed, and bereft of their guide, the Persians gave up all hope of exploring the rest of Greece, and set sail for Asia As they were departing, Democedes sent to them and begged they would inform Darius that the daughter of Milo was affianced to him as his bride For the name of Milo the wrestler was in high repute with the king My belief is, that Democedes hastened his marriage by the payment of a large sum of money for the purpose of showing Darius that he was a man of mark in his own country

138 The Persians weighed anchor and left Croton, but being wrecked on the coast of Iapygia, were made slaves by the inhabitants From this condition they were rescued by Gillus, a banished Tarentine, who ransomed them at his own cost, and took them back to Darius Darius offered to repay this service by granting Gillus whatever boon he chose to ask, whereupon Gillus told the king of his misfortune, and begged to be restored to his country Fearing, however, that he might bring trouble on Greece if a vast armament were sent to Italy on his account, he added that it would content him if the Cnidians undertook to obtain his recall Now the Cnidians were close friends of the Tarentines, which made him think there was no likelier means of procuring his return Darius promised, and performed his part, for he sent a messenger to Cnidus and commanded the Cnidians to restore Gillus The Cnidians did as he wished, but found themselves unable to persuade the Tarentines, and were too weak to attempt force Such, then, was the course which this matter took These were the first Persians who ever came from Asia to Greece,[27] and they were sent to spy out the land for the reason which I have before mentioned

139 After this, king Darius besieged and took Samos, which

[27] *In the mind of Herodotus this voyage is of* the greatest importance It is the first step towards the invasion of Greece and so a chief link in the chain of his history Whether Darius attached much importance to it is a different matter We must bear in mind that the details have evidently come from the descendants of Democedes with whom Herodotus would have been brought into contact in Magna Graecia

was the first city Greek or Barbarian that he conquered The cause of his making war upon Samos was the following At the time when Cambyses son of Cyrus marched against Egypt vast numbers of Greeks flocked thither some as might have been looked for to push their trade others to serve in his army others again merely to see the land among these last was Syloson son of Aeaces and brother of Polycrates at that time an exile from Samos This Syloson during his stay in Egypt met with a sin ular piece of good fortune He happened one day to put on a scarlet cloak and thus attired to go into the market place at Memphis when Darius who was one of Cambyses body guard and not at that time a man of any account saw him and taking a strong liking to the dress went up and offered to purchase it Syloson perceived how anxious he was and by a lucky inspiration answered There is no price at which I would sell my cloak but I will give it to you for nothing if you wish it Darius thanked him and accepted the garment

140 Poor Syloson felt at the time that he had fooled away his cloak in a very simple manner but afterwards when in the course of years Cambyses died and the seven Persians rose in revolt against the Magus and Darius was the man chosen out of the seven to have the kingdom Syloson learnt that the person to whom the crown had come was the very man who had coveted his cloak in Egypt and to whom he had freely given it So he made his way to Susa and seating himself at the portal of the royal palace gave out that he was a benefactor of the king Then the doorkeeper went and told Darius Amazed at what he heard the king said thus within him elf What Greek can have been my benefactor or to which of them do I owe anythin so lately as I have got the kingdom? Scarcely a man of them all has been here not more than one or two certainly since I came to the throne Nor do I remember that I am in the debt of any Greek However bring him in and let me hear what he means by his boast So the doorkeeper ushered Syloson into the presence and the interpreters asked him who he was and what he had done that he should call himself a benefactor of the king

Then Syloson told the whole story of the cloak, and said that it was he who had made Darius the present Hereupon Darius exclaimed, "Most generous of men, are you indeed he who, when I had no power at all, gave me something, albeit little? Truly the favour is as great as a very grand present would be nowadays I will therefore give you in return gold and silver without stint, that you may never repent of having rendered a service to Darius, son of Hystaspes Give me not, O king," replied Syloson, "either silver or gold, but recover me Samos, my native land, and let that be your gift to me It belongs now to a slave of ours, who, when Oroetes put my brother Polycrates to death, became its master Give me Samos, I beg, but give it unharmed, with no bloodshed—no leading into captivity"

141 When he heard this, Darius sent off an army, under Otanes, one of the seven, with orders to accomplish all that Syloson had desired And Otanes went down to the coast and made ready to cross over

142 The government of Samos was held at this time by Maeandrius, son of Maeandrius whom Polycrates had appointed as his deputy This person conceived the wish to act like the justest of men, but it was not allowed him to do so On receiving tidings of the death of Polycrates, he forthwith raised an altar to Zeus the Protector of Freedom and assigned it the piece of ground which may still be seen in the suburb This done, he assembled all the citizens, and spoke to them as follows

"You know, friends, that the sceptre of Polycrates, and all his power, has passed into my hands, and if I choose I may rule over you But what I condemn in another I will, if I may, avoid myself I never approved the ambition of Polycrates to lord it over men as good as himself, nor looked with favour on any of those who have done the like Now therefore, since he has fulfilled his destiny, I lay down my office, and proclaim equal rights All that I claim in return is six talents from the treasures of Polycrates, and the priesthood of Zeus the Protector of Freedom, for myself and my descendants for ever Allow me this, as the man by whom his temple has been built, and by whom you yourselves are now restored to liberty" As soon as Maeandrius

had ended one of the Samians rose up and said As if you were fit to rule us baseborn and rascal as you are! Think rather of accounting for the moneys which you have fingered

143 The man who thus spoke was a certain Telesarchus one of the leading citizens Maeandrius therefore feeling sure that if he laid down the sovereign power some one else would become tyrant in his room gave up the thought of relinquishing it Withdrawing to the citadel he sent for the chief men one by one under pretence of showing them his accounts and as fast as they came arrested them and put them in irons So these men were bound and Maeandrius within a short time fell sick whereupon Lycaretus one of his brothers thinking that he was going to die and wishing to make his own accession to the throne the easier slew all the prisoners It seemed that the Samians did not choo e to be a free people

144 When the Persians who e busine s it was to restore Syloson reached Samos not a man was found to lift up his hand against them Maeandrius and his partisans expressed themselves willing to quit the island upon certain terms and these terms were agreed to by Otanes After the treaty was made the most distinguished of the Persians had their thrones brought *and seated themselves over against the citadel*

145 Now the king Maeandrius had a lightheaded brother—Charilaus by name—whom for some offence or other he had shut up in prison this man heard what was going on and peering through his bars saw the Persians sitting peacefully upon their seats whereupon he exclaimed aloud and said he must speak with Maeandrius When this was reported to him Maeandrius gave orders that Charilaus should be released from prison and brought into his pre ence No sooner did he arrive than he began reviling and abusing his brother and strove to persuade him to attack the Per ians Meanest pirited of men he said you can keep me your brother chained in a dungeon notwithstanding that I have done nothing worthy of bonds but when the Persians come and drive you forth a houseless wanderer from your native land you look on and lack the heart to eek revenge though they might so easily be subdued If you how

ever, are afraid, lend me your soldiers, and I will make them pay dearly for their coming here I engage too to send you first safe out of the island "

146 So spoke Charilaus, and Maeandrius gave consent, not (I believe) that he was so void of sense as to imagine that his own forces could overcome those of the king, but because he was jealous of Syloson, and did not wish him to get so quietly an unharmed city He desired therefore to rouse the anger of the Persians against Samos, that so he might deliver it up to Syloson with its power at the lowest possible ebb, for he knew well that if the Persians met with a disaster they would be furious against the Samians, while he himself felt secure of a retreat at any time that he liked, since he had a secret passage underground leading from the citadel to the sea Maeandrius accordingly took ship and sailed away from Samos, and Charilaus, having armed all the mercenaries, threw open the gates, and fell upon the Persians, who looked for nothing less, since they supposed that the whole matter had been arranged by treaty At the first onslaught therefore all the Persians of most note, men who were in the habit of using litters, were slain by the mercenaries, the rest of the army, however, came to the rescue, defeated the mercenaries, and drove them back into the citadel

147 Then Otanes, the general, when he saw the great calamity which had befallen the Persians, made up his mind to forget the orders which Darius had given him not to kill or enslave a single Samian, but to deliver up the island unharmed to Syloson, and gave the word to his army that they should slay the Samians, both men and boys, wherever they could find them Upon this some of his troops laid siege to the citadel, while others began the massacre, killing all they met, some outside, some inside the temples

148 Maeandrius fled from Samos to Lacedaemon, and conveyed thither all the riches which he had brought away from the island, after which he acted as follows Having placed upon his board all the gold and silver vessels that he had, and bade his servants employ themselves in cleaning them, he himself went and entered into conversation with Cleomenes, son of '

drides king of Sparta and as they talked brought him along to his house There Cleomenes seeing the plate was filled with wonder and astonishment whereon the other begged that he would carry home with him any of the vessels that he liked Maeandrius said this two or three times but Cleomenes here displayed surpassing honesty He refused the gift and thinking that if Maeandrius made the same offers to others he would get the aid he sought the Spartan king went straight to the ephors and told them it would be best for Sparta that the Samian stranger should be sent away from the Peloponnese for other wise he might perchance persuade himself or some other Spartan to be base The ephors took his advice and let Maeandrius know by a herald that he must leave the city

149 Meanwhile the Persians netted Samos and delivered it up to Syloson stripped of all its men After some time however this same general Otanes was induced to repeople it by a dream which he had and a loath ome disease that seized on his geni tals

150 After the armament of Otanes had set sail for Samos the Babylonians revolted having made every preparation for defence During all the time that the Magus was king and while the seven were conspiring they had profited by the troubles and had made them elves ready against a siege And it happened somehow or other that no one perceived what they were doing At last when the time came for rebelling openly they did as follows having first set apart their mothers each man chose besides out of his whole household one woman whomsoever he pleased these alone were allowed to live while all the rest were brought to one place and strangled The women chosen were kept to make bread for the men the others were strangled that they might not consume the stores

151 When tidings reached Darius of what had happened he drew together all his power and began the war by marchin straight upon Babylon and laying siege to the place The Baby lonians however cared not a whit for his siege Mounting upon the battlements that crowned their walls they insulted and

jeered at Darius and his mighty host One even shouted to them and said, "Why do you sit there, Persians? Why not go back to your homes? Till mules foal you will not take our city " This was said by a Babylonian who thought that a mule would never foal

152 Now when a year and seven months had passed Darius and his army were quite wearied out, finding that they could not anyhow take the city All stratagems and all arts had been used, and yet the king could not prevail—not even when he tried the means by which Cyrus made himself master of the place The Babylonians were ever upon the watch, and he found no way of conquering them

153 At last, in the twentieth month, a marvellous thing happened to Zopyrus, son of the Megabyzus who was among the seven men that overthrew the Magus One of his sumpter mules gave birth to a foal Zopyrus, when they told him, not thinking that it could be true, went and saw the colt with his own eyes after which he commanded his servants to tell no one what had come to pass, while he himself pondered the matter Calling to mind then the words of the Babylonian at the beginning of the siege, Till mules foal you shall not take our city"—he thought, as he reflected on this speech, that Babylon might now be taken For it seemed to him that there was a divine providence in the man having used the phrase, and then his mule having foaled

154 As soon therefore as he felt within himself that Babylon was fated to be taken, he went to Darius and asked him if he set a very high value on its conquest When he found that Darius did indeed value it highly, he considered further with himself how he might make the deed his own, and be the man to take Babylon Noble exploits in Persia are ever highly honoured and bring their authors to greatness He therefore reviewed all ways of bringing the city under, but found none by which he could hope to prevail, unless he maimed himself and then went over to the enemy To do this seeming to him a light matter, he mutilated himself in a way that was utterly without remedy—

The Fourth Book Entitled

MELPOMENE

1 *After* the taking of Babylon an expedition was led by Darius into Scythia [1] Asia abounding in men and vast sums *flowing into the* treasury *the desire seized him to exact* vengeance from the Scyths who had once in days gone by invaded Media defeated those who met them in the field and so begun *the quarrel During the space of twenty eight years as I have* before mentioned the Scyths continued lords of the whole of Upper Asia They entered Asia in pursuit of the Cimmerians and overthrew the empire of the Medes who till they came possessed the sovereignty On their return to their homes after the long absence of twenty eight years a task awaited them little less troublesome than their *struggle with the Medes They found* an army of no small size prepared to oppose their entrance For the Scythian women when they saw that time went on and their husbands did not come back *had intermarried with their* slaves

2 Now the Scythians blind all their slaves to use them in preparing their milk *The plan they follow is to thrust tubes* made of bone not unlike our musical pipes up the vulva of the mare and then to blow into the tubes with their mouths *some* milking while the others blow They say that they do this because when the veins of the animal are full of air the udder is forced down The milk thus obtained is poured into deep wooden casks about which the blind slaves are placed and then

[1] Th[illegible] dat[illegible] [illegible] Dari[illegible] [illegible]mpaign seem[illegible] [illegible] be 512 B.C. Alth[illegible]gh [illegible]h[illegible]pters [illegible]144 ha[illegible] littl[illegible] [illegible] d[illegible] with H[illegible]rod[illegible] [illegible] main sub[illegible] [illegible] they [illegible]e import[illegible]nt [illegible] th[illegible] e[illegible]liest study we possess [illegible] a[illegible] u[illegible]civilise[illegible] peop[illegible]

the milk is stirred round That which rises to the top is drawn off, and considered the best part, the under portion is of less account Such is the reason why the Scythians blind all those whom they take in war, it arises from their not being tillers of the ground, but a pastoral race

3 When therefore the children sprung from these slaves and the Scythian women, grew to manhood, and understood the circumstances of their birth, they resolved to oppose the army which was returning from Media And first of all, they cut off a tract of country from the rest of Scythia by digging a broad dyke from the Tauric mountains to the vast lake of the Maeotis. Afterwards, when the Scythians tried to force an entrance, they marched out and engaged them Many battles were fought, and the Scythians gained no advantage, until at last one of them thus addressed the remainder, "What are we doing, Scythians? We are fighting our slaves, diminishing our own number when we fall, and the number of those that belong to us when they fall by our hands Take my advice—lay spear and bow aside, and let each man fetch his horse whip, and go boldly up to them So long as they see us with arms in our hands, they imagine themselves our equals in birth and bravery, but let them behold us with no other weapon but the whip, and they will feel that they are our slaves, and flee before us"

4 The Scythians followed this counsel, and the slaves were so astounded, that they forgot to fight, and immediately ran away Such was the mode in which the Scythians, after being for a time the lords of Asia, and being forced to quit it by the Medes, returned and settled in their own country This inroad of theirs it was that Darius was anxious to avenge, and such was the purpose for which he was now collecting an army to invade them

5 According to the account which the Scythians themselves give, they are the youngest of all nations Their tradition is as follows A certain Targitaus was the first man who ever lived in their country, which before his time was a desert without inhabitants He was a child—I do not believe the tale, but told nevertheless—of Zeus and a daughter of the Bc y

Targitaus thus descended bega three sons Leipoxais Arpoxais and Colaxais who was the youngest born of the three While they still ruled the land there fell from the sky four implements all of gold —a plough a yoke a battle axe and a drinking-cup The eldest of the brothers perceived them first and approached to pick them up as he came near the gold took fire and blazed He therefore went his way and the second coming forward made the attempt but the same thing happened again The gold rejected both the eldest and the second brother Last of all the youngest brother approached and immediately the flames were extinguished so he picked up the gold and carried it to his home Then the two elder agreed together and made the whole kingdom over to the youngest born

6 From Leipoxais prang the Scythians of the race called Auchatae from Arpoxais *the middle brother those known as* the Catiari and Traspians from Colaxais the youngest the Royal Scythians or Paralatae All together they are named Scoloti after one of their kings the Greeks however call them Scythians

7 Such is the account which the Scythians give of their origin *They add that from the time of Targitaus their first king* to the invasion of their country by Darius is a period of 1 000 years neither less nor more The Royal Scythians guard th sacred gold with most especial care and year by year offer great sacrifices in its honour At this feast if the man who has the custody of the gold shou d fall asleep in the open air he is sure (the Scythians say) *not to outlive the year His pay therefore is* as much land as he can ride round on horsebacl in a day As the extent of Scythia is very great Co axais gave each of his three sons a separate kingdom one of which was of ampler ize than the other two in this the gold was preserved Abo e to the northward of the farthest dwellers in Scythia the country is said o be concealed from ight and made *impassable by reason of* the feathers which are shed abroad abundantly The earth and air are alike full of them and this it is which prevents the eye from obtaining any view of the region [2]

[2] H od t.s exp.ains (iv 31) th t th so-call d feather sn w flakes

8 Such is the account which the Scythians give of themselves, and of the country which lies above them The Greeks who dwell about the Pontus tell a different story According to them, Heracles, when he was carrying off the cows of Geryon, arrived in the region which is now inhabited by the Scyths, but which was then a desert Geryon lived outside the Pontus, in an island called by the Greeks Erytheia, near Gades,[3] which is beyond the Pillars of Heracles upon the Ocean Now some say that the Ocean begins in the east, and runs the whole way round the world but they give no proof that this is really so [4] Heracles came from thence into the region now called Scythia, and being overtaken by storm and frost, drew his lion's skin about him, and fell fast asleep While he slept, his mares, which he had loosed from his chariot to graze, by some wonderful chance disappeared

9 On waking, he went in quest of them, and, after wandering over the whole country, came at last to the district called the Woodland, where he found in a cave a strange being, between a maiden and a serpent, whose form from the buttocks upwards was like that of a woman, while all below was like a snake He looked at her wonderingly but nevertheless inquired, whether she had chanced to see his strayed mares anywhere She answered him, "Yes, and they were now in her keeping, but never would she consent to give them back, before he had intercourse with her" So Heracles, to get his mares back, agreed, but afterwards she put him off and delayed restoring the mares, since she wished to keep him with her as long as possible He, on the other hand, was only anxious to secure them and to get away At last, when she gave them up, she said to him, "When your mares strayed hither, it was I who saved them for you now you have paid a reward, for I bear in my womb three sons of yours Tell me therefore when your sons grow up, what must I do with them? Would you wish that I should settle them here in this

[3] The modern Cadiz

[4] Herodotus considered that the eastern and northern boundaries of the earth were unknown and that the general belief that the sea encompassed the land was a pure conjecture resting on no certain data

land whereof I am mistress or shall I send them to you? Thus questioned they say Heracles answered When the lads have grown to manhood do thus and assuredly you will not err Watch them and when you ee one of them bend this bow as I now bend it and gird himself with this girdle thus choose him to remain in the land Those who fail in the trial send away Thus you will at once please yourself and obey me

10 Hereupon he strung one of his bows—up to that time he had carried two—and howed her how to fasten the belt Then he gave both bow and belt into her hands Now the belt had a golden goblet attached to its clasp So after he had given them to her he went his way and the woman when her children grew to manhood first gave them severally their names One she called Agathyrsus one Gelonus and the other who was the youngest Scythes Then she remembered the instructions he had received from Heracles and in obedience to his orders she put her sons to the test Two of them Agathyrsus and Gelonus proving unequal to the task enjoined their mother sent them out of the land Scythes the youngest succeeded and so he was allowed to remain From Scythes the son of Heracles were descended the after kings of Scythia and from the circum tance of the goblet which hung from the belt the Scythians to this day wear goblets at their girdles This was the only thing which the mother of Sythes did for him Such is the tale told by the Greeks who dwell around the Pontus

11 There is also another different story now to be related in which I am more inclined to put faith than in any other It is that the wanderin Scythians once dwelt in A ia and there warred with the Massagetae but with ill success they therefore quitted their homes crossed the Araxes and entered the land of Cimmeria For the land which is no v inhabited by the Scyths was formerly the country of the Cimmerians On tl eir comin the natives who heard how numerous the inva ling army was held a council At this meeting opinion was di ide l and both parties tifly maintained their own view but the counsel of the Royal tribe was the braver For the others urged that the best

It se ms that the A ax h e represe ts the V lga

thing to be done was to leave the country and avoid a contest with so vast a host, but the Royal tribe advised remaining and fighting for the soil to the last As neither party chose to give way, the one determined to retire without a blow and yield their lands to the invaders but the other, remembering the good things which they had enjoyed in their homes, and picturing to themselves the evils which they had to expect if they gave them up, resolved not to flee, but rather to die and at least be buried in their fatherland Having thus decided, they drew apart in two bodies the one as numerous as the other and fought together All of the Royal tribe were slain, and the people buried them near the river Tyras where their grave is still to be seen Then the rest of the Cimmerians departed and the Scythians, on their coming took possession of a deserted land

12 Scythia still retains traces of the Cimmerians there are Cimmerian walls, and a Cimmerian ferry, also a tract called Cimmeria,[6] and a Cimmerian Bosporus It appears likewise that the Cimmerians when they fled into Asia to escape the Scyths, made a settlement in the peninsula where the Greek city of Sinope was afterwards built The Scyths it is plain pursued them, and missing their road poured into Media For the Cimmerians kept the line which led along the sea shore but the Scyths in their pursuit held the Caucasus upon their right, thus proceeding inland and falling upon Media This account is one which is common both to Greeks and barbarians

13 Aristeas also, son of Caystrobius, a native of Proconnesus,[7] says in the course of his poem, that inspired by Phoebus, he went as far as the Issedones Above them dwelt the Arimaspi, men with one eye still further, the gold-guarding Griffins, and beyond these, the Hyperboreans, who extended to the sea Except the Hyperboreans all these nations beginning with the Arimaspi were continually encroaching upon their neighbours Hence it came to pass that the Arimaspi drove the Issedonians from their country while the Issedonians dispossessed the

[6] The Cimmerians have given their name to the Crimea

[7] Proconnesus is the island now called Marmora which gives its modern appellation to the Sea of Marmora

Scyths and the Scyths pressing upon the Cimmerians who dwelt on the shores of the Southern sea [8] forced them to leave their land Thus even Aristeas does not agree in his account of this region with the Scythians

14 The birthplace of Aristeas the poet who sung of these things I have already mentioned I will now relate a tale which I heard concerning him both at Proconnesus and at Cyzicus Aristeas they said who belonged to one of the noblest families in the island had entered one day into a fuller s shop when he suddenly dropped down dead Hereupon the fuller shut up his shop and went to tell Aristeas kindred what had happened The report of the death had just spread through the town when a certain Cyzicenian lately arrived from Artaca contradicted the rumour affirming that he had met Aristeas on his road to Cyzicus and had spoken with him This man therefore strenuously denied the rumour the relations however proceeded to the fuller s shop with all things necessary for the funeral intending to carry the body away But on the shop being opened no Aristeas was found either dead or alive Seven years afterwards he reappeared they told me in Proconnesus and wrote the poem called by the Greeks the *Arimaspeia* after which he disappeared a second time This is the tale current in the two cities above mentioned

15 What follows I know to have happened to the Metapontines of Italy 240 years after the second disappearance of Aristeas as I collect by comparing the accounts given me at Proconnesus and Metapontum Aristeas then as the Metapontines affirm appeared to them in their own country and ordered them to set up an altar in honour of Apollo and to place near it a statue to be called that of Aristeas the Proconnesian "Apollo" he told them had come to their country once though he had visited no other Italiots and he had been with Apollo at the time not however in his present form but in the shape of a crow Having said so much he vanished Then the Metapontines as they relate sent to Delphi and inquired of the god in

[8] That is, the Euxine [illegible] distinct[illegible] from the Northern Se[illegible] the shores of which dwelt the Hyperborea[illegible] according to Ari[illegible]eas.

what light they were to regard the appearance of this ghost of a man The priestess, in reply, bade them attend to what the spectre said, "for so it would go best with them" Thus advised, they did as they had been directed and there is now a statue bearing the name of Aristeas, close by the image of Apollo in the market place of Metapontum, with bay trees standing around it But enough has been said concerning Aristeas

16 With regard to the regions which lie above the country whereof this portion of my history treats, there is no one who possesses any exact knowledge Not a single person can I find who professes to be acquainted with them by actual observation Even Aristeas, the traveller of whom I lately spoke, does not claim—and he is writing poetry—to have reached any farther than the Issedonians What he relates concerning the regions beyond is, he confesses, mere hearsay, being the account which the Issedonians gave him of those countries However, I shall proceed to mention all that I have learnt of these parts by the most exact inquiries which I have been able to make concerning them

17 Above the trading port of the Borysthenites, which is situated in the very centre of the whole sea coast of Scythia, the first people who inhabit the land are the Callippidae, a Graeco Scythic race Next to them, as you go inland, dwell the people called the Alazonians These two nations in other respects resemble the Scythians in their usages, but sow and eat corn, also onions, garlic, lentils, and millet Beyond the Alazonians reside Scythian cultivators, who grow corn, not for their own use, but for sale [9] Still higher up are the Neuri Northwards of the Neuri the continent, as far as it is known to us, is uninhabited These are the nations along the course of the river Hypanis, west of the Borysthenes

18 Across the Borysthenes, the first country after you leave the coast is the Woodland Above this dwell the Scythian Husbandmen, whom the Greeks living near the Hypanis call Borys

[9] The corn trade of the Scythians appears to have been chiefly with the Greeks Its extent is indicated in Herodotus by his assignment of the whole country west and a portion of that east of the Borysthenes to Scythian husbandmen, who raised corn only for sale

thenites while they call themselves Olbiopolites These Husbandmen extend eastward a distance of three days journey to a river bearing the name of Panticapes [10] while northward the country is theirs for eleven days sail up the course of the Borysthenes Further inland there is a vast tract which is uninhabited Above this desolate region dwell the Cannibals who are a people apart much unlike the Scythians Above them the country becomes an utter desert not a single tribe so far as we know inhabits it

19 Crossing the Panticapes and proceeding eastward of the Husbandmen we come upon the wandering Scythians who neither plough nor ow Their country and the whole of this region except the Woodlands is quite bare of trees They extend towards the east a distance of fourteen days journey occupying a tract which reaches to the river Gerrhus

20 On the opposite side of the Gerrhus is the Royal district as it is called here dwells the largest and bravest of the Scythian tribes which looks upon all the other tribes in the light of slaves Its country reaches on the south to Taurica on the east to the trench dug by the sons of the blind slaves the mart upon Lake Maeotis called the Cliffs and in part to the river Tanais [11] North of the country of the Royal Scythians are the Blackcloaks a people of a quite different race from the Scythians Beyond them lie marshes and a region without inhabitants so far as our knowledge reaches

21 When one cro es the Tanais one is no lon er in Scythia *the first region on crossing is that of the Sauromatae who beginning at the upper end of Lake Maeotis stretch northward a* distance of fifteen days journey inhabiting a country which is entirely bare of trees whether wild or cultivated Above them po ses ing the second region dwell the Budini whose territory *is thickly wooded with trees of every kind*

2 Beyond the Budini as one goes northward f rst there is a desert even days journey across after which if one inclines

[10] *Here th descripti f H odotus which has bee hith rto excellen begin to f l*

[11] *N w the Don.*

somewhat to the east, the Thyssagetae are reached, a numerous nation quite distinct from any other, and living by the chase Adjoining them, and within the limits of the same region, are the people who bear the name of Iyrcae, they also support themselves by hunting, which they practise in the following manner The hunter climbs a tree, the whole country abounding in wood, and there sets himself in ambush, he has a dog at hand, and a horse, trained to lie down upon its belly, and thus make itself low, the hunter keeps watch, and when he sees his game, lets fly an arrow, then mounting his horse, he gives the beast chase, his dog following hard all the while Beyond these people, a little to the east, dwells a distinct tribe of Scyths, who revolted once from the Royal Scythians, and migrated into these parts

23 As far as their country, the tract of land whereof I have been speaking is all a smooth plain, and the soil deep, beyond you enter on a region which is rugged and stony Passing over a great extent of this rough country, you come to a people dwelling at the foot of lofty mountains, who are said to be all—both men and women—bald from their birth, to have flat noses, and very long chins These people speak a language of their own, but the dress which they wear is the same as the Scythian They live on the fruit of a certain tree, the name of which is Ponticum, in size it is about equal to our fig tree, and it bears a fruit like a bean, with a stone inside When the fruit is ripe, they strain it through cloths, the juice which runs off is black and thick, and is called by the natives "aschy" They lap this up with their tongues, and also mix it with milk for a drink, while they make the lees, which are solid, into cakes, and eat them instead of meat, for they have but few sheep in their country, in which there is no good pasturage Each of them dwells under a tree, and they cover the tree in winter with a cloth of thick white felt, but take off the covering in the summer time No one harms these people, for they are looked upon as sacred,—they do not even possess any warlike weapons When their neighbours fall out, they make up the quarrel, and when one flies to them for refuge, he is safe from all hurt They are called the Argippaeans

24 Up to this point the territory of which we are speaking

very completely explored and all the nations between the coast and the bald headed men are well known to us For some of the Scythians are accustomed to penetrate as far of whom inquiry may easily be made and Greeks also go there from the trading station on the Borysthenes and from the other trading stations along the Euxine The Scythians who make this journey com municate with the inhabitants by means of seven interpreters and seven languages

25 Thus far therefore the land is known but beyond the bald headed men lies a region of which no one can give any ex act accoun Lofty and precipitous mountains which a e never crossed bar further progress The bald men say but it does not seem to me credible that the people who live in these moun tains have feet like goats and that after passing them you find another race of men who sleep during one half of the year This latter statement appears to me quite unworthy of credit The region east of the bald headed men is well known to be inhab ited by the I sedonians but the tract that lies to the north of these two nations is entirely unknown except by the accounts which they give of it

26 The Is edonians are said to have the following customs When a man s father dies all the near relatives bring sheep to the house which are sacrificed and their flesh cut in pieces while at the same time the dead body undergoes the like treat ment The two sorts of flesh are afterwards mixed together and the whole is served up at a banquet The head of the dead man is treated differently it is stripped bare clean ed and set in gold It then becomes an ornament on which they pride them selves and is brou ht out year by year at the great festival which sons keep in honour of their fathers death just as the Greeks keep their fea t of the dead In other re pects the Isse donians are reputed to be observers of justice and it is to be remarked that their women have equal authority with the men Thus our knowledge extends as far as this nation

7 The regions beyond are known only from the accounts of the Issedonians by whom the stories are told of the one-eyed race of men and the gold-guarding griffins These stories are re

ceived by the Scythians from the Issedonians, and by them passed on to us Greeks whence it arises that we give the one eyed race the Scythian name of Arimaspi, arima being the Scythic word for one, and spu for the eye

28 The whole district whereof we have here discoursed has winters of exceeding rigour During eight months the frost is so intense, that water poured upon the ground does not form mud, but if a fire be lighted on it mud is produced The sea freezes and the Cimmerian Bosporus is frozen over At that season the Scythians who dwell inside the trench make warlike expeditions upon the ice, and even drive their waggons across to the country of the Sindians Such is the intensity of the cold during eight months out of the twelve, and even in the remaining four the climate is still cool The character of the winter likewise is unlike that of the same season in any other country, for at that time when the rains ought to fall, in Scythia there is scarcely any rain worth mentioning, while in summer it never gives over raining, and thunder, which elsewhere is frequent then, in Scythia is unknown in that part of the year, coming only in summer, when it is very heavy Thunder in the wintertime is there accounted a prodigy, as also are earthquakes, whether they happen in winter or summer Horses bear the winter well cold as it is but mules and asses are quite unable to bear it, whereas in other countries mules and asses are found to endure the cold while horses, if they stand still, are frost bitten

29 To me it seems that the cold may likewise be the cause *which prevents the oxen in Scythia from having horns There is* a line of Homer s in the *Odyssey*[1] which gives a support to my opinion

Libya too, where horns bud quick on the foreheads of lambkins

He means to say, what is quite true, that in warm countries the horns come early So too in countries where the cold is severe animals either have no horns, or grow them with difficulty—the cold being the cause in this instance

[1] *Odyssey* iv 85

30 Here I must express my wonder—additions being what my work always from the very first affected—that in Elis where the cold is not remarkable and there is nothing else to account for it mules are never produced The Eleans say it is in consequence of a curse[13] and their habit is when the breeding time comes to take their mares into one of the adjoining countries and there keep them till they are in foal when they bring them back again into Elis

31 With respect to the feathers which are said by the Scythians to fill the air and to prevent persons from penetrating into the remoter parts of the continent or even having any view of those regions my opinion is that in the countries above Scythia it always snows less of course in the summer than in the wintertime Now snow when it falls looks like feathers as every one is aware who has seen it come down close to him These northern regions therefore are uninhabitable by reason of the severity of the winter and the Scythians with their neighbours call the snow flakes feathers because I think of the likeness which they bear to them I have now related what is said of the most distant parts of this continent whereof any account is given

32 Of the Hyperborean nothing is said either by the Scythians or by any of the other dwellers in these regions unless it be the Issedonians But in my opinion even the Issedonians are silent concerning them otherwise the Scythians would have repeated their statements as they do those concerning the one eyed men Hesiod however mentions them and Homer also in the *Epigoni* if that be really a work of his

33 But the persons who have by far the most to say on this subject are the Delians They declare that certain offerings packed in wheaten straw were brought from the country of the Hyperboreans into Scythia and that the Scythians received them and passed them on to their neighbours upon the west who continued to pass them on until at last they reached the Adriatic From hence they were sent southward and when they came to

[13] According to Plutarch, Oenomaus, king of El[illegible] t[illegible] of his love for horses laid heavy curses [illegible] the breeding of mules.

Greece, were received first of all by the Dodonaeans Thence they descended to the Maliac Gulf, from which they were carried across into Euboea, where the people handed them on from city to city, till they came at length to Carystus The Carystians took them over to Tenos, without stopping at Andros and the Tenians brought them finally to Delos Such, according to their own account, was the road by which the offerings reached the Delians Two damsels, they say, named Hyperoche and Laodice, brought the first offerings from the Hyperboreans, and with them the Hyperboreans sent five men, to keep them from all harm by the way, these are the persons whom the Delians call Perpherees, and to whom great honours are paid at Delos Afterwards the Hyperboreans, when they found that their messengers did not return, thinking it would be a grievous thing always to be liable to lose the envoys they should send, adopted the following plan they wrapped their offerings in the wheaten straw, and bearing them to their borders, charged their neighbours to send them forward from one nation to another, which was done accordingly, and in this way the offerings reached Delos I myself know of a practice like this, which obtains with the women of Thrace and Paeonia They in their sacrifices to the Queenly Artemis bring wheaten straw always with their offerings Of my own knowledge I can testify that this is so

34 The damsels sent by the Hyperboreans died in Delos, and in their honour all the Delian girls and youths are wont to cut off their hair The girls, before their marriage-day, cut off a curl, and twining it round a distaff, lay it upon the grave of the strangers This grave is on the left as one enters the precinct of Artemis, and has an olive tree growing on it The youths wind some of their hair round a kind of grass, and, like the girls place it upon the tomb Such are the honours paid to these damsels by the Delians

35 They add that, once before, there came to Delos by the same road as Hyperoche and Laodice, two other virgins from the Hyperboreans, whose names were Arge and Opis Hyperoche and Laodice came to bring to Eilithyia the offering which they had laid upon themselves, in acknowledgment of their

quick labours but Arge and Opis came at the same time as the gods of Delos and are honoured by the Delians in a different way For the Delian women make collections in these maidens names and invoke them in the hymn which Olen a Lycian composed for them and the rest of the islanders and even the Ionians have been taught by the Delians to do the like This Olen who came from Lycia made the other old hymns also which are sung in Delos The Delians add that the ashes from the thigh bones burnt upon the altar are scattered over the tomb of Opi and Arge Their tomb lies behind the temple of Artemis facing the east near the banqueting hall of the Ceians Thus much then and no more concerning the Hyperboreans

36 As for the tale of Abaris who is said to have been a Hyperborean and to have gone with his arrow all round the world without once eating I shall pass it by in silence Thus much however is clear if there are men beyond the north wind there must also be men beyond the south wind [14] For my part I cannot but laugh when I ee numbers of persons drawing maps of the world without having any reason to guide them making as they do the ocean stream to run all round the earth and the earth itself to be an exact circle as if described by a pair of compasses [15] with Europe and Asia just of the same size The truth in this matter I will now proceed to explain in a very few words making it clear what the real size of each region is and what shape should be given them

37 The Persians inhabit a country upon the southern or Red Sea *above them to the north are the Medes* beyond the Medes the Saspirians beyond them the Colchians reaching to the northern sea into which the Phasis empties itself These four nations fill the whole space from one sea to the other

[14] H rod tus ca t ev whil c mb tl g escape f m th p evalent n tl n th t in ge graphy th e w som bsolut symm try d paral lelism

[15] Th t th e is pecial ll si t Hecataeus h r seems v ry prob bl Th bel f whi h H od s ridicul i t th t f th w ld s rob j l f m which had n t yet been u pected by th G eek b t f be n t n f th figurati f th la d th earth s s face

38 West of these nations there project into the sea two tracts which I will now describe, one beginning at the river Phasis on the north, stretches along the Euxine and the Hellespont to Sigeum in the Troas, while on the south it reaches from the Myriandrian gulf, which adjoins Phoenicia, to the Triopic promontory This is one of the tracts, and is inhabited by thirty different nations

39 The other starts from the country of the Persians, and stretches into the Red Sea, containing first Persia, then Assyria, and after Assyria, Arabia It ends, that is to say it is considered to end, though it does not really come to a termination, at the Arabian gulf—the gulf whereinto Darius conducted the canal which he made from the Nile Between Persia and Phoenicia lies a broad and ample tract of country, after which the region I am describing skirts our sea, stretching from Phoenicia along the coast of Palestine Syria till it comes to Egypt where it terminates This entire tract contains but three nations [16] The whole of Asia west of the country of the Persians is comprised in these two regions

40 Beyond the tract occupied by the Persians, Medes, Saspirians, and Colchians, towards the east and the region of the sunrise, Asia i bounded on the south by the Red Sea, and on the north by the Caspian and the river Araxes, which flows towards the rising sun Till you reach India the country is peopled, but further east it is void of inhabitants, and no one can say what sort of region it is Such then is the shape, and such the size of Asia

41 Libya belongs to one of the above mentioned tracts, for it adjoins on Egypt In Egypt the tract is at first a narrow neck, the distance from our sea to the Red Sea not exceeding 100 000 fathoms, or, in other words, 115 miles, but from the point where the neck ends the tract which bears the name of Libya is of very great breadth

42 For my part I am astonished that men should ever have divided Libya, Asia, and Europe as they have, for they are exceedingly unequal Europe extends the entire length of the othe

[16] The Assyrians the Arabians and the Phoenicians

two and for breadth will not even (as I think) bear to be compared to them As for Libya we know it to be washed on all sides by the sea except where it is attached to Asia This discovery was first made by Necos [17] the Egyptian king who on desisting from the canal which he had begun between the Nile and the Arabian gulf sent to sea a number of ships manned by Phoenicians with orders to make for the Pillars of Heracles and return to Egypt through them and by the Mediterranean The Phoenicians took their departure from Egypt by way of the Red Sea and so sailed into the southern ocean When autumn came they went ashore wherever they might happen to be and having sown a tract of land with corn waited until the grain was fit to cut Having reaped it they again set sail and thus it came to pass that two whole years went by and it was not till the third year that they doubled the Pillars of Heracles and made good their voyage home On their return they declared—I for my part do not believe them but perhaps others may—that in sailing round Libya they had the sun upon their right hand In this way was the extent of Libya first discovered

43 Next to these Phoenicians the Carthaginians according to their own accounts made the voyage For Sataspes son of Teaspes the Achaemenian did not circumnavigate Libya though he was sent to do so but fearing the length and desolateness of the journey he turned back and left unaccomplished the task which had been set him by his mother This man had raped a virgin daughter of Zopyrus son of Megabyzus and King Xerxes was about to impale him for the offence when his mother who was a sister of Darius begged him off undertaking to punish his crime more heavily than the king himself had designed She would force him she said to sail round Libya and return to Egypt by the Arabian gulf Xerxes gave his consent

[17] W may i fe f m N d n g the Phoe ian to me ro d by th Pillars f H l s, th t th f rm f Afri wa l eady k own and th t this w t th fi t expediti bl h had g r d it Th ct of th ir see th rise n thei right th y tu ed thw rds, whi h Herod t d lt d l the ry proof f th ir ha l g g r u d the C pe a d c m l ted the circuit

and Sataspes went down to Egypt, and there got a ship and crew, with which he set sail for the Pillars of Heracles Having passed the Straits, he doubled the Libyan headland, known as Cape Soloeis, and proceeded southward Following this course for many months over a vast stretch of sea, and finding that more water than he had crossed still lay ever before him, he put about, and came back to Egypt Thence proceeding to the court, *he made report to Xerxes, that at the farthest point to which he* had reached, the coast was occupied by a dwarfish race, who wore a dress made from the palm tree These people, whenever he landed, left their towns and fled away to the mountains, his men, however, did them no wrong, only entering into their cities and taking some of their cattle The reason why he had not sailed quite round Libya was, he said, because the ship stopped, and would not go any further Xerxes, however, did not accept this account for true, and so Sataspes, as he had failed to accomplish the task set him, was impaled by the king's orders in accordance with the former sentence One of his eunuchs, on hearing of his death, ran away with a great portion of his wealth, and reached Samos, where a certain Samian seized the whole I know the man's name well, but I shall willingly forget it here

44 Of the greater part of Asia Darius was the discoverer Wishing to know where the Indus (which is the only river save one that produces crocodiles) emptied itself into the sea, he sent a number of men, on whose truthfulness he could rely, and among them Scylax of Caryanda, to sail down the river They started from the city of Caspatyrus, in the region called Pactyica, and sailed down the stream in an easterly direction to the sea Here they turned westward, and after a voyage of thirty months, reached the place from which the Egyptian king, of whom I spoke above, sent the Phoenicians to sail round Libya After this voyage was completed, Darius conquered the Indians,[18] and made use of the sea in those parts Thus all Asia,

[18] The conquest of the Indians by which we are to understand the reduction of the Punjab preceded (as may be proved by the Inscriptions) the Scythian expedition

except the eastern portion has been found to be similarly cir -umstanced with Libya

45 But the boundaries of Europe are quite unknown and there is not a man who can say whether any sea girds it round either on the north or on the east while in length it undoubtedly extends as far as both the other two For my part I cannot con ceive why three names and women s names especially should ever have been given to a tract which is in reality one or why the Egyptian Nile and the Colchian Phasis (or according to others the Maeotic Tanais and Cimmerian ferry) should have been fixed upon for the boundary lines nor can I even say who gave the three tracts their names or whence they took the epi thets According to the Greeks in general Libya was so called after a certain Libya a native woman and Asia after the wife of Prometheus The Lydians however put in a claim to the lat ter name which they declare was not derived from Asia the wife of Prometheus but from Asies the son of Cotys and grandson of Manes who also gave name to the tribe Asias at Sardis As for Europe no one can say whether it is surrounded by the sea or not neither is it known whence the name of Eu rope was derived nor who gave it name unless we say that Eu rope was so called after the Tyrian Europa and before her time was nameless like the other divisions But it is certain that Eu ropa was an Asiatic and never even set foot on the land which the Greeks now call Europe only sailing from Phoenicia to Crete and from Crete to Lycia However let us quit these mat ters We shall ourselves continue to use the names which custom sanctions

46 The Euxine sea where Darius now went to war has na tions dwelling around it with the one exception of the Scyth ians more unpolished than those of any other region that we know of For setting aside Anacharsis and the Scythian people there is not within this region a single nation which can be put forward as having any claims to wisdom or which has produced a single person of any high repute The Scythians indeed have in one respect and that the very most important of all those that fall under man s control shown themselves wiser than any

nation upon the face of the earth Their customs otherwise are not such as I admire The one thing of which I speak is the contrivance whereby they make it impossible for the enemy who invades them to escape destruction, while they themselves are entirely out of his reach unless it please them to engage with him Having neither cities nor forts, and carrying their dwellings with them wherever they go accustomed, moreover, one and all of them, to shoot from horseback, and living not by husbandry but on their cattle, their waggons the only houses that they possess, how can they fail of being unconquerable, and unassailable even?

47 The nature of their country, and the rivers by which it is intersected, greatly favour this mode of resisting attacks For the land is level, well watered, and abounding in pasture, while the rivers *which traverse it are almost equal in number to the* canals of Egypt Of these I shall only mention the most famous and such as are navigable to some distance from the sea They are the Ister, which has five mouths the Tyras the Hypanis, the Borysthenes the Panticapes, the Hypacyris, the Gerrhus, and the Tanais The courses of these streams I shall now proceed to describe

48 The Ister is of all the rivers with which we are acquainted the mightiest It never varies in height, but continues at the same level summer and winter Counting from the west it is the first of the Scythian rivers, and the reason of its being the greatest is, that it receives the waters of several tributaries Now the tributaries which swell its flood are the following first, on the side of Scythia, these five—the stream called by the Scythians Porata, and by the Greeks Pyretus, the Tiarantus the Ararus, the Naparis, and the Ordessus The first mentioned is a great stream, and is the easternmost of the tributaries The Tiarantus is of less volume, and more to the west The Ararus, Naparis, and Ordessus fall into the Ister between these two All the above mentioned are genuine Scythian rivers, and go to swell the current of the Ister

49 From the country of the Agathyrsi comes down another river, the Maris, which empties itself into the same, and from

the heights of Haemus descend with a northern course three lar e streams the Atlas the Auras and the Tibisis and pour their waters into it Thrace gives it three tributaries the Athrys the Noes and the Artanes which all pass through the country of the Crobyzian Thracians Another tributary is furnished by Paeonia namely the Scius this river rising near Mount Rhodope forces its way through the chain of Haemus and so reaches the Ister From Illyria comes another stream the Angrus which has a course from south to north and after watering the Triballian plain falls into the Brongus which falls into the Ister So the Ister is augmented by these two streams both considerable Besides all these the Ister receives al o the waters of the Carpis and the Alpis two rivers running in a northerly direction from the country above the Umbrians For the Ister flows through the whole extent of Europe rising in the country of the Celts [9] (the most westerly of all the nations of Europe excepting the Cynetians) and thence running across the continent till it reaches Scythia whereof it washes the flanks

50 All these streams then and many others add their waters to swell the flood of the Ister which thus increased becomes the mightiest of rivers for undoubtedly if we compare the stream of the Nile with the single stream of the Ister we must give the preference to the Nile of which no tributary river nor even rivulet augments the volume The Ister remains at the same level both summer and winter—owing to the following reasons as I believe During the winter it runs at its natural height or a very *little higher* because in *those* countries *there is* scarcely any rain in winter but constant snow When summer comes this snow which is of great depth begins to melt and flows into the Ister which is swelled at that season not only by this cause but also by the rains which are heavy and frequent

[9] As Herod tus pl ces deeper i t the E opean c ti ent hi knowl edg is l ss d less ct H kn ws that th Dan be r i es t gre t trib taries f m tl south I th ppe p rt f its se b t h ce ves th ri ers, f whi h h b i h i th Umbrians t ll ru ing rth rd f m th Alps bo the c try t be i le ti l th t great t tari wh e f th dw l rs th middle D be pok Th length f th N is 4,000 miles f th D be 1,760 miles

at that part of the year Thus the various streams which go to form the Ister, are higher in summer than in winter, and just so much higher as the sun's power and attraction are greater, so *that these two causes counteract each other, and the effect* is to produce a balance, whereby the Ister remains always at the same level

51 This, then, is one of the great Scythian rivers, the next to it is the Tyras, which rises from a great lake separating Scythia from the land of the Neuri, and runs with a southerly course to the sea Greeks dwell at the mouth of the river, who are called Tyritae

52 The third river is the Hypanis This stream rises within the limits of Scythia, and has its source in another vast lake, around which wild white horses graze The lake is called, properly enough, the Mother of the Hypanis The Hypanis, rising here, during the distance of five days' navigation is a shallow *stream, and the water sweet and pure, thence, however, to the* sea, which is a distance of four days, it is exceedingly bitter This change is caused by its receiving into it at that point a brook the waters of which are so bitter that, although it is but a tiny rivulet, it nevertheless taints the entire Hypanis, which is a large stream among those of the second order The source of this bitter spring is on the borders of the Scythian Husbandmen, where they adjoin upon the Alazonians and the place where it rises is called in the Scythic tongue Exampaeus, which means in our language, the Sacred Ways The spring itself bears the same name The Tyras and the Hypanis approach each other in the country of the Alazonians, but afterwards separate, and leave a wide space between their streams

53 The fourth of the Scythian rivers is the Borysthenes Next to the Ister, it is the greatest of them all, and, in my judgment, it is the most productive river, not merely in Scythia, but in the whole world, excepting only the Nile, with which no stream can possibly compare It has upon its banks the loveliest and most excellent pasturages for cattle, it contains abundance of the most delicious fish, its water is most pleasant to the taste, its stream is limpid, *while all the other rivers near it are*

muddy the richest harvests pring up along its course and where the ground is not sown the heaviest crops of grass while salt forms in great plenty about its mouth without human aid [0] and large fish are taken in it of the sort called sturgeon without any prickly bones and good for pickling Nor are the e the whole of its marvels As far inland as the place named Gerrhus which is distant forty days voyage from the sea [1] its course is known and its direction is from north to south but above this no one has traced it so as to say through what countries it flows It enters the territory of the Scythian Husbandmen after running for some time across a desert region and continues for ten days navigation to pass through the land which they inhabit It is the only river besides the Nile the sources of which are unknown to me as they are also (I believe) to all the other Greeks Not long before it reaches the sea the Borysthenes is joined by the Hypanis which pours its waters into the same lake The land that lies between them a narrow point like the beak of a ship is called Cape Hippolaus Here is a temple dedicated to Demeter and opposite the temple upon the Hypanis is the dwellin pl ce of the Borysthenites But enough has been said of these streams

54 Next in succession comes the fifth river called the Panticapes which has like the Borysthenes a course from north to south and rises from a lake The space between this river and the Borysthenes is occupied by the Scythians who are engaged in husbandry After watering their country th Panticapes flows throu h the Woodland and empties itself into the Borysthenes

55 The sixth stream is the Hypacyris a river rising from a lake and running directly through the middle of the Nomadic Scythians It falls into the sea near the city of Carcinitis leaving the Woodland and the Race-course of Achilles to the right

56 The seventh river is the Gerrhus which is a branch thrown out by the Borysthenes at the point where the cour e of that stream first begins to be known the region called by the

[0] The salt f K burn is still f the greatest impo t t R ssia
[1] Th Dnieper is navi bl for b rges ll th w y f m Sm len k t mo th a dista c of n t less than 1 500 miles.

same name as the stream itself, Gerrhus This river on its passage towards the sea divides the country of the Nomadic from that of the Royal Scyths It runs into the Hypacyris

57 The eighth river is the Tanais,[2] a stream which has its source, far up the country, in a lake of vast size, and which empties itself into another still larger lake, the Palus Maeotis, whereby the country of the Royal Scythians is divided from that of the Sauromatae The Tanais receives the waters of a tributary stream, called the Hyrgis

58 Such then are the rivers of chief note in Scythia The grass which the land produces is more apt to generate gall in the beasts that feed on it than any other grass which is known to us, as plainly appears on the opening of their carcases

59 Thus abundantly are the Scythians provided with the most important necessaries Their manners and customs come now to be described They worship only the following gods, namely, Hestia, whom they reverence beyond all the rest, Zeus and Earth, whom they consider to be the wife of Zeus, and after these Apollo, Celestial Aphrodite, Heracles, and Ares These gods are worshipped by the whole nation the Royal Scythians offer sacrifice likewise to Poseidon In the Scythic tongue Hestia is called *Tabiti*, Zeus (very properly, in my judgment) *Papaeus*, Earth *Apia*, Apollo *Oetosyrus*, Celestial Aphrodite *Artimpasa* and Poseidon *Thamimasadas* They use no images, altars, or temples, except in the worship of Ares, but in his worship they do use them

60 The manner of their sacrifices is everywhere and in every case the same, the victim stands with its two fore feet bound together by a cord and the person who is about to offer, taking his station behind the victim, gives the rope a pull, and thereby throws the animal down, as it falls he invokes the god to whom he is offering, after which he puts a noose round the animal's neck, and, inserting a small stick, twists it round, and so strangles him No fire is lighted, there is no consecration, and no pouring out of drink offerings, but directly that the beast is

[2] The modern Don.

strangled the sacrificer flays him and then sets to work to boil the flesh

61 As Scythia however is utterly barren of firewood a plan has had to be contrived for boiling the flesh which is the following After flaying the beasts they take out all the bones and (if they possess such gear) put the flesh into boilers made in the country which are very like the cauldrons of the Lesbians except that they are of a much larger size then placing the bones of the animals beneath the cauldron they set them alight and so boil the meat If they do not happen to possess a cauldron they make the animal s paunch hold the flesh and pouring in at the same time a little water lay the bones under and light them The bones burn beautifully and the paunch easily contains all the flesh when it is stripped from the bones so that by this plan the ox is made to boil himself and other victims also to do the like When the meat is all cooked the sacrificer offers a portion of the flesh and of the entrails by casting it on the ground before him They sacrifice all sorts of cattle but most commonly horses

62 Such are the victims offered to the other gods and such is the mode in which they are sacrificed but the rites paid to Ares are different In every district at the seat of government there stands a temple of this god whereof the following is a description It is a pile of brushwood made of a vast quantity of fagots in length and breadth 600 yards in height somewhat less having a square platform upon the top three sides of which are precipitous while the fourth slopes so that men may walk up it Each year 150 waggon loads of brushwood are added to the pile which sinks continually by reason of the rains An antique iron sword is planted on the top of every such mound and serves as the image of Ares yearly sacrifices of cattle and of horses are made to it and more victims are offered thus than to all the rest of their gods When prisoners are taken in war out of every hundred men they sacrifice one not however with the same rites as the cattle but with different Libations of wine are first poured upon their heads after which they are slaughtered over a vessel the vessel is then carried up to the top of the pile

and the blood poured upon the scimitar While this takes place at the top of the mound, below, by the side of the temple, the right hands and arms of the slaughtered prisoners are cut off, and tossed on high into the air Then the other victims are slain, and those who have offered the sacrifice depart, leaving the hands and arms where they may chance to have fallen, and the bodies also, separate

63 Such are the observances of the Scythians with respect to sacrifice They never use swine for the purpose, nor indeed is it their wont to breed them in any part of their country

64 In what concerns war, their customs are the following The Scythian soldier drinks the blood of the first man he over throws in battle Whatever number he slays he cuts off all their heads, and carries them to the king, since he is thus entitled to a share of the booty, whereto he forfeits all claim if he does not produce a head In order to strip the skull of its covering, he makes a cut round the head above the ears, and, laying hold of the scalp, shakes the skull out, then with the rib of an ox he scrapes the scalp clean of flesh, and softening it by rubbing be tween the hands, uses it thenceforth as a napkin The Scyth is proud of these scalps, and hangs them from his bridle rein the greater the number of such napkins that a man can show, the more highly is he esteemed among them Many make themselves cloaks, like the sheepskins of our peasants, by sewing a quantity of these scalps together Others flay the right arms of their dead enemies, and make of the skin, which is stripped off with the nails hanging to it, a covering for their quivers Now the skin of a man is thick and glossy, and would in whiteness surpass al most all other hides Some even flay the entire body of their en emy, and, stretching it upon a frame, carry it about with them wherever they ride Such are the Scythian customs with respect to scalps and skins

65 The skulls of their enemies, not indeed of all, but of those whom they most detest, they treat as follows Having sawn off the portion below the eyebrows and cleaned out the inside, they cover the outside with leather When a man is poor, this is all that he does, but if he is rich he also lines the inside with gold

In either case the skull is used as a drinking cup They do the same with the skulls of their own kith and kin if they have been at feud with them and have vanquished them in the presence of the king When strangers whom they deem of any account come to visit them these skulls are handed round and the host tells how that these were his relations who made war upon him and how that he got the better of them all this being looked upon as proof of bravery

66 Once a year the governor of each district at a set place in his own province mingles a bowl of wine of which all Scythians have a right to drink by whom foes have been slain while they who have slain no enemy are not allowed to taste of the bowl but sit aloof in disgrace No greater shame than this can happen to them Such as have slain a very large number of foes have two cups instead of one and drink from both

67 Scythia has an abundance of soothsayers who foretell the future by means of a number of willow wands A large bundle of these wands is brought and laid on the ground The soothsayer unties the bundle and places each wand by itself at the same time uttering his prophecy then while he is still speaking he gathers the rods together again and makes them up once more into a bundle This mode of divination is of home growth in Scythia The Enarees or womanlike men have another method which they say Aphrodite taught them It is done with the inner bark of the linden tree They take a piece of this bark and splitting it into three strips keep twining the strips about their fingers and untwining them while they prophesy

68 Whenever the Scythian king falls sick he sends for the three soothsayers of most renown at the time who come and make trial of their art in the mode above described Generally they say that the king is ill because such or such a person mentioning his name has sworn falsely by the royal hearth This is the usual oath among the Scythians when they wish to swear with very great solemnity Then the man accused of having forsworn himself is arrested and brought before the king The soothsayers tell him that by their art it is clear he has sworn a false oath by the royal hearth and so caused the illness of the

king—he denies the charge, protests that he has sworn no false oath, and loudly complains of the wrong done to him Upon this the king sends for six new soothsayers, who try the matter by soothsaying If they too find the man guilty of the offence, straitway he is beheaded by those who first accused him, and his goods are parted among them if, on the contrary, they acquit him, other soothsayers, and again others, are sent for, to try the case Should the greater number decide in favour of the man's innocence, then they who first accused him forfeit their lives

69 The mode of their execution is the following a waggon is loaded with brushwood, and oxen are harnessed to it, the sooth sayers, with their feet tied together, their hands bound behind their backs, and their mouths gagged, are thrust into the midst of the brushwood, finally the wood is set alight, and the oxen, being startled, are made to rush off with the waggon It often happens that the oxen and the soothsayers are both consumed together, but sometimes the pole of the waggon is burnt through, and the oxen escape with a scorching Diviners—lying diviners, they call them—are burnt in the way described, for other causes besides the one here spoken of When the king puts one of them to death, he takes care not to let any of his sons survive all the male offspring are slain with the father, only the females being allowed to live

70 Oaths among the Scyths are accompanied with the fol lowing ceremonies a large earthen bowl is filled with wine, and the parties to the oath, wounding themselves slightly with a knife or an awl, drop some of their blood into the wine, then they plunge into the mixture a scimitar, some arrows, a battle axe, and a javelin, all the while repeating prayers, lastly the two contracting parties drink each a draught from the bowl, as do also the chief men among their followers

71 The tombs of their kings are in the land of the Gerrhi who dwell at the point where the Borysthenes is first navigable Here, when the king dies, they dig a grave, which is square in shape, and of great size When it is ready, they take the king' corpse, and, having opened the belly, and cleaned out the inside fill the cavity with a preparation of chopped cypress frankin

cense parsley seed and anise-seed after which they sew up the opening enclo e the body in wax and placing it on a waggon carry it about through all the different tribes On this procession each tribe when it receives the corpse imitates the example which is first set by the Royal Scythians every man chops off a piece of his ear crops his hair close makes a cut all round his arm lacerates his forehead and his nose and thrusts an arrow through his left hand Then they who have the care of the corpse carry it with them to another of the tribes which are under the Scythian rule followed by those whom they first visited On completing the circuit of all the tribes under their sway they find them elves in the country of the Gerrhi who are the most remote of all and o they come to the tombs of the kings There the body of the dead king is laid in the grave prepared for it stretched upon a mattress spears are fixed in the ground on either ide of the corpse and beams stretched across above it to form a roof which is covered with a thatching of twigs In the open space around the body of the king they bury one of his concubines first killing her by strangling and also his cup-bearer his cook his groom his lackey his messenger some of his horses firstlings of all his other possessions and some golden cups for they use neither silver nor brass After this they set to work and raise a vast mound above the grave all of them vying with each other and seeking to make it as tall as possible

72 When a year is gone by further ceremonies take place Fifty of the best of the late king s attendants are taken all native Scythians—for as bought slaves are unknown in the country the Scythian kings choo e any of their subjects that they like to wait on them—fifty of these are taken and strangled with fifty of the most beautiful horses When they are dead their bowels are taken out and the cavity cleaned filled full of chaff and straightway sewn up again This done a number of posts are driven into the ground in sets of two pairs each and on every pair half the felly of a wheel is placed archwise then strong stakes are run lengthways through the bodies of the horses from tail to neck and they are mounted upon the fellies so that the felly in front supports the shoulders of the horse

while that behind sustains the belly and quarters, the legs dangling in midair, each horse is furnished with a bit and bridle, which latter is stretched out in front of the horse, and fastened to a peg The fifty strangled youths are then mounted severally on the fifty horses To effect this, a second stake is passed through their bodies along the course of the spine to the neck, the lower end of which projects from the body, and is fixed into a socket, made in the stake that runs lengthwise down the horse The fifty riders are thus ranged in a circle round the tomb, and so left

73 Such, then, is the mode in which the kings are buried as for the people, when any one dies, his nearest of kin lay him upon a waggon and take him round to all his friends in succession each receives them in turn and entertains them with a banquet, whereat the dead man is served with a portion of all that is set before the others this is done for forty days, at the end of which time the burial takes place After the burial, those engaged in it have to purify themselves, which they do in the following way First they well soap and wash their heads then, in order to cleanse their bodies, they act as follows they make a booth by fixing in the ground three sticks inclined towards one another, and stretching around them woollen felts, which they arrange so as to fit as close as possible inside the booth a dish is placed upon the ground, into which they put a number of red hot stones and then add some hemp seed

74 Hemp grows in Scythia it is very like flax only that it is a much coarser and taller plant some grows wild about the country, some is produced by cultivation the Thracians make garments of it which closely resemble linen so much so, indeed, that if a person has never seen hemp he is sure to think they are linen, and if he has, unless he is very experienced in such matters, he will not know of which material they are

75 The Scythians, as I said, take some of this hemp seed, and, creeping under the felt coverings, throw it upon the red hot stones, immediately it smokes, and gives out such a vapour as no Grecian vapour bath can exceed the Scyths, delighted, shout for joy, and this vapour serves them instead of a water

bath [3] for they never by any chance wash their bodies with water Their women make a mixture of cypress cedar and frankincense wood which they pound into a paste upon a rough piece of stone adding a little water to it With this substance which is of a thick consistency they plaster their faces all over and indeed their whole bodies A sweet odour is thereby imparted to them and when they take off the plaster on the day following their skin is clean and glossy

76 The Scythians have an extreme hatred of all foreign customs particularly of those in use among the Greeks as the instances of Anacharsis and more lately of Scylas have fully shown The former after he had travelled over a great portion of the world and displayed wherever he went many proofs of wisdom as he sailed through the Hellespont on his return to Scythia touched at Cyzicus There he found the inhabitants celebrating with much pomp and magnificence a festival to the Mother of the gods [4] and was himself induced to make a vow to the goddess whereby he engaged if he got back safe and sound to his home that he would give her a festival and a night procession in all respects like those which he had seen in Cyzicus When therefore he arrived in Scythia he betook himself to the district called the Woodland which lies opposite the Race course of Achilles and is covered with trees of all manner of different kinds and there went through all the sacred rites with the tambourine in his hand and the images tied to him While thus employed he was noticed by one of the Scythians who went and told king Saulius what he had seen Then king Saulius came in person and when he perceived what Anacharsis was about he shot at him with an arrow and killed him To this day if you ask the Scyths about Anachars s they pretend ignorance of him because of his Grecian travels and adoption of the customs f foreigners I learnt however from Tymnes the

[3] H odot s app s this ta t h f d d tog the tw things reality q t di tinct t ucat f m th f m f h mp ed n h h b d ndulg e in th v po b th

[4] Cyb le Rh wn o h p pass d f om the Phryg ans t th Kn n Gr ks

steward of Ariapeithes, that Anacharsis was paternal uncle to the Scythian king Idanthyrsus, being the son of Gnurus, who was the son of Lycus and the grandson of Spargapeithes If Anacharsis were really of this house, it must have been by his own brother that he was slain, for Idanthyrsus was a son of the Saulius who put Anacharsis to death

77 I have heard, however, another tale, very different from this, which is told by the Peloponnesians they say, that Anacharsis was sent by the king of the Scyths to make acquaintance with Greece—that he went, and on his return home reported, that the Greeks were all occupied in the pursuit of every kind of knowledge, except the Lacedaemonians, who, however, alone knew how to converse sensibly A silly tale, this, which the Greeks have invented for their amusement! There is no doubt that Anacharsis suffered death in the mode already related, on account of his attachment to foreign customs, and the intercourse which he held with the Greeks

78 Scylas, likewise, the son of Ariapeithes, many years later, met with almost the very same fate Ariapeithes, the Scythian king, had several sons, among them this Scylas, who was the child not of a native Scyth, but of a woman of Istria Bred up by her, Scylas gained an acquaintance with the Greek language and letters Some time afterwards, Ariapeithes was treacherously slain by Spargapeithes, king of the Agathyrsi, whereupon Scylas succeeded to the throne, and married one of his father's wives, a woman named Opoea This Opoea was a Scythian by birth, and had brought Ariapeithes a son called Oricus Now when Scylas found himself king of Scythia, as he disliked the Scythic mode of life, and was attached, by his bringing up, to the manners of the Greeks, he made it his usual practice, whenever he came with his army to the town of the Borysthenites who, according to their own account, are colonists of the Milesians,—he made it his practice, I say, to leave the army before the city, and, having entered within the walls by himself, and carefully closed the gates, to exchange his Scythian dress for Grecian garments, and in this attire to walk about the market-place, without guards or retinue The Borysthenites kept wa

at the gates that no Scythian might see the king thus apparelled Scylas meanwhile lived exactly as the Greeks and even offered sacrifices to the gods according to the Grecian rites In this way he would pass a month or more with the Borysthenites after which he would clothe himself again in his Scythian dress and so take his departure This he did repeatedly and even built himself a house in Borysthenes and married a wife there who was a native of the place

79 But when the time came that was ordained to bring him woe the occasion of his ruin was the following He wanted to be initiated in the rites of the Bacchic Dionysus and was on the point of obtaining admission to the rites when a most strange prodigy occurred to him The house which he possessed as I mentioned a short time back in the city of the Borysthenites a building of great extent and erected at a vast cost round which there stood a number of phinxes and griffins carved in white marble was struck by lightning from on high and burnt to the ground Scylas nevertheless went on and received the initiation Now the Scythians are wont to reproach the Greeks with their Bacchanal rage and to say that it is not reasonable to imagine there is a god who impels men to madness No sooner herefore was Scylas initiated in the Bacchic mysteries than one of the Borysthenites went and carried the news to the Scythians You Scyths laugh at us he said because we rave when the god seizes us But now our god has seized upon your king who raves like us and is maddened by the influence If you think I do not tell you true come with me and I will show him to you The chiefs of the Scythians went with the man accordingly and the Borysthenite conducting them into the city placed them secretly on one of the towers Presently Scylas passed by with the band of revellers raving like the rest and was seen by the watchers Regarding the matter as a very great misfortune they instantly departed and came and told the army what they had witnes ed

80 When therefore Scylas after leaving Borysthenes was about returning home the Scythians broke out into revolt They put at their head Octamasadas grandson (on the mother s side)

of Teres Then Scylas, when he learned the danger with which he was threatened, and the reason of the disturbance, made his escape to Thrace Octamasadas, discovering whither he had fled, marched after him, and had reached the Ister, when he was met by the forces of the Thracians The two armies were about to engage, but before they joined battle, Sitalces sent a message to Octamasadas to this effect, "Why should there be trial of arms between us? You are my own sister's son, and you have in your keeping my brother Surrender him into my hands, and I will give Scylas back to you So neither you nor I will risk our armies" Sitalces sent this message to Octamasadas by a herald, and Octamasadas, with whom a brother of Sitalces had formerly taken refuge, accepted the terms He surrendered his own uncle to Sitalces, and obtained in exchange his brother Scylas Sitalces took his brother with him and withdrew, but Octamasadas beheaded Scylas upon the spot Thus rigidly do the Scythians maintain their own customs, and thus severely do they punish such as adopt foreign usages

81 What the population of Scythia is, I was not able to learn with certainty, the accounts which I received varied from one another I heard from some that they were very numerous indeed, others made their numbers but scanty for such a nation as the Scyths Thus much, however, I witnessed with my own eyes There is a tract called Exampaeus between the Borysthenes and the Hypanis I made some mention of it in a former place, where I spoke of the bitter stream which rising there flows into the Hypanis, and renders the water of that river undrinkable Here then stands a brazen bowl, six times as big as that at the entrance of the Euxine, which Pausanias, the son of Cleombrotus, set up [26] Such as have never seen that vessel may understand me better if I say that the Scythian bowl holds with ease six hundred amphorae, [7] and is of the thickness of six fingers' breadth The natives gave me the following account of

[25] Sitalces was contemporary with Herodotus He died 424 B C

[26] Pausanias set up this bowl at the time that he was besieging Byzantium 477 B C

[27] About 5 400 gallons

the manner in which it was made One of their kings by name Ariantas wishing to know the number of his subjects ordered them all to bring him on pain of death the point off one of their arrows They obeyed and he collected thereby a vast heap of arrow heads which he resolved to form into a memorial that might go down to posterity Accordingly he made of them this bowl and dedicated it at Exampaeus This was all that I could learn concerning the number of the Scythians

82 The country has no marvels except its rivers which are larger and more numerous than those of any other land These and the vastness of the great plain are worthy of note and one thing besides which I am about to mention They show a foot mark of Heracles impressed on a rock in shape like the print of a man s foot but three feet in length It is in the neighbourhood of the Tyras Having described this I return to the subject on which I originally proposed to discourse

83 The preparations of Darius against the Scythians had begun messengers had been despatched on all sides with the king s commands some being required to furnish troops others to supply ships others again to bridge the Thracian Bosporus when Artabanus son of Hystaspes and brother of Darius entreated the king to desist from his expedition urging on him the great difficulty of attacking Scythia Good however as the advice of Artabanus was it failed to persuade Darius He therefore ceased his reasonings and Darius when his preparations were complete led his army forth from Susa

84 It was then that a certain Persian by name Oeobazus the father of three sons all of whom were to accompany the army came and prayed the king that he would allow one of his sons to remain with him Darius made answer as if he regarded him in the light of a friend who had urged a moderate request that he would allow them all to remain Oeobazus was overjoyed expecting that all his children would be excused from serving the king however bade his attendants take the three sons of Oeobazus and forthwith put them to death Thus they were all left behind but not till they had been deprived of life

85 When Darius on his march from Susa reached the terri

tory of Calchedon on the shores of the Bosporus, where the bridge had been made, he took ship and sailed thence to the Cyanean islands, which, according to the Greeks, once floated He took his seat also in the temple and surveyed the Pontus, which is indeed well worthy of consideration There is not in the world any other sea so wonderful it extends in length 1,280 miles, and its breadth, at the widest part, is 380 miles [28] The mouth is but one half mile wide, and this strait, called the Bosporus, and across which the bridge of Darius had been thrown, is fourteen miles in length,[29] reaching from the Euxine to the Propontis *The Propontis is sixty miles across, and 160 miles* long [30] Its waters flow into the Hellespont, the length of which is fifty miles, and the width no more than 1,400 yards [31] The Hellespont opens into the wide sea called the Aegean

86 The mode in which these distances have been measured is the following In a long day a vessel generally accomplishes about 70,000 fathoms, in the night 60,000 Now from the mouth of the Pontus to the river Phasis, which is the extreme length of this sea, is a voyage of nine days and eight nights, which makes the distance 1,110,000 fathoms, or 11,100 furlongs [32] Again, from Sindica to Themiscyra on the river Thermodon, where the Pontus is wider than at any other place, is a sail of three days and two nights, which makes 330,000 fathoms, or 3,300 furlongs Such is the plan on which I have measured the Pontus, the Bosporus, and the Hellespont, and such is the account which I have to give of them The Pontus has also a lake belonging to it, not very much inferior to itself in size [33] The waters of this

[28] These measurements are extremely incorrect The distance from the mouth of the Bosporus to the Phasis is little more than 630 miles Again the distance across from the Thermodon to the Sindic peninsula is about 270 miles

[29] This is under the true length which is about sixteen miles

[30] The Propontis is nearer forty three miles across and 110 miles long

[31] The length is about forty miles Herodotus width is correct

[32] These figures are given in miles in the preceding chapter It will be noted that Herodotus regularly overestimates ships speeds

[33] It is commonly supposed that Herodotus fell here into a very gross mistake since the Sea of Azov s not now much more than one twelfth

lake run into the Pontus it is called the Maeotis and also the mother of the Pontus

87 Darius after he had finished his survey ailed back to the bridge which had been constructed for him by Mandrocles a Samian He likewise surveyed the Bosporus and erected upon its shores two pillars of white marble whereupon he inscribed the names of all the nations which formed his army—on the one pillar in Greek on the other in Assyrian characters Now his army was drawn from all the nations under his sway and the whole amount without reckoning the naval forces was 700 000 men including cavalry The fleet consisted of 600 hips Some time afterwards the Byzantines removed these pillars to their own city and used them for an altar which they erected to Orthosian Artemis One block remained behind it lay near the temple of Dionysus at Byzantium and was covered with Assyrian writing The spot where Darius bridged the Bo porus was I think but I speak only from conjecture half way between the city of Byzantium and the temple at the mouth of the strait

88 Darius was so plea ed with the bridge thrown across the strait by the Samian Mandrocles that he not only bestowed upon him all the customary presents but gave him ten of every kind Mandrocles by way of offering firstfruits from these presents caused a picture to be painted which showed the whole o the bridge with King Darius sitting in a seat of honour and his army engaged in the passage This painting he dedicated in the temple of Hera at Samos attaching to it the inscription following

The fish fraught Bosporus bridged to Hera s fane
Did Mandrocles this proud memorial bring
When for himself a crown he d skill to gain
For Samos praise contenting the Great King

Such was the memorial of his work which was left by th archi tect of the bridge

of the size of the E xine b t t is p ssibl that Lak M tis may hav been ry gr tly la g r in the time f H odotu than it is at p sent

89 Darius, after rewarding Mandrocles, passed into Europe, while he ordered the Ionians to enter the Pontus, and sail to the mouth of the Ister There he bade them throw a bridge across the stream and await his coming The Ionians, Aeolians, and Hellespontians were the nations which furnished the chief strength of his navy So the fleet, threading the Cyanean Isles, proceeded straight to the Ister, and, mounting the river to the point where its channels separate, a distance of two days' voyage from the sea, yoked the neck of the stream Meantime Darius, who had crossed the Bosporus by the bridge over it, marched through Thrace, and happening upon the sources of the Tearus, pitched his camp and made a stay of three days

90 Now the Tearus is said by those who dwell near it, to be the most healthful of all streams, and to cure, among other diseases, the scab either in man or beast Its sources, which are thirty eight in number, all flowing from the same rock, are in part cold, in part hot. They lie at an equal distance from the town of Heraeum near Perinthus, and Apollonia on the Euxine, a two days' journey from each This river, the Tearus, is a tributary of the Contadesdus, which runs into the Agrianes, and that into the Hebrus The Hebrus empties itself into the sea near the city of Aenus

91 Here then, on the banks of the Tearus, Darius stopped and pitched his camp The river charmed him so, that he caused a pillar to be erected in this place also, with an inscription to the following effect, "The fountains of the Tearus afford the best and most beautiful water of all rivers they were visited, on his march into Scythia, by the best and most beautiful of men, Darius, son of Hystaspes, king of the Persians, and of the whole continent" Such was the inscription which he set up at this place

92 Marching thence, he came to a second river, called the Artiscus, which flows through the country of the Odrysians Here he fixed upon a certain spot, where every one of his soldiers should throw a stone as he passed by When his order were obeyed, Darius continued his march, leaving behind him great hills formed of the stones cast by his troops

93 Before arriving at the Ister the first people whom he sub dued were the Getae who believe in their immortality The Thracians of Salmydessus and tho e who dwelt above the citie of Apollonia and Mesembria—the Scyrmiadae and Nipsaeans as they are called—gave themselves up to Darius without a struggle but the Getae obstinately defending themselves were forthwith enslaved notwithstanding that they are the noblest as well as the most just of all the Thracian tribes

94 The belief of the Getae in respect of immortality is the following They think that they do not really die but that when they depart this life they go to Zalmoxis who is called also Gebeleizis by some among them To this god every five years they send a messenger who is chosen by lot out of the whole nation and charged to bear him their several requests Their mode of sendin him is this A number of them stand in order each holding in his hand three darts others take the man who is to be sent to Zalmoxis and swinging him by his hands and feet toss him into the air so that he falls upon the points of the weapons If he is pierced and dies they think that the god is propitious to them but if not they lay the fault on the mes senger who (they say) is a wicked man and so they choose another to sen l aw iy The messages are given while the man is still alive Thi sam people when it l ghtens and thunders aim their arrows at the sky uttering threats against the god and they do not believe that there is any god but their own

95 I am told by the Greeks who dwell on the shores of the Hellespont and the Pontus that this Zalmoxis was in real ty a man that he lived at Samos and while there was the slave of Pythagoras son of Mnesarchus After obtaining his freedom he grew rich and le ing Samos returned to his own country The Thracians at that time lived in a wretched way and were a poor ignorant race Zalmoxis therefore who by his commerce with the Greeks and especially with one who was by no means their most contemptible philosopher Pythagoras was acquainted with the Ionic mode of life and with manners more refined than those current among his countrymen had a chamber bu lt in which from time to time he received and feasted all the prin

cipal Thracians, using the occasion to teach them that neither he, nor they, his boon companions, nor any of their posterity would ever perish, but that they would all go to a place where they would live forever in the enjoyment of every conceivable good While he was acting in this way, and holding this kind of discourse, he was constructing an apartment underground, into which, when it was completed, he withdrew, vanishing suddenly from the eyes of the Thracians, who greatly regretted his loss, and mourned over him as one dead He meanwhile abode in his secret chamber three full years, after which he came forth from his concealment, and showed himself once more to his countrymen, who were thus brought to believe in the truth of what he had taught them Such is the account of the Greeks

96 I for my part neither put entire faith in this story of Zalmoxis and his underground chamber, nor do I altogether discredit it but I believe Zalmoxis to have lived long before the time of Pythagoras Whether there was ever really a man of the name, or whether Zalmoxis is nothing but a native god of the Getae, I now bid him farewell As for the Getae themselves, the people who observe the practices described above, they were now reduced by the Persians and accompanied the army of Darius

97 When Darius, with his land forces, reached the Ister, he made his troops cross the stream, and after all were gone over gave orders to the Ionians to break the bridge, and follow him with the whole naval force in his land march They were about to obey his command, when the general of the Mytilenaeans Coes son of Erxander, having first asked whether it was agreeable to the king to listen to one who wished to speak his mind addressed him in the words following, "You are about, Sire, to attack a country no part of which is cultivated, and wherein there is not a single inhabited city Keep this bridge, then, as it is, and leave those who built it, to watch over it So if we come up with the Scythians and succeed against them as we could wish, we may return by this route, or if we fail of finding them our retreat will still be secure For I have no fear lest the Scythians defeat us in battle, but my dread is lest we be unable to

discover them and suffer loss while we wander about their ter ritory And now mayhap it will be said I advi e you thus in the hope of being myself allowed to remain behind but in truth I have no other design than to recommend the course which seems to me the best nor will I consent to be among those left behind but my resolve is in any case to follow you The ad vice of Coes pleased Darius highly who thus replied to him Dear Lesbian when I am safe home a ain in my palace be sure to come to me and with good deeds will I recompense your good words of today

98 Having so said the king took a leathern thong and tyin sixty knots in it called together the Ionian tyrants and spoke thus to them Men of Ionia my former commands to you con cerning the bridge are now withdrawn See here is a thong take it and observe my bidding with respect to it From the time that I l ave you to march forward into Scythia untie every day one of the knots If I do not return before the last day to which the knots will hold out then leave your station and sail to your several homes Meanwhile understand that my resolve is changed and that you are to guard the bridge with all care and watch over its safety and preservation By so doing you will oblige me greatly When Darius had thus spoken he set out on his march with all speed

99 Before you come to Scythia on the sea coast lies Thrace The land here makes a sweep and then Scythia be ins the Ister falling into the sea at this point with its mouth facing the east Sta tin from the Ister I shall now describe the measurements of th sea shore of Scythia Immediately that the Ister is crossed Old Scythia begins and continues as far as the city called Car cinitis fronting towards the south wind and the midday Here upon the same sea there lies a mountainous tract[3] projecting into the Pontus which is inhabited by the Tauri as far as what is called the Rugged Chersonese which runs out into the sea upon the east For the boundaries of Scythia extend on two sides to two different seas one upon the south and the other

[3] Th m tains h o ly l g t e o th m o t f th C m All th e t of th penin la b l gs t th t ppes

towards the east, as is also the case with Attica And the Tauri occupy a position in Scythia like that which a people would hold in Attica, who, being foreigners and not Athenians, should inhabit the highland of Sunium, from Thoricus to the township of Anaphlystus, if this tract projected into the sea somewhat further than it does Such, to compare great things with small, is the Tauric territory For the sake of those who may not have made the voyage round these parts of Attica, I will illustrate in another way It is as if in Iapygia a line were drawn from Port Brundusium to Tarentum, and a people different from the Iapygians inhabited the promontory [3] These two instances may suggest a number of others, where the shape of the land closely resembles that of Taurica

100 Beyond this tract, we find the Scythians again in possession of the country above the Tauri and the parts bordering on the eastern sea, as also of the whole district lying west of the Cimmerian Bosporus and Lake Maeotis as far as the river Tanais, which empties itself into that lake at its upper end As for the inland boundaries of Scythia, if we start from the Ister, we find it enclosed by the following tribes, first the Agathyrsi, next the Neuri, then the Man eaters, and last of all, the Black-cloaks

101 Scythia then, which is square in shape, and has two of its sides reaching down to the sea, extends inland to the same distance that it stretches along the coast, and is equal every way For it is a ten days' journey from the Ister to the Borysthenes, and ten more from the Borysthenes to Lake Maeotis while the distance from the coast inland to the country of the Black cloaks, who dwell above Scythia, is a journey of twenty days I reckon the day's journey at twenty five miles Thus the two sides which run straight inland are 500 miles each, and the transverse sides at right angles to these are also of the same length, which gives the full size of Scythia

[3] This passage was evidently written for the benefit of readers in Magna Graecia Herodotus at Thurii would have Iapygia before his eyes as it were Writing from Ionia or even from Greece Proper he would never have thought of such an illustration

102 The Scythians reflecting on their situation perceived that they were not strong enough by themselves to contend with the army of Darius in open fight They therefore sent envoys to the neighbouring nations whose kings had already met and were in consultation upon the advance of so vast a host Now they who had come together were the kings of the Tauri the Agathyrsi the Neuri the Man eaters the Black cloaks the Geloni the Budini and the Sauromatae

103 The Tauri have the following customs They offer in sacrifice to the virgin goddess all shipwrecked persons and all Greeks compelled to put into their ports by stress of weather The mode of sacrifice is this After the preparatory ceremonies they strike the victim on the head with a club Then according to some accounts they hurl the trunk from the precipice whereon the temple stands and nail the head to a cross Others grant that the head is treated in this way but deny that the body is thrown down the cliff—on the contrary they say it is buried The goddess to whom these sacrifices are offered the Tauri themselves declare to be Iphigenia[36] the daughter of Agamemnon When they take prisoners in war they treat them in the following way The man who has taken a captive cuts off his head and carrying it to his home fixes it upon a tall pole which he elevates above his house most commonly over the chimney The reason that the heads are set up so hi h is (it is said) in order that the whole house may be under their protection These people live entirely by war and plundering

104 The Agathyrsi are a race of men very luxurious and very fond of wearing gold on their persons They have intercourse promiscuously that so they may be all brothers[37] and as members of one family may neither envy nor hate one another In other respects their customs approach nearly to those of the Thracians

105 The Neurian customs are like the Scythian One generation before the attack of Darius they were driven from their

[36] Th v rgi godd s f th T uri was m r g ally d tifi d by the Gr eks w th th r w Artemi

[37] Th s nt cipat f th th ry f Pl t (*R p* v) is curi us.

land by a huge multitude of serpents which invaded them Of these some were produced in their own country, while others, and those by far the greater number, came in from the deserts on the north Suffering grievously beneath this scourge, they quitted their homes, and took refuge with the Budini It seems that these people are conjurers for both the Scythians and the Greeks who dwell in Scythia say, that every Neurian once a year becomes a wolf[38] for a few days, at the end of which time he is restored to his proper shape[39] Not that I believe this, but they constantly affirm it to be true, and are even ready to back their assertion with an oath

106 The manners of the Man eaters are more savage than those of any other race They neither observe justice, nor are governed by any laws They are nomads, and their dress is Scythian, but the language which they speak is peculiar to themselves Unlike any other nation in these parts, they are cannibals

107 The Black cloaks wear, all of them, black cloaks, and from this derive the name which they bear Their customs are Scythic

108 The Budini are a large and powerful nation they have all deep blue eyes, and bright red hair There is a city in their territory, called Gelonus, which is surrounded with a lofty wall, four miles each way, built entirely of wood All the houses in the place and all the temples are of the same material Here are temples built in honour of the Grecian gods, and adorned after the Greek fashion with images, altars, and shrines, all in wood There is even a festival held every third year, in honour of Dionysus, at which the natives fall into the Bacchic fury For the fact is that the Geloni were anciently Greeks who, being driven out of the trading ports along the coast, fled to the Budini and took up their abode with them They still speak a language half Greek, half Scythian

[38] This is the earliest reference to the widespread superstition as to wer wolves

[39] As Herodotus recedes from the sea his accounts become more mythic, and less trustworthy

109 *The Budini however do not speak the same language* as the Geloni nor is their mode of life the same They are the aboriginal people of the country and are nomads unlike any of the neighbouring races they eat lice [40] The Geloni on the con trary are tillers of the soil eat bread have gardens and both in shape and complexion are quite different from the Budini The Greeks notwithstanding call these latter Geloni but it is a mis take to give them the name Their country is thickly planted with trees of all manner of kinds In the very woodiest part is a broad deep lake surrounded by marshy ground with reeds grow *ing on it Here otters are caught and beavers with another* sort of animal which has a square face With the skins of this last the natives border their leather cloaks and their testicles provide a remedy for diseases of the womb

110 It is reported of the Sauromatae that when the Greeks fou ht with the Amazons whom the Scythians call Oiorpata or man slayers as it may be rendered *Oior* being Scythic for man and *pata* for to slay—it is reported I say that the Greeks after gaining the battle of the Thermodon put to sea taking with them on board three of their vessels all the Amazons whom they had made prisoners and that these women upon the voyage rose up against the crews and massacred them to a man As how ever they were quite strange to ships and did not know how to use either rudder sails or oars they we e carried after the death of the men where the winds and the waves listed At last they reached the shores of Lake Maeotis and came to a place called Cremni or the Cliffs which is in the country of the free Scythians Here they went ashore and proceeded by land to wards the inhabited regions the first herd of horses which they fell in with they seized and mounting upon their backs fell to plundering the Scythian territory

111 *The Scyths could not tell what to make of the attack* upon them—the dress the language the nation itself we.e alike unknown—whence the enemy had come even was a mar vel Imagining however that they were all men of about the same age they went out against them and fought a battle Some

[40] Photi d fine the sam wo d a fir

of the bodies of the slain fell into their hands, whereby they discovered the truth Hereupon they deliberated, and made a resolve to kill no more of them, but to send against them a detachment of their youngest men, as near as they could guess equal to the women in number, with orders to encamp in their neighbourhood, and do as they saw them do—when the Amazons advanced against them, they were to retire, and avoid a fight—when they halted, the young men were to approach and pitch their camp near the camp of the enemy All this they did on account of their strong desire to obtain children from so notable a race

112 So the youth departed, and obeyed the orders which they had been given The Amazons soon found out that they had not come to do them any harm, and so they on their part ceased to offer the Scythians any molestation And now day after day the camps approached nearer to one another, both parties led the same life, neither having anything but their arms and horses, so that they were forced to support themselves by hunting and pillage

113 The Amazons scattered by ones and twos at noon, wandering off to relieve themselves The Scythians noticed this and did likewise one of them attacked an Amazon who was alone, she did not resist but let him have his way Then she bade him by signs (for they did not understand each other's language) to bring a friend the next day to the spot where they had met—promising on her part to bring with her another woman He did so, and the woman kept her word When the rest of the youths heard what had taken place, they had intercourse with the other Amazons

114 The two camps were then joined in one, each Scythian having the Amazon with whom he first had intercourse as his wife The men were unable to learn the tongue of the women, but the women soon caught up the tongue of the men When they could thus understand one another, the Scyths addressed the Amazons in these words, ' We have parents, and properties, let us therefore give up this mode of life, and return to our nation, and live with them You shall be our wives there no less

than here and we promise you to have no others But the Amazons said We could not live with your women—our customs are quite different from theirs To draw the bow to hurl the javelin to bestride the horse these are our arts—of womanly employments we know nothing Your women on the contrary do none of these things but stay at home in their waggons engaged in womanish tasks and never go out to hunt or to do anything We should never agree together But if you truly wish to keep us as your wives and would conduct yourselves with strict justice towards us go you home to your parents bid them give you your inheritance and then come back to us and let us and you live together by ourselves

115 The youths approved of the advice and followed it They went and got the portion of goods which fell to them returned with it and rejoined their wives who then addressed them in these words following We are ashamed and afraid to live in the country where we now are Not only have we stolen you from your fathers but we have done great damage to Scythia by our ravages As you like us for wives grant the request we make of you Let us leave this country together and go and dwell beyond the Tanais Again the youths complied

116 Crossing the Tanais they journeyed eastward a distance of three days march from that stream and again northward a distance of three days march from Lake Maeotis Here they came to the country where they now live and took up their abode in it The women of the Sauromatae have continued from *that day to the present to observe their ancient customs* frequently hunting on horseback with their husbands sometimes even unaccompanied in war taking the field and wearing the very same dress as the men

117 The Sauromatae speak the language of Scythia but have never talked it correctly because the Amazons learned it imperfectly at the first Their marriage law lays it down that no girl shall wed till she has killed a man in battle Sometimes it happens that a woman dies unmarried at an advanced age having never been able in her whole lifetime to fulfil the condition

118 The envoys of the Scythians on being introduced into

the presence of the kings of these nations, who were assembled to deliberate, made it known to them, that the Persian, after subduing the whole of the other continent, had thrown a bridge over the strait of the Bosporus, and crossed into the continent of Europe, where he had reduced the Thracians, and was now making a bridge over the Ister, his aim being to bring under his sway all Europe also "Stand not aloof then from this contest," they went on to say, ' look not on tamely while we are perishing —but make common cause with us, and together let us meet the enemy If you refuse, we must yield to the pressure, and either quit our country, or make terms with the invaders For what else is left for us to do, if your aid be withheld from us? The blow be sure, will not light on you more gently upon this account The Persian comes against you no less than against us and will not be content, after we are conquered, to leave you in peace We can bring strong proof of what we here advance Had the Persian leader indeed come to avenge the wrongs which he suffered at our hands when we enslaved his people, and to war on us only, he would have been bound to march straight upon Scythia, without molesting any nation by the way Then it would have been plain to all, that Scythia alone was aimed at But now, what has his conduct been? From the moment of his entrance into Europe, he has subjugated without exception every nation that lay in his path All the tribes of the Thracians have been brought under his sway, and among them even our next neighbours, the Getae"

119 The assembled princes of the nations, after hearing all that the Scythians had to say, deliberated At the end opinion was divided—the kings of the Geloni, Budini, and Sauromatae were of accord, and pledged themselves to give assistance to the Scythians but the Agathyrsian and Neurian princes, together with the sovereigns of the Man eaters, the Black cloaks, and the Tauri, replied to their request as follows, "If you had not been the first to wrong the Persians, and begin the war, we should have thought the request you make just we should then have complied with your wishes, and joined our arms with yours Now, however, the case stands thus—you, independently of us

invaded the land of the Persians and so long as God gave you the power lorded it over them raised up now by the same God they are come to do to you the like We on our part, did no wrong to these men in the former war and will not be the first to commit wrong now If they invade our land and begin aggressions upon us we will not suffer them but till we see this come to pass we will remain at home For we believe that the Persians are not come to attack us but to punish those who are guilty of first injuring them

120 When this reply reached the Scythians they resolved as the neighbouring nations refused their alliance that they would not openly venture on any pitched battle with the enemy but would retire before them driving off their herds choking up all the wells and springs as they retreated and leaving the whole country bare of forage They divided themselves into three bands one of which namely that commanded by Scopasis it was agreed should be joined by the Sauromatae and if the Persians advanced in the direction of the Tanais should retreat along the shores of Lake Maeotis and make for that river while if the Persians retired they should at once pursue and harass them The two other divisions the principal one under the command of Idanthyrsus and the third of which Taxacis was king were to unite in one and joined by the detachments of the Geloni and Budini were like the others to keep at the distance of a day's march from the Persians fallin back as they advanced and doing the same as the others At first they were to take the direction of the nations which had refused to join the allian e and were to draw the war upon them that so if they would not of their own free will engage in the contest they might by these means be forced into it Afterwards it was agreed that they should retire into their own land and should it on deliberation appear to them expedient join battle with the enemy

121 When these measures had been determined on the Scythians went out to meet the army of Darius send n on in front as scouts the fleetest of their horsemen Their waggons wherein their women and their children lived and all their

cattle, except such a number as was wanted for food, which they kept with them, were made to precede them in their retreat, and departed, with orders to keep marching, without change of course, to the north

122 The scouts of the Scythians found the Persian host advanced three days' march from the Ister, and immediately took the lead of them at the distance of a day's march, encamping from time to time, and destroying all that grew on the ground The Persians no sooner caught sight of the Scythian horse than they pursued upon their track, while the enemy retired before them The pursuit of the Persians was directed towards the single division of the Scythian army, and thus their line of march was eastward towards the Tanais The Scyths crossed the river, and the Persians after them, still in pursuit In this way they passed through the country of the Sauromatae, and entered that of the Budini

123 As long as the march of the Persian army lay through the countries of the Scythians and Sauromatae, there was nothing which they could damage, the land being waste and barren, but on entering the territories of the Budini, they came upon the wooden fortress above mentioned, which was deserted by its inhabitants and left quite empty of everything This place they burnt to the ground, and having so done, again pressed forward on the track of the retreating Scythians, till, having passed through the entire country of the Budini, they reached the desert, which has no inhabitants, and extends a distance of seven days' journey above the Budinian territory Beyond this desert dwell the Thyssagetae, out of whose land four great streams flow These rivers all traverse the country of the Maeotians, and fall into Lake Maeotis Their names are the Lycus, the Oarus, the Tanais, and the Syrgis

124 When Darius reached the desert, he paused from his pursuit, and halted his army upon the Oarus Here he built eight large forts, at an equal distance from one another, eight miles apart or thereabouts, the ruins of which were still remaining in my day [41] During the time that he was so occupied, the

[41] The conjecture is probable that these suppo ed forts" were ruined

Scythians whom he had been following made a circuit by the higher regions and re entered Scythia On their complete dis appearance Darius seeing nothing more of them left his forts half finished and returned towards the west He imagined that the Scythians whom he had seen were the entire nation and that they had fled in that direction

125 He now quickened his march and entering Scythia fell in with the two combined divisions of the Scythian army and instantly gave them chase They kept to their plan of retreating before him at the distance of a day s march and he still follow ing them hotly they led him as had been previously settled into the territories of the nations that had refused to become their allies and first of all into the country of the Black-cloaks Great disturbance was caused among this people by the invasion of the Scyths first and then of the Persians So having harassed them after this sort the Scythians led the way into the land of the Man eaters with the same result as before and thence passed onwards into Neuris where their coming likewise spread dismay among the inhabitants Still retreating they approached the Agathyrsi but this people which had witnessed the flight and terror of their neighbours did not wait for the Scyths to invade them but sent a herald to forbid them to cross their borders and to forewarn them that if they made the attempt it would be resisted by force of arms The Agathyrsi then proceeded to the frontier to defend their country against the in vaders As for the other nations the Black cloaks the Man eaters and the Neuri instead of defending themselves when the Scyths and Persians overran their lands they forgot their threats and fled away in confusion to the deserts lying towards the north The Scythians when the Agathyrsi forbade them to enter their country refrained and led the Persians back from the Neurian district into their own land

126 This had gone on so long and seemed so interminable that Darius at last sent a horseman to Idanthyrsus the Scyth ian king with the following message Strange man why do you

b ows H d t would h f th m f m th G k t d rs Ih. w ds d not nece rily imply th t he had h ms lf th m

keep on flying before me, when there are two things you might do so easily? If you deem yourself able to resist my arms, cease your wanderings and come, let us engage in battle Or if you are conscious that my strength is greater than yours—even so you should cease to run away—you have but to bring your lord earth and water, and to come at once to a conference"

127 To this message Idanthyrsus, the Scythian king, replied, "This is my way, Persian I never fear men or fly from them I have not done so in times past, nor do I now fly from you There is nothing new or strange in what I do, I only follow my common mode of life in peaceful years Now I will tell you why I do not at once join battle with you We Scythians have neither towns nor cultivated lands, which might induce us, through fear of their being taken or ravaged, to be in any hurry to fight with you If, however, you must needs come to blows with us speedily, look you now, there are our fathers' tombs—seek them out, and attempt to meddle with them—then you shall see whether or no we will fight with you Till you do this, be sure we shall not join battle, unless it pleases us This is my answer to the challenge to fight As for lords, I acknowledge only Zeus my ancestor, and Hestia, the Scythian queen Earth and water, the tribute you ask, I do not send but you shall soon receive more suitable gifts Last of all in return for calling yourself my lord, I say to you, 'Go howl'" (This is what men mean by the Scythian mode of speech) So the herald departed, bearing this message to Darius

128 When the Scythian kings heard the name of slavery they were filled with rage, and despatched the division under Scopasis to which the Sauromatae were joined, with orders that they should seek a conference with the Ionians, who had been left at the Ister to guard the bridge Meanwhile the Scythians who remained behind resolved no longer to lead the Persians hither and thither about their country, but to fall upon them whenever they should be at their meals So they waited till such times, and then did as they had determined In these combats the Scythian horse always put to flight the horse of the enemy, these last, however, when routed, fell back upon their foot, who

never failed to afford them support while the Scythians on their side as soon as they had driven the horse in retired again for fear of the foot By night too the Scythians made many simi lar attacks

129 There was one very strange thing which greatly aided the Persians and was of equal disservice to the Scyths in these assaults on the Persian camp This was the braying of the asses and the appearance of the mules For as I observed before the land of the Scythians produces neither ass nor mule and con tains no single specimen of either animal by reason of the cold So when the asses brayed they frightened the Scythian cav alry and often in the middle of a charge the horses hearing the noise made by the asses would take fright and wheel round pricking up their ears and showing astonishment This was ow ing to their havin never heard the noise or seen the form of the animal before and it was not without some little influence on the progress of the war

130 The Scythians when they perceived signs that the Per sians were becoming alarmed took steps to induce them not to quit Scythia in the hope if they stayed of inflicting on them the greater injury when their supplies should altogether fail To effect this they would leave some of their cattle expo ed with the herdsmen while they themselves moved away to a dis tance the Per ians would make a foray and take the beasts whereupon they would be highly elated

131 This they did several times until at last Darius was at hi wits end he eon the Scythian princes understanding how matters stood de patched a herald to the Persian camp with present for the king these were a bird a mouse a frog and five arrows The Persians asked the bearer to tell them what these gifts might mean but he made answer that he had no orders except to deliver them and return again with all peed If the Persians were wise he added they would find out the mean in for themselves So when they heard this they held a council to consider the matter

132 Darius gave it as his opinion that the Scyths intended a surrender of themselves and their country both land and water

into his hands This he conceived to be the meaning of the gifts, because the mouse is an inhabitant of the earth, and eats the same food as man, while the frog passes his life in the water, the bird bears a great resemblance to the horse, and the arrows might signify the surrender of all their power To the explanation of Darius, Gobryas, one of the seven conspirators against the Magus, opposed another which was as follows, "Unless, Persians, you can turn into birds and fly up into the sky, or become mice and burrow under the ground, or make yourselves frogs, and take refuge in the fens, you will never make escape from this land, but die pierced by our arrows " Such were the meanings which the Persians assigned to the gifts

133 The single division of the Scyths, which in the early part of the war had been appointed to keep guard about Lake Maeotis, and had now been sent to get speech of the Ionians stationed at the Ister, addressed them, on reaching the bridge, in these words, "Men of Ionia, we bring you freedom, if you will only do as we recommend Darius, we understand, enjoined you to keep your guard here at this bridge just sixty days, then, if he did not appear, you were to return home Now, therefore, act so as to be free from blame, alike in his sight, and in ours Tarry here the appointed time, and at the end go your ways " Having said this, and received a promise from the Ionians to do as they desired, the Scythians hastened back with all possible speed

134 After the sending of the gifts to Darius, the part of the Scythian army, which had not marched to the Ister, drew out in battle array horse and foot[43] against the Persians, and seemed about to come to an engagement But as they stood in battle array, it chanced that a hare started up between them and the Persians, and set to running, when immediately all the Scyths who saw it, rushed off in pursuit, with great confusion, and loud cries and shouts Darius, *hearing the noise, inquired the cause of it*, and was told that the Scythians were all engaged in hunting a

[43] We now hear for the first time of the Scythians having infantry It is scarcely possible that they really possessed any such force If they had had a force of foot soldiers Darius might have compelled them to a general engagement

hare On this he turned to those with whom he was wont to con verse and said These men do indeed despise us utterly and now I see that Gobryas was right about the Scythian gifts As therefore his opinion is now mine likewise it is time we form some wise plan whereby we may secure ourselves a safe return to our homes Sire Gobryas rejoined I was almost sure before I came here that this was an impracticable race—since our coming I am yet more convinced of it especially now that I see them making game of us My advice is therefore that when night falls we light our fires as we do at other times and leaving behind us on some pretext that portion of our army which is weak and unequal to hardship taking care al o to leave our asses tethered retreat from Scythia before our foes march for ward to the Ister and destroy the bridge or the Ionians come to any resolution which may lead to our ruin

135 So Gobryas advised and when ni ht came Darius fol lowed his counsel and leaving his sick soldiers and those whose loss would be of least account with the asses also tethered about the camp marched away The asses were left that their noi e might be heard the men really because they were sick and use less but under the pretence that he was about to fall upon the Scythians with the flower of his troops and that they meanwhile were to guard his camp for him Having thus declared his plan to the men whom he was deserting and having caused the fires to be lighted Darius set forth and marched hastily towards the Ister The asses aware of the departure of the host brayed louder than ever and the Scythians hearing the sound enter tained no doubt of the Persians being still in the same place

136 When day dawned the men who had been left behind perceiving that they were betrayed by Darius stretched out their hands towards the Scythians and spoke as befitted their situation The enemy no sooner heard than they quickly joined all their troops in one and both portions of the Scythian army —alike that which consisted of a single division and that made up of two accompanied by all their allies the Sauromatae the Budini and the Geloni set off in pursuit and made stra ght for the Ister As however the Persian army was chiefly foot and

had no knowledge of the routes, which are not cut out in Scythia, while the Scyths were all horsemen and well acquainted with the shortest way, it so happened that the two armies missed one another, and the Scythians, getting far ahead of their adversaries, came first to the bridge Finding that the Persians were not yet arrived, they addressed the Ionians, who were aboard their ships, in these words, "Men of Ionia, the number of your days is out, and you do wrong to remain Fear doubtless has kept you here hitherto now, however, you may safely break the bridge, and hasten back to your homes, rejoicing that you are free, and thanking for it the gods and the Scythians Your former lord and master we undertake so to handle, that he will never again make war upon any one"

137 The Ionians now held a council Miltiades the Athenian, who was king of the Chersonesites upon the Hellespont,[43] and their commander at the Ister, recommended the other generals to do as the Scythians wished, and restore freedom to Ionia But Histiaeus the Milesian opposed this advice "It is through Darius," he said, "that we enjoy our thrones in our several states If his power be overturned, I cannot continue lord of Miletus, nor you of your cities For there is not one of them which will not prefer democracy to kingly rule" Then the other captains, who, till Histiaeus spoke, were about to vote with Miltiades, changed their minds, and declared in favour of the last speaker

138 The following were the voters on this occasion, all men who stood high in the esteem of the Persian king the tyrants of the Hellespont—Daphnis of Abydos, Hippoclus of Lampsacus, Herophantus of Parium, Metrodorus of Proconnesus, Aristagoras of Cyzicus, and Ariston of Byzantium the Ionian princes—Strattis of Chios Aeaces of Samos, Laodamas of Phocaea, and Histiaeus of Miletus, the man who had opposed Miltiades Only one Aeolian of note was present, to wit, Aristagoras of Cyme[44]

[43] Concerning this sovereignty of Miltiades see Book vi 34 36

[44] One cannot but suspect that the list of Herodotus is imperfect, and that more contingents were present than he names It may be conjectured that the list came from a Hellesnontine source (from the family of Mil

139 Having resolved to follow the advice of Histiaeus the Greek leaders further determined to speak and act as follows In order to appear to the Scythians to be doing something when in fact they were doing nothing of consequence and likewise to prevent them from forcing a passage across the Ister by the bridge they resolved to break up the part of the bridge which abutted on Scythia to the distance of a bowshot from the river bank and to assure the Scythians while the demolition was proceeding that there was nothing which they would not do to pleasure them Such were the additions made to the resolution of Histiaeus and then Histiaeus himself stood forth and made answer to the Scyths in the name of all the Greeks Good is the advice which you have brought us Scythians and well have you done to come here with such speed Your efforts have now put us into the right path and our efforts shall not be wanting to advance your cause Your own eyes see that we are en aged in breaking the bridge and believe us we will work zealously to procure our own freedom Meantime while we labour here at our task be it your business to seek them out and when found for our sakes as well as your own to visit them with the vengeance which they so well deserve

140 Again the Scyths put faith in the promises of the Ionian chiefs and retraced their steps hoping to fall in with the Persians They missed however the enemy s whole l ne of march their own former acts being to blame for it Had they not ravaged all the pasturages of that région and filled in all the wells they would have easily found the Persians whenever they chose But as it turned out the measures which seemed to them so wisely planned were exactly what caused their failure They took a route where water was to be found and fodder could be got for their horses and on this track sought their adversaries expecting that they too would retreat through regions where these things were to be obtained The Persians however kept

t d m t p b bly) d thus whil th cat l gu f th H ll p tin t is t l bly mpl te th b ing mp t t m ss b t that f Calchedo only th I d A ha l d wh we of pa t cula pute obtain d any m ti

strictly to the line of their former march, never for a moment departing from it, and even so gained the bridge with difficulty It was night when they arrived, and their terror, when they found the bridge broken up, was great, for they thought that perhaps the Ionians had deserted them

141 Now there was in the army of Darius a certain man, an Egyptian, who had a louder voice than any other man in the world This person was bid by Darius to stand at the water's edge, and call Histiaeus the Milesian The fellow did as he was bid, and Histiaeus, hearing him at the very first summons, brought the fleet to assist in conveying the army across, and once more made good the bridge

142 By these means the Persians escaped from Scythia, while the Scyths sought for them in vain, again missing their track And hence the Scythians are accustomed to say of the Ionians, by way of reproach, that, if they be looked upon as free men, they are the basest and most dastardly of all mankind —but if they be considered as under servitude, they are the faithfulest of slaves, and the most fondly attached to their lords

143 Darius, having passed through Thrace, reached Sestos in the Chersonese, whence he crossed by the help of his fleet into Asia, leaving a Persian, named Megabazus, commander on the European side This was the man on whom Darius once conferred special honour by a compliment which he paid him before all the Persians He was about to eat some pomegranates, and had opened the first, when his brother Artabanus asked him what he would like to have in as great plenty as the seeds of the pomegranate Darius answered, "Had I as many men like Megabazus as there are seeds here, it would please me better than to be lord of Greece " Such was the compliment wherewith Darius honoured the general to whom at this time he gave the command of the troops left in Europe, amounting in all to some 80,000 men

144 This same Megabazus got himself an undying remembrance among the Hellespontians, by a certain speech which he made It came to his knowledge, while he was staying at By

zantium that the Calchedonians made their settlement seven teen years earlier than the Byzantines Then said he the Calchedonians must at that time have been labouring under blindness—otherwise when so far more excellent a site was open to them they would never have chosen one so greatly inferior Megabazus now having been appointed to take the command upon the Hellespont employed himself in the reduction of all those states which had not of their own accord joined the Medes

145 About this very time another great expedition was un dertaken against Libya on a pretext which I will relate when I have premised certain particulars The descendants of the Ar gonauts in the third generation driven out of Lemnos by the Pelasgi who carried off the Athenian women from Brauron took ship and went to Lacedaemon where seating themselves on Mount Taygetus they proceeded to kindle their fires The Lacedaemonians seeing this sent a herald to inquire of them who they were and from what region they had come whereupon they answered that they were Minyae sons of the heroes by whom the ship Argo was manned for these persons had stayed awhile in Lemnos and had there become their progenitors On hearing this account of their descent the Lacedaemonians sent to them a second time and asked what was their object in com ing to Lacedaemon and there kindling their fires They an swered that driven from their own land by the Pelas i they had come as was most reasonable to their fathers and their wish was to dwell with them in their country partake their privileges and obtain allotments of land It seemed good to the Lacedae monians to receive the Minyae among them on their own terms to assign them lands and enrol them in their tribes What chiefly moved them to this was the consideration that the sons of Tyndarus had sailed on board the Argo The Minyae on their part forthwith married Spartan wives and gave the wives whom they had married in Lemnos to Spartan husbands

146 However before much time had elapsed the Minyae be gan to be insolent demanded to share the throne and com mitted other impieties whereupon the Lacedaemonians passed on them sentence of death and seizing them cast them into

prison Now the Lacedaemonians never put criminals to death in the daytime, but always at night When the Minyae, accordingly, were about to suffer, their wives, who were not only citizens, but daughters of the chief men among the Spartans, entreated to be allowed to enter the prison, and have some talk with their lords, and the Spartans, not expecting any fraud from such a quarter, granted their request The women entered the prison, gave their own clothes to their husbands, and received theirs in exchange after which the Minyae, dressed in their wives' garments, and thus passing for women, went forth Having effected their escape in this manner, they seated themselves once more upon Taygetus

147 It happened that at this very time Theras, son of Autesion (whose father Tisamenus was the son of Thersander, and grandson of Polynices), was about to lead out a colony from Lacedaemon This Theras, by birth a Cadmeian, was uncle on the mother's side to the two sons of Aristodemus, Procles and Eurysthenes, and, during their infancy, administered in their right the royal power When his nephews, however, on attaining to man's estate, took the government, Theras, who could not bear to be under the authority of others after he had wielded authority so long himself, resolved to leave Sparta, and cross the sea to join his kindred There were in the island now called Thera, but at that time Calliste, certain descendants of Membliarus, the son of Poeciles, a Phoenician (For Cadmus, the son of Agenor, when he was sailing in search of Europa, made a landing on this island, and, either because the country pleased him, or because he had a purpose in so doing, left there a number of Phoenicians, and with them his own kinsman Membliarus Calliste had been inhabited by this race for eight generations of men, before the arrival of Theras from Lacedaemon)

148 Theras now, having with him a certain number of men from each of the tribes, was setting forth on his expedition hitherward Far from intending to drive out the former inhabitant , he regarded them as his near kin, and meant to settle among them It happened that just at this time the Minyae, having escaped from their prison, had taken up their

upon Mount Taygetum and the Lacedaemonians wishing to destroy them were considering what was best to be done when Theras begged their lives undertaking to remove them from the territory His prayer being granted he took ship and sailed with three thirty oared ships to join the descendants of Membliarus He was not however accompanied by all the Minyae but only by some few of them The greater number fled to the land of the Paroreats and Caucons whom they drove out themselve occupying the region in six bodies by which were afterwards built the towns of Lepreum Macistus Phryxae Pyrgus Epium and Nudium whereof the greater part were in my day demolished by the Eleans

149 The island was called Thera after the name of its founder This same Theras had a son who refused to cross the sea with him Theras therefore left him behind a sheep as he aid among wolves From this speech his son came to be called Oeolycus a name which afterwards grew to be the only one by which he was known This Oeolycus was the father of Aegeus from whom sprang the Aegidae a great tribe in Sparta The men of this tribe lost at one time all their children whereupon they were bidden by an oracle to build a temple to the furies of Laius and Oedipus they complied and the mortality ceased The same thing happened in Thera to the descendants of these men

150 Thus far the history is delivered without variation both by the Theraeans and the Lacedaemonians but from this point we have only the Theraean narrative Grinus (they say) the son of Aesanius a descendant of Theras and king of the island of Thera went to Delphi to offer a hecatomb on behalf of his native city He was accompanied by a large number of the citizens and among the rest by Battus the son of Polymnestus who belonged to the Minyan family of the Euphemidae On Grinus consulting the oracle about other matters the priestess gave him for answer that he should found a city in Libya Grinus replied to this I O lord am too far advanced in years and too inactive for such a work Bid one of these youngsters undertake it As he spoke he pointed towards Battus and

thus the matter rested for that time When the embassy returned to Thera, small account was taken of the oracle by the Theraeans, as they were quite ignorant where Libya was, and were not so venturesome as to send out a colony in the dark

151 Seven years passed from the utterance of the oracle, and not a drop of rain fell in Thera all the trees in the island, except one, were killed with the drought The Theraeans upon this sent to Delphi, and were reminded reproachfully, that they had never colonised Libya So, as there was no help for it, they sent messengers to Crete, to inquire whether any of the Cretans, or of the strangers sojourning among them, had ever travelled as far as Libya and these messengers of theirs, in their wanderings about the island, among other places visited Itanus, where they fell in with a man, whose name was Corobius, a dealer in purple In answer to their inquiries, he told them that contrary winds had once carried him to Libya, where he had gone ashore on a certain island which was named Platea So they hired this man's services, and took him back with them to Thera A few persons then sailed from Thera to reconnoitre Guided by Corobius to the island of Platea, they left him there with provisions for a certain number of months, and returned home with all speed to give their countrymen an account of the island

152 During their absence, which was prolonged beyond the time that had been agreed upon, Corobius' provisions failed him He was relieved, however, after a while by a Samian vessel,[40] under the command of a man named Colaeus, which, on its way to Egypt, was forced to put in at Platea The crew, informed by Corobius of all the circumstances, left him sufficient food for a year They themselves quitted the island, and, anxious to reach Egypt, made sail in that direction, but were carried out of their course by a gale of wind from the east The storm not abating, they were driven past the Pillars of Heracles, and at last, by some special guiding providence, reached Tartessus This trading town was in those days a virgin port, un

[40] The tale which follows is of some consequence as showing the character of the Samians for naval enterprise Samos and Phocaea are the only Greek states reported to have reached so far west in their voyages

frequented by the merchants The Samians in consequence made by the return voyage a profit greater than any Greeks before their day excepting Sostratus son of Laodamas an Aeginetan with whom no one else can compare From the tenth part of their gains amounting to six talents the Samians made a brazen vessel in shape like an Argive wine bowl adorned with the heads of griffins standing out in high relief This bowl supported by three kneeling colossal figures in brass of the height of ten feet was placed as an offering in the temple of Hera at Samos The aid given to Corobius was the original cause of that close friendship which afterwards united the Cyrenaeans and Theraeans with the Samians

153 The Theraeans who had left Corobius at Platea when they reached Thera told their countrymen that they had colonised an island on the coast of Libya They of Thera upon *this resolved that men should be sent to join the colony from* each of their seven districts and that the brothers in every *family should draw lots to determine who were to go* Battus was chosen to be king and leader of the colony So these men departed for Platea on board of two fifty-oared ships

154 Such is the account which the Theraeans give In the sequel of the history their accounts tally with those of the people of Cyrene but in what they relate of Battus these two nations differ most widely The following is the Cyrenaic story There was once a king named Etearchus who ruled over Axus a city in Crete and had a daughter named Phronima This girl s mother having died Etearchus married a second wife who no sooner took up her abode in his house than she proved a true step mother to poor Phronima always vexing her and contriving against her every sort of mischief At last she charged her with lewd behaviour and he persuaded by his wife that the charge was true thought of a most barbarous mode of punishment There was a certain Theraean named Themison a merchant living at Axus This man Etearchus invited to be his friend and guest and then induced him to swear that he would do him any service he might require No sooner had he given the promise than the king brou ht *Phronima and delivering her*

into his hands, told him to carry her away and throw her into the sea Hereupon Themison, full of indignation at the fraud whereby his oath had been procured, dissolved forthwith the friendship, and, taking the girl with him, sailed away from Crete Having reached the open main, to acquit himself of the obligation under which he was laid by his oath to Etearchus, he fastened ropes about the damsel, and, letting her down into the sea, drew her up again, and so made sail for Thera

155 At Thera, Polymnestus, one of the chief citizens of the place, took Phronima to be his concubine The fruit of this union was a son, who stammered and had a lisp in his speech According to the Cyrenaeans and Theraeans, the name given to the boy was Battus in my opinion, however, he was called at the first something else,[46] and only got the name of Battus after his arrival in Libya, assuming it either in consequence of the words addressed to him by the Delphian oracle, or on account of the office which he held For, in the Libyan tongue, the word Battus means a king And this, I think, was the reason why the priestess addressed him as she did she knew he was to be a king in Libya, and so she used the Libyan word in speaking to him For after he had grown to man's estate, he made a journey to Delphi, to consult the oracle about his voice when, upon his putting his question, the priestess thus replied to him

Battus, thou camest to ask of thy voice, but Phoebus Apollo
Bids thee establish a city in Libya, abounding in fleeces,

which was as if she had said in her own tongue, "King, you came to ask of your voice " Then he replied, "Lord, I did indeed come hither to consult about my voice, but you speak to me of quite other matters bidding me colonise Libya—an impossible thing! What power have I? what followers?" Thus he spoke, but he did not persuade the priestess to give him any other response, so, when he found that she persisted in her former answer, he left her speaking, and set out on his return to Thera

[46] The name was Aristotle which appears in Pinda Battus is a titl that has become a name

156 After a while everything began to go wrong both with Battus and with the rest of the Theraeans whereupon these last ignorant of the cause of their sufferings sent to Delphi to inquire for what reason they were afflicted The priestess in reply told them that if they and Battus would make a settlement at Cyrene in Libya things would go better with them Upon this the Theraeans sent out Battus with two fifty-oared ships and with these he proceeded to Libya but within a little time not knowing what else to do the men returned and arrived off Thera The Theraeans when they saw the vessels approaching received them with showers of missiles would not allow them to come near the shore and ordered the men to sail back from whence they came Thus compelled to return they settled on an island near the Libyan coast which (as I have already said) was called Platea In size it is reported to have been about equal to the city of Cyrene as it now stands

157 *In this place they continued two years* but at the end of that time as their ill luck still followed them they left the island to the care of one of their number and went in a body to Delphi where they made complaint at the shrine to the effect that notwithstanding they had colonised Libya they prospered as poorly as before Hereon the priestess made them the following answer

Knowest thou better than I fair Libya abounding in fleeces?
Better the stranger than he who has trod it? O clever Theraeans!

Battus and his friends when they heard this sailed back to Platea it was plain the god would not hold them acquitted of the colony till they were absolutely in Libya So taking with them the man whom they had left upon the island they made a settlement on the mainland directly opposite Platea fixing themselves at a place called Aziris which is closed in on both sides by the most beautiful hills and on one side is washed by river

158 Here they remained six years at the end of which time th Libyans induced them to move promi ing that they would

lead them to a better situation So the Greeks left Aziris, and were conducted by the Libyans towards the west, their journey being so arranged, by the calculations of their guides, that they passed in the night the most beautiful district of that whole country, which is the region called Irasa The Libyans brought them to a spring, which goes by the name of Apollo's fountain, and told them, "Here, Grecians, is the proper place for you to settle, for here the sky has a hole in it"

159 During the lifetime of Battus, the founder of the colony, who reigned forty years, and during that of his son Arcesilaus, who reigned sixteen, the Cyrenaeans continued at the same level, neither more nor fewer in number than they were at the first But in the reign of the third king, Battus, surnamed the Happy, the advice of the Pythian priestess brought Greeks from every quarter into Libya, to join the settlement The Cyrenaeans had offered to all comers a share in their lands, and the oracle had spoken as follows

He that is backward to share in the pleasant Libyan acres,
Sooner or later, I warn him, will feel regret at his folly

Thus a great multitude were collected together to Cyrene, and the Libyans of the neighbourhood found themselves stripped of large portions of their lands So they, and their king Adicran, being robbed and insulted by the Cyrenaeans, sent messengers to Egypt, and put themselves under the rule of Apries, the Egyptian monarch, who, upon this, levied a vast army of Egyptians, and sent them against Cyrene The inhabitants of that place left their walls and marched out in force to the district of Irasa, where, near the spring called Theste, they engaged the Egyptian host, and defeated it The Egyptians, who had never before made trial of the prowess of the Greeks, and so thought but meanly of them, were routed with such slaughter that but a very few of them ever got back home For this reason, the subjects of Apries, who laid the blame of the defeat on him, revolted from his authority

160 This Battus left a son called Arcesilaus, who, when he came to the throne, had dissensions with his brothers which

ended in their quitting him and departing to another region of Libya where after consulting among themselves they founded the city which is still called by the name then given to it Barca At the same time they endeavoured to induce the Libyans to revolt from Cyrene Not long afterwards Arcesilau made an expedition against the Libyans who had received his brothers and been prevailed upon to revolt and they fearing his power fled to their countrymen who dwelt towards the east Arcesilaus pursued and chased them to a place called Leucon which is in Libya where the Libyans resolved to risk a battle Accordingly they engaged the Cyrenaeans and defeated them so entirely that as many as 7 000 of their heavy armed were slain in the fight Arcesilaus after this blow fell sick and while he was under the influence of a draught which he had taken was strangled by Learchus one of his brothers This Learchus was afterwards entrapped by Eryxo the widow of Arcesilaus and put to death

161 Battus Arcesilaus son succeeded to the kingdom a lame man who limped in his walk Their late calamities now induced the Cyrenaeans to send to Delphi and inquire of the god what form of government they had best set up to secure themselves prosperity The priestess answered by recommending them to fetch an arbitrator from Mantinea in Arcadia Accordingly they sent and the Mantineans gave them a man named Demonax a person of high repute amon the citizens who on his arrival at Cyrene having first made himself acquainted with all the circumstances proceeded to enrol the people in three tribes One he made to consist of the Theraeans and their vassals another of the Peloponnesians and Cretans and a third of the various islanders Besides this he deprived the king Battus of his former privileges only reserving for him certain sacred lands and offices while with respect to the powers which had hitherto been exercised by the king he gave them all into the hands of the people

162 Thus matters rested during the lifetime of this Battus but when his son Arcesilaus came to the throne great disturbance arose about the privileges For Arcesilaus son of Battus

the lame and Pheretima, refused to submit to the arrangements of Demonax the Mantinean, and claimed all the powers of his forefathers In the contention which followed Arcesilaus was worsted, whereupon he fled to Samos, while his mother took refuge at Salamis in the island of Cyprus Salamis was at that time ruled by Evelthon the same who offered at Delphi the censer which is in the treasury of the Corinthians, a work deserving of admiration Of him Pheretima made request, that he would give her an army, whereby she and her son might regain Cyrene But Evelthon preferring to give her anything rather than an army, made her various presents Pheretima accepted them all, saying, as she took them, "Good is this too, king, but better were it to give me the army which I crave at your hands" Finding that she repeated these words each time that he presented her with a gift, Evelthon at last sent her a golden spindle and distaff, with the wool ready for spinning Again she uttered the same speech as before, whereupon Evelthon rejoined, "These are the gifts I present to women, not armies"

163 At Samos, meanwhile Arcesilaus was collecting troops by the promise of granting them lands Having in this way drawn together a vast host he sent to Delphi to consult the oracle about his restoration The answer of the priestess was this, 'Loxias grants your race to rule over Cyrene, till four kings Battus, four Arcesilaus by name, have passed away Beyond this term of eighteen generations of men, he warns you not to seek to extend your reign You, for your part, be gentle, when you are restored If you find the oven full of jars, bake not the jars, but be sure to speed them on their way If, however, you heat the oven then avoid the island—else you will die yourself and with you the most beautiful bull"[4]

164 So spoke the priestess Arcesilaus upon this returned to Cyrene taking with him the troops which he had raised in Samos There he obtained possession of the supreme power, whereupon, forgetful of the oracle, he took proceedings against those who had driven him into banishment Some of them fled

This oracle is given in prose but evidently contains fragments of the hexameters in which it was delivered

from him and quitted the country for good others fell into his hands and were sent to suffer death in Cyprus These last happening on their passage to put in through stress of weather at Cnidus the Cnidians rescued them and sent them off to Thera Another body found a refuge in the great tower of Aglomachus a private edifice and there were destroyed by Arcesilaus who heaped wood around the place and burned them to death Aware after the deed was done that this was what the priestess meant when she warned him if he found the jars in the oven not to bake them he withdrew himself of his own accord from the city of Cyrene believing that to be the island of the oracle and fearing to die as had been prophesied Bein married to a relation of his own a daughter of Alazir [48] at that time king of the Barcaeans he took up his abode with him At Barca how ever certain of the citizens together with a number of Cy renaean exiles recognising him as he walked in the market place killed him they slew al.o at the same time Alazir his father in law So Arcesilaus wittingly or unwittingly d sobeyed he oracle and thereby fulfilled his destiny

165 Pheretima the mother of Arcesilaus durin, the time that her son after workin his own ruin dwelt at Barca con tinued to enjoy all his privileges at Cyrene managing the gov ernment and taking her seat at the council board No sooner however did she hear of the death of her son at Barca than leaving Cyrene she fled in haste to Egypt Arcesilaus had claims for service done to Cambyses son of Cyrus since it was by him that Cyrene was put under the Persian yoke and a rate of trib ute agreed upon Pheretima therefore went straight to Egypt and presenting herself as a suppliant before Aryandes entreated him to avenge her wrongs Her son she said had met his death on account of his being so well affected towards the Medes

166 Now Aryandes had been made governor of Egypt by Cambyses He it was who in after times was punished with

Th s m m kabl It is ! ly t G k d th f s p b bly Af H t ld s em th t t ly as B c riginally n Africa town but that wh l f ll g u d G k i fl t h d t ll reta d ts natı pri c h int rm d th th B tuad

death by Darius for seeking to rival him Aware, by report and also by his own eyesight, that Darius wished to leave a memorial of himself, such as no king had ever left before, Aryandes resolved to follow his example, and did so, till he got his reward Darius had refined gold to the last perfection of purity in order to have coins struck of it Aryandes, in his Egyptian government, did the very same with silver, so that to this day there is no such pure silver anywhere as the Aryandic Darius, when this came to his ears, brought another charge, a charge of rebellion, against Aryandes, and put him to death

167 At the time of which we are speaking, Aryandes, moved with compassion for Pheretima, granted her all the forces which there were in Egypt, both land and sea The command of the army he gave to Amasis, a Maraphian, while Badres, one of the tribe of the Pasargadae, was appointed to lead the fleet Before the expedition, however, left Egypt, he sent a herald to Barca to inquire, who it was that had slain king Arcesilaus The Barcaeans replied that they, one and all, acknowledged the deed—Arcesilaus had done them many and great injuries After receiving this reply, Aryandes gave the troops orders to march with Pheretima Such was the cause which served as a pretext for this expedition its real object was, I believe, the subjugation of Libya For Libya is inhabited by many and various races, and of these but a very few were subjects of the Persian king, while by far the larger number held Darius in no manner of respect

168 The Libyans dwell in the order which I will now describe Beginning on the side of Egypt, the first Libyans are the Adyrmachidae These people have, in most points, the same customs as the Egyptians, but use the costume of the Libyans Their women wear on each leg a ring made of brass, they let their hair grow long, and when they catch any lice on their persons, bite them and throw them away In this they differ from all the other Libyans They are also the only tribe with whom the custom obtains of bringing all virgins about to become brides before the king, that he may take the virginity of such as are agreeable to him The Adyrmachidae extend from the borders of Egypt to the harbour called Port Plynus

169 Next to the Adyrmachidae are the Gilligammae who inhabit the country westward as far as the island of Aphrodisias Off this tract is the island of Platea which the Cyrenaeans colonised Here too upon the mainland are Port Menelaus and Aziris where the Cyrenaeans once lived The silphium[49] begins to grow in this region extending from the island of Platea on the one side to the mouth of the Syrtis on the other The customs of the Gilligammae are like those of the rest of their countrymen

170 The Asbystae adjoin the Gilligammae upon the west They inhabit the regions above Cyrene but do not reach to the coast which belongs to the Cyrenaeans Four horse chariots are in more common use among them than among any other Libyans In most of their customs they ape the manners of the Cyrenaeans

171 Westward of the Asbystae dwell the Auschisae who possess the country above Barca reaching however to the sea at the place called Euesperides [50] In the middle of their territory is the little tribe of the Cabalians which touches the coast near Tauchira a city of the Barcaeans Their customs are like those of the Libyans above Cyrene

172 The Nasamonians a numerous people are the western neighbours of the Auschisae In summer they leave their flocks and herds upon the sea shore and go up the country to a place called Augila where they gather the dates from the palms which in those parts grow thickly and are of great size all of them being of the fruit bearin kind They also chase the locusts and when caught dry them in the sun after which they *grind them to powder and sprinkling this upon their milk* so drink it Each man among them has several wives their intercourse with women is promiscuou as amon the Massa etae

[49] Th f m pla t h h i figu d p m t f th Cy a d Ba ca n c s c l b t d b th art cl f f d a d l f t medici l rt s It f rm d mpo t t l m t the ci t c m m e f Cy e

[50] Th pla ed the n m of B d r th Pt l mi d ao B n.

They place a staff in front of the house and then have intercourse At the first wedding of a Nasamonian, it is customary for the bride to have intercourse with each of the guests in turn After intercourse each man gives her some gift he has brought from home The following are their customs in the swearing of oaths and the practice of augury The man, as he swears, lays his hand upon the tomb of some one considered to have been pre eminently just and good, and so doing swears by his name For divination they betake themselves to the sepulchres of their own ancestors, and, after praying, lie down to sleep upon their graves, by the dreams which then come to them they guide their conduct When they pledge their faith to one another, each gives the other to drink out of his hand, if there be no liquid to be had, they take up dust from the ground, and put their tongues to it

173 On the country of the Nasamonians borders that of the Psylli, who were swept away under the following circumstances The south wind had blown for a long time and dried up all the tanks in which their water was stored Now the whole region *within the Syrtis is utterly devoid of springs* Accordingly, the Psylli took counsel among themselves, and by common consent made war upon the south wind (so at least the Libyans say, I do but repeat their words) they went forth and reached the desert, but there the south wind rose and buried them under heaps of sand whereupon, the Psylli being destroyed, their lands passed to the Nasamonians

174 Above the Nasamonians, towards the south, in the district where the wild beasts abound, dwell the Garamantians, who avoid all society or intercourse with their fellow men, have no weapon of war, and do not know how to defend themselves

175 These border the Nasamonians on the south westward along the sea shore their neighbours are the Macae, who, by letting the locks about the crown of their head grow long, while they clip them close everywhere else, make their hair resemble a crest In war these people use the skins of ostriches for shields The river Cinyps rises among them from the height called the Hill *of the Graces*, and runs from thence through their country

to the sea The Hill of the Graces is thickly covered with wood and is thus very unlike the rest of Libya which is bare It is distant *twenty five miles from the sea* [51]

176 Adjoining the Macae are the Gindanes whose women wear on their legs anklets of leather Each lover that a woman has gives her one and she who can show the most is the best esteemed as she appears to have been loved by the greatest number of men

177 A promontory jutting out into the sea from the country of the Gindanes is inhabited by the Lotus eaters who live entirely on the fruit of the lotus tree The lotus fruit is about the size of the lentisk berry and in sweetness resembles the date The Lotus eaters even succeed in obtaining from it a sort of wine

178 The sea coast beyond the Lotus eaters is occupied by the Machlyans who use the lotus to some extent though not so much as the people of whom we last spoke The Machlyans reach as far as the great river called the Triton which empties itself into the great lake Tritonis Here in this lake is an island called Phla which it is said the Lacedaemonians were to have colonised according to an oracle

179 The followin is the story as it is commonly told When Jason had finished building the Argo at the foot of Mount Pelion he took on board the usual hecatomb and moreover a brazen tripod Thus equipped he set sail intending to coast round the Peloponnese and so to reach Delphi The voyage was prosperous as far as Malea but at that point a gale of wind from the north came on suddenly and carried him out of his course to the coast of Libya where before he discovered the land he got among the shallows of Lake Tritonis As he was turning it in his mind how he should find his way out Triton (they say) appeared to him and offered to show him the channel and secure him a safe retreat if he would give him the tripod Jason complying was shown by Triton the passage through the shallows after which the god took the tripod and carrying it to his own

[51] Th ra ge how ow not mor tha fi e mil s di t t f m the shore

temple, seated himself upon it, and, filled with prophetic fury, delivered to Jason and his companions a long prediction "When a descendant," he said, "of one of the Argo's crew should seize and carry off the brazen tripod, then by inevitable fate would a hundred Grecian cities be built around Lake Tritonis" The Libyans of that region, when they heard the words of this prophecy, took away the tripod and hid it

180 The next tribe beyond the Machlyans, is the tribe of the Auseans Both these nations inhabit the borders of Lake Tritonis, being separated from one another by the river Triton Both also wear their hair long, but the Machlyans let it grow at the back of the head, while the Auseans have it long in front The Ausean maidens keep year by year a feast in honour of Athena, whereat their custom is to draw up in two bodies, and fight with stones and clubs They say that these are rites which have come down to them from their fathers, and that they honour with them their native goddess, who is the same as the Athena of the Grecians If any of the maidens die of the wounds they receive, the Auseans declare that such are false virgins Before the fight is suffered to begin, they have another ceremony One of the virgins, the loveliest of the number, is selected from the rest, a Corinthian helmet and a complete suit of Greek armour are publicly put upon her, and, thus adorned, she is made to mount into a chariot, and led around the whole lake in a procession What arms they used for the adornment of their damsels before the Greeks came to live in their country, I cannot say I imagine they dressed them in Egyptian armour, for I maintain that both the shield and the helmet came into Greece from Egypt The Auseans declare that Athena is the daughter of Poseidon and the Tritonis—they say she quarrelled with her father, and applied to Zeus, who consented to let her be his child, and so she became his adopted daughter These people do not marry or live in families, but copulate promiscuously like cattle When their children are well grown, they are brought before the assembly of the men, which is held every third month, and assigned to those whom they most resemble

181 Such are the tribes of wandering Libyans dwel

the sea-coast Above them inland is the wild beast tract and beyond that a ridge of sand reaching from Egyptian Thebes to the Pillars of Heracles Throughout this ridge at the distance of about ten days journey from one another heaps of salt in large lumps lie upon hills At the top of every hill there gushes forth from the middle of the salt a stream of water which is both cold and sweet Around dwell men who are the last inhabitants of Libya on the side of the desert living as they do more inland than the wild beast district Of these nations the first is that of the Ammonians who dwell at a distance of ten days journey from Thebes and have a temple derived from that of the Theban Zeus For at Thebes likewise as I mentioned above the image of Zeus has a face like that of a ram The Ammonians have another spring besides that which rises from the salt The water of this stream is lukewarm at early dawn at the time when the market fills it is much cooler by noon it has grown quite cold at this time therefore they water their gardens As the afternoon advances the coldness goes off till about sunset the water is once more lukewarm still the heat increases and at midni ht it boils furiously After this time it again begins to cool and grows less and less hot till morning comes This spring is called the Fountain of the Sun

18 Next to the Ammonians at the distance of ten days journey along the ridge of sand there is a second salt hill like the Ammonian and a second pring The country round is inhabited and the place bears the name of Augila Hither it is that the Nasamonians come to gather in the dates

183 Ten days journey from Au ila there is again a salt hill and a pring palms of the fruitful kind grow here abundantly as they do also at the other salt hills This region is inh ibited by a nation called the Garamantians a very powerful people who cover the salt with mould and then sow their crops From thence is the shortest road to the Lotus-eaters a journey of thirty days In the Garamantian country are found the oxen which as they graze walk backwards This they do because

[12] The e is h e t much gula ty a d ymm try f r truth b t Herodotus d nptio po ts t th f ct of ca an r t

their horns curve outwards in front of their heads, so that it is not possible for them when grazing to move forwards, since in that case their horns would become fixed in the ground Only herein do they differ from other oxen, and further in the thickness and hardness of their hides The Garamantians have four horse chariots, in which they chase the cave dwelling Ethiopians, who of all the nations whereof any account has reached our ears are by far the swiftest of foot The Cave dwellers feed on serpents, lizards, and other similar reptiles Their language is unlike that of any other people, it sounds like the screeching of bats

184 At the distance of ten days' journey from the Garamantians there is again another salt hill and spring of water, around which dwell a people, called the Atarantians, who alone of all known nations are destitute of names The title of Atarantians is borne by the whole race in common, but the men have no particular names of their own The Atarantians, when the sun rises high in the heaven, curse him, and load him with reproaches, because (they say) he burns and wastes both their country and themselves Once more at the distance of ten days' journey there is a salt hill, a spring, and an inhabited tract Near the salt is a mountain called Atlas, very taper and round, so lofty, moreover, that the top (it is said) cannot be seen, the clouds never quitting it either summer or winter The natives call this mountain the Pillar of Heaven, and they themselves take their name from it, being called Atlantes They are reported not to eat any living thing, and never to have any dreams

185 As far as the Atlantes the names of the nations inhabiting the sandy ridge are known to me, but beyond them my knowledge fails The ridge itself extends as far as the Pillars of Heracles, and even farther than these, and throughout the whole distance, at the end of every ten days journey, there is a salt mine, with people dwelling round it, who all of them build their houses with blocks of the salt No rain falls in these parts of Libya, if it were otherwise, the walls of these houses could not stand The salt quarried is of two colours, white and purple

Beyond the ridge southwards in the direction of the interior the country is a desert [53] with no springs no beasts no rain no wood and altogether destitute of moisture

186 Thus from Egypt as far as Lake Tritonis Libya is inhabited by wandering tribes whose drink is milk and their food the flesh of animals Cow s flesh however none of the e tribes ever taste but abstain from it for the same reason as the Egyptians neither do they any of them breed swine Even at Cyrene the women think it wrong to eat the flesh of the cow honourin in this Isis the Egyptian goddess whom they worship both with fasts and festivals The Barcaean women abstain not from cow s flesh only but also from the flesh of swine

187 West of Lake Tritonis the Libyans are no longer wanderers nor do they practise the same customs as the wandering people or treat their children in the same way For the wandering Libyans many of them at any rate if not all—concerning which I cannot speak with certainty—when their children come to the age of four years burn the veins at the top of their heads with a flock from the fleece of a sheep others burn the veins about the temples This they do to prevent them from being plagued in their after lives by a flow of rheum from the head and such they declare is the reason why they are so much more healthy than other men Certainly the Libyans are the healthiest men that I know but whether this is what makes them so or not I cannot possibly say—the healthiest certainly they are If when the children are being burnt convulsions come on there is a remedy of which they have made discovery It is to prinkle goat s urine upon the ch ld who thus treated is sure to recover In all this I only repeat what is said by the Libyans

188 The rites which the wandering Libyans use in sacrificing are the following They begin with the ear of the victim wh ch they cut off and throw over their house this done they kill the animal by twisting the neck They sacrifice to the Sun and Moon but not to any other god This worship is common to all the Libyans The inhabitants of the parts about Lake Tritonis worship in addition Triton Poseidon and Athena the last especially

[53] H all de t the gr t S hara.

189 The dress wherewith Athena's statues are adorned, and her Aegis, were derived by the Greeks from the women of Libya For, except that the garments of the Libyan women are of leather, and their fringes made of leathern thongs instead of serpents, in all else the dress of both is exactly alike The name too itself shows that the mode of dressing the Pallas statues came from Libya For the Libyan women wear over their dress goat skins stripped of the hair, fringed at their edges, and coloured with vermilion, and from these goat skins the Greeks get their word Aegis (goat harness) I think for my part that the loud cries uttered in our sacred rites came also from thence for the Libyan women are greatly given to such cries, and utter them very sweetly Likewise the Greeks learned from the Libyans to yoke four horses to a chariot

190 All the wandering tribes bury their dead according to the fashion of the Greeks, except the Nasamonians They bury them sitting, and are right careful when the sick man is at the point of giving up the ghost, to make him sit, and not let him die lying down The dwellings of these people are made of the stems of the asphodel, and of rushes, wattled together They can be carried from place to place Such are the customs of the afore mentioned tribes

191 Westward of the river Triton, and adjoining upon the Auseans, are other Libyans who till the ground, and live in houses these people are named the Maxyans They let the hair grow long on the right side of their heads, and shave it close on the left, they besmear their bodies with red paint, and they say that they are descended from the men of Troy Their country and the remainder of Libya towards the west is far fuller of wild beasts, and of wood, than the country of the wandering people For the eastern side of Libya, where the wanderers dwell, is low and sandy, as far as the river Triton, but westward of that the land of the husbandmen is very hilly, and abounds with forests and wild beasts For this is the tract in which the huge serpents are found, and the lions, the elephants, the bears, the asps, and the horned asses Here too are the dog faced creatures, and the creatures without heads, whom the

Libyans declare to have their eyes in their breasts and also the wild men and the wild women and many other far less fabulous beasts

192 Among the wanderers are none of the e but quite other animals as antelopes gazelles buffaloes and asses not of the horned sort but of a kind which does not need to drink also oryxes whose horns are used for the curved sides of lyres and whose size is about that of the ox foxes hyaenas porcupines wild rams dictyes jackals panthers boryes land crocodiles about four feet in length very like lizards ostriches and little snakes each with a single horn All these beasts are found here and likewise those belonging to other countries except the stag *and the wild boar but neither stag nor wild boar a e found in* any part of Libya There are however three sorts of mice in these parts the first are called two footed [4] the next zegeries which is a Libyan word meaning hills and the third prickly mice Weasels also are found in the silphium region much like the Tartessian So many therefore are the beasts belonging to the land of the wandering Libyans in so far at least as my re searches have been able to reach

193 Next to the Maxyan Libyans are the Zavecians whose wives drive their chariots to battle

194 On them border the Gyzantians in whose country a vast deal of honey is made by bees very much more however by the skill of men The people all paint themselves red and eat monkeys whereof there is inexhaustible store in the hills

195 Off their coast as the Carthaginians report lies an is land by name Cyrauis the length of which is twenty five miles its breadth not great and soon reached from the mainland Vines and olive trees cover the whole of it and there is in the island a lake from which the young maidens of the country draw up gold dust by dipping into the mud birds feathers smeared with pitch If this be true I know not I but write what is said It may be even so however since I myself have seen pitch drawn up out of water from a lake in Zacynthus At

[4] The j bo fore l g r v ry dim nut d like th ka g a d the squ l t u lly s t pright

the place I speak of there are a number of lakes, but one is larger than the rest, being seventy feet every way, and twelve feet in depth Here they let down a pole into the water, with a bunch of myrtle tied to one end, and when they raise it again, there is pitch sticking to the myrtle, which in smell is like to bitumen, but in all else is better than the pitch of Pieria This they pour into a trench dug by the lake's side, and when a good deal has thus been got together, they draw it off and put it up in jars Whatever falls into the lake passes underground, and comes up in the sea, which is no less than half a mile distant So then what is said of the island off the Libyan coast is not without likelihood

196 The Carthaginians also relate the following There is a country in Libya, and a nation, beyond the Pillars of Heracles, which they are wont to visit, where they no sooner arrive but forthwith they unlade their wares, and, having disposed them after an orderly fashion along the beach, leave them, and, returning aboard their ships, raise a great smoke The natives, when they see the smoke, come down to the shore, and, laying out to view so much gold as they think the worth of the wares, withdraw to a distance The Carthaginians upon this come ashore and look If they think the gold enough, they take it and go their way, but if it does not seem to them sufficient, they go aboard ship once more, and wait patiently Then the others approach and add to their gold, till the Carthaginians are content Neither party deals unfairly by the other for they themselves never touch the gold till it comes up to the worth of their goods, nor do the natives carry off the goods till the gold is taken away

197 These be the Libyan tribes whereof I am able to give the names, and most of these cared little then, and indeed care little now, for the king of the Medes One thing more also I can add concerning this region, namely, that, so far as our knowledge reaches, four nations, and no more, inhabit it, and two of these nations are indigenous, while two are not The two indigenous are the Libyans and Ethiopians, who dwell respectively in the north and the south of Libya The Phoenicians and the Greeks are later settlers

198 It seems to me that Libya is not to compare for good ness of soil with either Asia or Europe except the Cinyps region which is named after the river that waters it This land is equal to any country in the world for cereal crops and is in nothing like the rest of Libya For the soil here is black and springs of water abound so that there is nothing to fear from drought nor do heavy rains (and it rains in that part of Libya) do any harm when they soak the ground The returns of the harvest come up to the measure which prevails in Babylonia The soil is likewise good in the country of the Euesperites for there the land brings forth in the best years a hundred fold But the Cinyps region yields three hundred fold

199 The country of the Cyrenaeans which is the highest tract within the part of Libya inhabited by the wandering tribes has three seasons that deserve remark First the crops along the sea coast begin to ripen and are ready for the harvest and the vintage after they have been gathered in the crops of the middle tract above the coast region (the hill country as they call it) need harvesting while about the time when this middle crop is housed the fruits ripen and are fit for cutting in the highest tract of all So that the produce of the first tract has been all eaten and drunk by the time that the last harvest comes in And the harvest time of the Cyrenaeans continue thus for eight full months So much concerning these matters

200 When the Persians sent from Egypt by Aryandes to help Pheretima reached Barca they laid siege to the town calling on those within to give up the men who had been guilty of the murder of Arcesilaus The town people however as they had one and all taken part in the deed refused to entertain the proposition So the Persians beleaguered Barca for nine months in the course of which they dug several mines from their own lines to the walls and likewise made a number of vigorous assaults But their mines were discovered by a man who was a worker in brass who went with a brazen shield all round the fortress and laid it on the ground inside the city In other places the shield when he laid it down was quite dumb but where the ground was undermined there the brass of the shield rang Here there

fore, the Barcaeans countermined, and slew the Persian diggers Such was the way in which the mines were discovered, as for the assaults, the Barcaeans beat them back

201 When much time had thus been consumed, and great numbers had fallen on both sides, nor had the Persians lost fewer than their adversaries, Amasis, the leader of the land army, perceiving that, though the Barcaeans would never be conquered by force, they might be overcome by fraud, contrived as follows One night he dug a wide trench, and laid light planks of wood across the opening, after which he brought mould and placed it upon the planks, taking care to make the place level with the surrounding ground At dawn of day he summoned the Barcaeans to a parley and they gladly hearkening, the terms were at length agreed upon Oaths were interchanged upon the ground over the hidden trench, and the agreement ran thus—"So long as the ground beneath our feet stands firm, the oath shall abide unchanged, the people of Barca agree to pay a fair sum to the king, and the Persians promise to cause no further trouble to the people of Barca " After the oath, the Barcaeans, relying upon its terms, threw open all their gates, went out themselves beyond the walls, and allowed as many of the enemy as chose, to enter Then the Persians broke down their secret bridge, and rushed at speed into the town—their reason for breaking the bridge being, that so they might observe what they had sworn, for they had promised the Barcaeans that the oath should continue so long as the ground whereon they stood was firm When, therefore, the bridge was once broken down, the oath ceased to hold

20 Such of the Barcaeans as were most guilty the Persians gave up to Pheretima, who nailed them to crosses all round the walls of the city She also cut off the breasts of their wives, and fastened them likewise about the walls The remainder of the people she gave as booty to the Persians, except only the Battiadae, and those who had taken no part in the murder, to whom she handed over the possession of the town

203 The Persians now set out on their return home, carrying with them the rest of the Barcaeans, whom they had made their

slaves On their way they came to Cyrene and the Cyrenaeans out of regard for an oracle let them pass through the town During the passage Bares the commander of the fleet advised to seize the place but Amasis the leader of the land force would not consent because he said they had only been charged to attack the one Greek city of Barca [55] When however they had passed through the town and were encamped upon the hill of Lycaean Zeus it repented them that they had not seized Cyrene and they endeavoured to enter it a second time The Cyrenaeans however would not suffer this whereupon though no one appeared to offer them battle yet a panic came upon the Persians and they ran a distance of eight miles before they pitched their camp Here as they lay a messenger came to them from Aryandes ordering them home Then the Persians besought the men of Cyrene to give them provisions for the way and these consenting they set off on their return to Egypt But the Libyans now beset them and for the sake of their clothes and harness slew all who dropped behind and straggled during the whole march homeward

204 The furthest point of Libya reached by this Persian host was the city of Euesperides The Barcaeans carried into slavery were sent from Egypt to the King and Darius assigned them a village in Bactria for their dwelling place [56] To this village they gave the name of Barca and it was to my time an inhabited place in Bactria

205 Nor did Pheretima herself end her days happily For on her return to Egypt from Libya directly after taking vengeance on the people of Barca she was overtaken by a most horrid death Her body swarmed with worms which ate her flesh while she was still alive Thus do men by over harsh punishments draw down upon themselves the anger of the gods Such then and so fierce was the vengeance which Pheretima daughter of Battus took upon the Barcaeans

This wh l a c unt of th d ng d p f Cy di gly imp ob bl

[56] Th t a plant ti f t wa l g ly pr t d by th P sians, as it had b at an a li d t by th A yrians and B byl nia s

The Fifth Book, Entitled

TERPSICHORE

1 The Persians left behind by King Darius in Europe, who had Megabazus for their general reduced, before any other Hellespontine state, the people of Perinthus, who had no mind to become subjects of the king Now the Perinthians had already been roughly handled by another nation, the Paeonians For the Paeonians from about the Strymon were once bidden by an oracle to make war upon the Perinthians, and if these latter, when the camps faced one another, challenged them by name to fight, then to venture on a battle, but if otherwise, not to make the hazard The Paeonians followed the advice Now the men of Perinthus drew out to meet them in the skirts of their city, and a threefold single combat was fought on challenge given Man to man and horse to horse, and dog to dog, was the strife waged, and the Perinthians, winners of two combats out of the three, in their joy had raised the paean, when the Paeonians, struck by the thought that this was what the oracle had meant, passed the word one to another, saying, "Now surely has the oracle been fulfilled for us, now our work begins " Then the Paeonians set upon the Perinthians in the midst of their paean, and defeated them utterly, leaving but few of them alive

2 Such was the affair of the Paeonians, which happened a long time previously At this time the Perinthians, after a brave struggle for freedom, were overcome by numbers, and yielded to Megabazus and his Persians After Perinthus had been brought under, Megabazus led his host through Thrace, subduing to the dominion of the king all the towns and all the nations of those

parts For the king s command to him was, that he should conquer Thrace

3 The Thracians are the most powerful people in the world except of course the Indians and if they had one head or were agreed among themselves it is my belief that their match could not be found anywhere and that they would very far surpass all other nations But such union is impossible for them and there are no means of ever bringing it about Herein there*fore consists their weakness The Thracians bear many names in* the different regions of their country but all of them have like usages in every respect excepting only the Getae the Trausi and those who dwell above the people of Creston

4 Now the manners and customs of the Getae who believe in their immortality I have already spoken of The Trausi in all else resemble the other Thracians but have customs at births and deaths which I will now describe When a child is born all its kindred sit round about it in a circle and weep for the woes it will have to undergo now that it is come into the world making mention of every ill that falls to the lot of human kind when on the other hand a man has died they bury him with laughter and rejoicings and say that now he is free from a host of sufferings and enjoys the completest happiness

5 The Thracians who live above the Crestonaeans observe the following customs Each man among them has several wives and no sooner does a man die than a sharp contest ensues among the wives upon the question which of them all the husband loved most tenderly the friends of each eagerly plead on her behalf and she to whom the honour is adjudged after receiving the praises both of men and women is slain over the grave by the hand of her next of kin and then buried with her husband The others are sorely grieved for nothing is considered such a disgrace

6 The Thracians who do not belong to these tribes have the customs which follow They sell their children to traders On their maidens they keep no watch but allow them to have intercourse with anyone they please while on the conduct of their wives they keep a most strict watch Brides are purchased of

their parents for large sums of money Tattooing among them marks noble birth, and the want of it low birth To be idle is accounted the most honourable thing, and to be a tiller of the ground the most dishonourable To live by war and plunder is of all things the most glorious These are the most remarkable of their customs

7 The gods which they worship are but three, Ares, Dionysus, and Artemis Their kings, however unlike the rest of the citizens, worship Hermes more than any other god, always swearing by his name, and declaring that they are themselves sprung from him

8 Their wealthy ones are buried in the following fashion The body is laid out for three days and during this time they kill victims of all kinds, and feast upon them, after first bewailing the departed Then they either burn the body or else bury it in the ground Lastly, they raise a mound over the grave, and hold games of all sorts, wherein the single combat is awarded the highest prize Such is the mode of burial among the Thracians

9 As regards the region lying north of this country no one can say with any certainty what men inhabit it It appears that you no sooner cross the Ister than you enter on an interminable wilderness The only people of whom I can hear as dwelling beyond the Ister are the race named Sigynnae who wear, they say, a dress like the Medes, and have horses which are covered entirely with a coat of shaggy hair, five fingers in length They are a small breed, flat nosed, and not strong enough to bear men on their backs, but when yoked to chariots, they are among the swiftest known, which is the reason why the people of that country use chariots Their borders reach down almost to the Eneti upon the Adriatic Sea, and they call themselves colonists of the Medes but how they can be colonists of the Medes I for my part cannot imagine Still nothing is impossible in the long lapse of ages Sigynnae is the name which the Ligurians who dwell above Massilia[1] give to traders, while among the Cyprians the word means spears

[1] The modern Marseilles.

10 According to the account which the Thracians give the country beyond the Ister is possessed by bees on account of which it is impossible to penetrate farther But in this they seem to me to say what has no likelihood for it is certain that those creatures are very impatient of cold I rather believe that it is on account of the cold that the regions which lie under the Bear are without inhabitants Such then are the accounts given of this country the sea coast whereof Megabazus was now employed in subjecting to the Persians

11 King Darius had no sooner crossed the Hellespont and reached Sardis than he bethought himself of the good deed of Histiaeus the Milesian and the good counsel of the Mytilenean Coes He therefore sent for both of them to Sardis and bade them each crave a boon at his hands Now Histiaeus as he was already king of Miletus did not make request for any government besides but asked Darius to give him Myrcinus of the Edonians where he wished to build him a city Such was the choice that Histiaeus made Coes on the other hand as he was a mere burgher and not a king requested the sovereignty of Mytilene Both alike obtained their requests and straightway betook themselves to the places which they had chosen

12 It chanced in the meantime that King Darius saw a sight which determined him to bid Megabazus remove the Paeonians from their seats in Europe and transport them to Asia There were two Paeonians Pigres and Mantyes whose ambition it was to obtain the sovereignty over their countrymen As soon there fore as ever Darius crossed into Asia these men came to Sardis and brought with them their sister who was a tall and beautiful woman Having so done they waited till a day came when the king sat in state in the suburb of the Lydians and then dressing their sister in the richest gear they could sent her to draw water for them She bore a pitcher upon her head and with one arm led a horse while all the way as she went she span flax Now as she passed by where the king was Darius took notice of her for it was neither like the Persians nor the Lydians nor any of the dwellers in Asia to do as she did Darius accordingly noted her

and ordered some of his guard to follow her steps, and watch to see what she would do with the horse So the spearmen went, and the woman, when she came to the river, first watered the horse, and then filling the pitcher, came back the same way she had gone, with the pitcher of water upon her head, and the horse dragging upon her arm, while she still kept twirling the spindle

13 King Darius was full of wonder both at what they who had watched the woman told him, and at what he had himself seen So he commanded that she should be brought before him And the woman came, and with her appeared her brothers, who had been watching everything a little way off Then Darius asked them of what nation the woman was, and the young men replied that they were Paeonians, and she was their sister Darius rejoined by asking, "Who the Paeonians were, and in what part of the world they lived? And, further, what business had brought the young men to Sardis?" Then the brothers told him they had come to put themselves under his power, and Paeonia was a country upon the river Strymon, and the Strymon was at no great distance from the Hellespont The Paeonians, they said, were colonists of the Teucrians from Troy When they had thus answered his questions, Darius asked if all the women of their country worked so hard Then the brothers eagerly answered yes, for this was the very object with which the whole thing had been done

14 So Darius wrote letters to Megabazus, the commander whom he had left behind in Thrace, and ordered him to remove the Paeonians from their own land, and bring them into his presence, men, women, and children And immediately a horseman took the message, and rode at speed to the Hellespont, and, crossing it, gave the paper to Megabazus Then Megabazus, as soon as he had read it, and procured guides from Thrace, made war upon Paeonia

15 Now when the Paeonians heard that the Persians were marching against them, they gathered themselves together, and marched down to the sea coast, since they thought the Persians would endeavour to enter their country on that side Here then they stood in readiness to oppose the army of Megabazus But

the Persians who knew that they had collected and were gon to keep guard at the pass near the sea got guides and takirg the inland route before the Paeonians were aware poured down upon their cities from which the men had all marched out and find ng them empty easily got possession of them Then the men when they heard that all their towns were taken scattered this way and that to their homes and gave themselves up to the Persians And so these tribes of the Paeonians to wit the Siro paeonians the Paeoplians and all the others as far as L ke Prasias were torn from their seats and led away into Asia

16 They on the other hand who dwelt about Mount Pan gaeum and in the country of the Doberes the Agrianians and the Odomantians and they likewise who inhabited Lake Prasias were not conquered by Megabazus He sought indeed to subdue the dwellers upon the lake but could not effect his purpose Their manner of living is the following Platforms supported upon tall piles stand in the middle of the lake which are ap proached from the land by a single narrow bridge At the first the piles which bear up the platforms were fixed in their places by the whole body of the citizens but since that time the custom which has prevailed about fixing them is this they are brought from a hill called Orbelus and every man drives in three for each wife that he marries Now the men have all many wives apiece and this is the way in which they live Each has his own hut wherein he dwells upon one of the platforms and each has also a trap door giving access to the lake beneath and their wont is to tie their baby children by the foot with a string to save them from rolling into the water They feed their horses and their other beasts upon fish which abound in the lake to such a degree that a man has only to open his trap door and to let down a basket by a rope into the water and then to wait a very short time when up he draws it quite full of them The fish are of two kinds which they call the paprax and the tilon

17 The Paeonians therefore—at least such of them as had

Dis n in the lak f C t l E rop p t l ly th f Sw tz e l d b c firm d in th m t m kable w y this wh l des rip tio of He odotus

been conquered—were led away into Asia As for Megabazus he had no sooner brought the Paeonians under, than he sent into Macedonia an embassy of Persians, choosing for the purpose the seven men of most note in all the army after himself These persons were to go to Amyntas, and require him to give earth and water to King Darius Now there is a very short cut from the lake Prasias across to Macedonia Quite close to the lake is the mine which yielded afterwards a talent of silver a day to Alexander, and from this mine you have only to cross the mountain called Dysorum to find yourself in the Macedonian territory

18 So the Persians sent upon this errand, when they reached the court, and were brought into the presence of Amyntas, required him to give earth and water to King Darius And Amyntas not only gave them what they asked, but also invited them to come and feast with him after which he made ready the board with great magnificence, and entertained the Persians in right friendly fashion Now when the meal was over, and they were all set to the drinking, the Persians said, "Dear Macedonian, we Persians have a custom when we make a great feast to bring with us to the board our wives and concubines, and make them sit beside us Now then, as you have received us so kindly, and feast us so handsomely, and give moreover earth and water to King Darius, do also after our custom in this matter"

Then Amyntas answered, "Persians, we have no such custom as this, but with us men and women are kept apart Nevertheless, since you, who are our lords, wish it, this also shall be granted to you"

When Amyntas had thus spoken, he bade some go and fetch the women And the women came at his call and took their seats in a row over against the Persians Then, when the Persians saw that the women were fair and comely, they spoke again to Amyntas and said, that what had been done was not wise, for it had been better for the women not to have come at all, than to come in this way, and not sit by their sides, but remain over against them, the torment of their eyes So Amyntas was forced to bid the women sit side by side with the Persians The women

did as he ordered and then the Persians who had drunk more than they ought began to put their hands on their breasts and ne tried to kiss the woman next him

19 King Amyntas saw but he kept silence although sorely grieved for he greatly feared the power of the Persians Alexander however Amyntas son who was likewise there and witnessed the whole being a young man and unacquainted with suffering could not any longer restrain himself He therefore full of wrath spake thus to Amyntas Dear father you are old and should spare yourself Rise up from table and go take your rest do not stay out the drinking I will remain with the guests and give them all that is fitting

Amyntas who guessed that Alexander planned some wild deed answered Dear son your words sound to me as those of one who is on fire and I perceive you send me away that you may do some violent deed I beseech you make no commotion about these men lest you bring us all to ruin but bear to look calmly on what they do For myself I will withdraw as you bid me

o Amyntas when he had thus besought his on went out and Alexander said to the Persians Look on these ladies as your own dear strangers all or any of them—only tell us your wishe But now as the evening wears and I see you have all had wine enough let them if you please retire and when they have bathed they shall come back again To this the Persians agreed and Alexander having got the women away sent them off to their apartment and made ready in their stead an equal number of beardless youths whom he dres ed in the garments of the women and then arming them with da gers brou ht them in to the Persians saying as he introduced them Dear Persians your entertainment has fallen sho t in nothing We have set before you all that we had ourselves in store and all that we could anywhere find to give to you—and now to crown the whole we make over to you our sisters and our mothers that you may perceive yourselves to be entirely honoured by us ven as you deserve to be—and also that you may take back word to the king who sent you here that there was one man a

Greek, the satrap of Macedonia, by whom you were both feasted and bedded handsomely" So speaking, Alexander set by the side of each Persian one of those whom he had called Macedonian women, but who were in truth men And these men, when the Persians tried to lay hands on them, despatched them with their daggers

21 So the ambassadors perished by this death, both they and also their followers For the Persians had brought a great train with them, carriages, and attendants, and baggage of every kind—all of which disappeared at the same time as the men themselves Not very long afterwards the Persians made strict search for their lost embassy, but Alexander, with much wisdom, hushed up the business, bribing those sent on the errand, partly with money, and partly with the gift of his own sister Gygaea, whom he gave in marriarge to Bubares, a Persian, the chief leader of the expedition which came in search of the lost men Thus the death of these Persians was hushed up, and no more was said of it

22 Now that the men of this family are Greeks, sprung from Perdiccas, as they themselves affirm, is a thing which I can declare of my own knowledge, and which I will hereafter make plainly evident That they are so has been already adjudged by those who manage the Pan Hellenic contest at Olympia For when Alexander wished to contend in the games, and had come to Olympia with no other view, the Greeks who were about to run against him would have excluded him from the contest—saying that Greeks only were allowed to contend, and not barbarians But Alexander proved himself to be an Argive, and was distinctly adjudged a Greek after which he entered the lists for the footrace, and was drawn to run in the first pair Thus was this matter settled

23 Megabazus, having reached the Hellespont with the Paeonians, crossed it, and went up to Sardis He had become aware while in Europe that Histiaeus the Milesian was raising a wall at Myrcinus—the town upon the Strymon which he had obtained from King Darius as his reward for keeping the bridge No sooner therefore did he reach Sardis with the Paeonians than

he said to Darius What mad thing is this that you have done sire to let a Greek a wise man and a shrewd get hold of a town in Thrace a place too where there is abundance of timber fit for shipbuilding and oars in plenty and mines of silver and about which are many dwellers both Greek and barbarian ready enou h to take him for their chief and by day and night to do his bidding! Make this man cease his work if you would not be entangled in a war with your own followers Stop him but with a gentle message only bidding him to come to you Then when you once have him in your power be sure you take good care that he never get back to Greece again

24 With these words Megabazus easily persuaded Darius who thought he had shown true foresight in this matter Darius therefore sent a messenger to Myrcinus who said These be the king s words to you Histiaeus I have looked for a man devoted to me and my greatness and I have found none whom I can trust like you Your deeds and not your words only have proved your love for me Now then since I have a mighty enterprise in hand come to me that I may show you what I purpose

Histiaeus when he heard this put faith in the words of the messenger and as it seemed a grand thing to be the king s counsellor he went up to Sardis Then Darius when he was come said to him Dear Histiaeus hear why I have sent for you No sooner did I return from Scythia and lose you out of my sight than I longed as I have never lon ed for anything else to see you once more and to speak with you Right sure I am there is nothing in all the world so precious as a friend who is at once wise and true You are both as I have had good proof in what you have already done for me Now then it is well you are here for I have an offer to make to you Let go Miletus and your newly founded town in Thrace and come with me up to Susa share all that I have live with me and be my counsellor

25 When Darius had thus spoken he made Artaphernes his brother by the father s side governor of Sardis and taking Histiaeus with him went up to Susa He left as general of all the troops upon the sea-coast Otanes son of Sisamnes whose father

King Cambyses slew and flayed, because that he, being of the number of the royal judges, had taken money to give an unrighteous sentence Therefore Cambyses slew and flayed Sisamnes, and cutting his skin into strips, stretched them across the seat of the throne whereon he had sat when he heard cases Having so done Cambyses appointed the son of Sisamnes to be judge in his father's place, and bade him never forget in what way his seat was cushioned

26 Accordingly this Otanes who had occupied so strange a throne, became successor of Megabazus in his command, and took first of all Byzantium and Calchedon, then Antandrus in the Troas, and next Lamponium This done, he borrowed ships of the Lesbians, and took Lemnos and Imbros, which were still inhabited by Pelasgians

27 Now the Lemnians stood on their defence, and fought gallantly, but they were brought low in course of time Such as outlived the struggle were placed by the Persians under the government of Lycaretus, the brother of that Maeandrius who was tyrant of Samos (This Lycaretus died afterwards in his government) The cause which Otanes alleged for conquering and enslaving all these nations was, that some had refused to join the king's army against Scythia, while others had molested the host on its return Such were the exploits which Otanes performed in his command

28 Afterwards, but for no long time, there was a respite from suffering Then from Naxos and Miletus troubles gathered anew about Ionia Now Naxos at this time surpassed all the other islands in prosperity, and Miletus had reached the height of her power, and was the glory of Ionia But previously for two generations the Milesians had suffered grievously from civil disorders, which were composed by the Parians, whom the Milesians chose before all the rest of the Greeks to rearrange their government

29 Now the way in which the Parians healed their differences was the following A number of the chief Parians came to Miletus, and when they saw in how ruined a condition the Milesians were, they said that they would like first to go over their —

country So they went through all Milesia and on their way whenever they saw in the waste and desolate country any land that was well farmed they took down the names of the owners in their tablets and having thus gone through the whole region and obtained after all but few names they called the people together on their return to Miletus and made proclamation that they gave the government into the hands of those persons whose lands they had found well farmed for they thought it likely (they said) that the same persons who had managed their own affairs well would likewise conduct aright the business of the state The other Milesians who in time past had been at variance they placed under the rule of these men Thus was the Milesian government set in order by the Parians

30 It was however from the two cities above mentioned that troubles began now to gather again about Ionia and this is the way in which they arose Certain of the rich men had been banished from Naxos by the commonalty and upon their banishment had fled to Miletus Aristagoras son of Molpagoras the nephew and likewise the son in law of Histiaeus son of Lysagoras who was still kept by Darius at Susa happened to be regent of Miletus at the time of their coming For the kingly power belonged to Histiaeus but he was at Susa when the Naxians came Now these Naxians had in times past been bond friends of Histiaeus and so on their arrival at Miletus they addressed themselves to Aristagoras and begged him to lend them such aid as his ability allowed in hopes thereby to recover their country Then Aristagoras considering with himself that if the Naxians should be restored by his help he would be lord of Naxos put forward the friendship with Histiaeus to cloak his views and spoke as follows I cannot engage to furnish you with such a power as were needful to force you against their will upon the Naxians who hold the city for I know they can bring into the field 8 000 bucklers and have also a vast number of ships of war But I will do all that lies in my power to get you some aid and I think I can manage it in this way Artaphernes happens to be my friend Now he is a son of Hystaspes and brother to King Darius All the sea coast of Asia is

under him, and he has a large army and numerous ships I think I can prevail on him to do what we require "

When the Naxians heard this they empowered Aristagoras to manage the matter for them as well as he could and told him to promise gifts and pay for the soldiers which (they said) they would readily furnish, since they had great hope that the Naxians, so soon as they saw them returned, would render them obedience, and likewise the other islanders For at that time not one of the Cyclades was subject to King Darius

31 So Aristagoras went to Sardis and told Artaphernes that Naxos was an island of no great size, but a fair land and fertile, lying near Ionia, and containing much treasure and a vast number of slaves 'Make war then upon this land,' he said, 'and reinstate the exiles for if you do this, first of all I have very rich gifts in store for you (besides the cost of the armament, which it is fair that we who are the authors of the war should pay), and, secondly, you will bring under the power of the king not only Naxos but the other islands which depend on it, as Paros, Andros and all the rest of the Cyclades And when you have gained these, you may easily go on against Euboea which is a large and wealthy island not less in size than Cyprus,[1] and very easy to bring under One hundred ships were quite enough to subdue the whole The other answered, Truly you are the author of a plan which may profit the house of the king, and your counsel is good in all points except the number of the ships Instead of 100, 200 shall be at your disposal when the spring comes But the king himself must first approve the undertaking "

32 When Aristagoras heard this he rejoiced, and went home to Miletus And Artaphernes after he had sent a messenger to Susa to lay the plans of Aristagoras before the king, and received his approval of the undertaking, made ready a fleet of 200 triremes and a vast army of Persians and their confederates The command of these he gave to a Persian named Megabates who belonged to the house of the Achaemenids being nephew both to himself and to King Darius It was to a daughter of this

[1] Cyprus is really more than twice the size of Euboea

man that Pausanias the Lacedaemonian the son of Cleombrotus (if at least there be any truth in the tale) was affianced many years afterwards when he conceived the desire of becoming tyrant of Greece Artaphernes now having named Megabates to the command sent forward the armament to Aristagoras

33 Megabates set sail and touching at Miletus too on board Aristagoras with the Ionian troops and the Naxians after which he steered as he gave out for the Hellespont but when he reached Chios he brought the fleet to anchor off Caucasa being minded to wait there for a north wind and then sail straight to Naxos The Naxians however were not to perish at this time and so the following events were brought about As Megabates went his rounds to visit the watch on board the ships he found a Myndian vessel upon which there was none set Full of anger at such carelessness he bade his guards to seek out the captain one Scylax by name and thrusting him through one of the holes in the ship s side to fasten him there in such a way that his head might show outside the vessel whil his body remained within When Scylax was thus fastened one went and informed Aristagoras that Megabates had bound his Myndian friend and was treating him shamefully So he came and asked Megabates to let the man off but the Persian refused him whereupon Aristagoras went himself and set Scylax free When Megabates heard this he was still more angry than before and spoke hotly to Aristagoras Then the latter said to him What have you to do with these matters? Were you not sent here by Artapherne to obey me and to sail whither oever I ordered? Why do you meddle so?

Thus spoke Aristagoras The other in high dudgeon at such language waited till the night and then despatched a boat to Naxo to warn the Naxians of the coming danger

34 Now the Naxians up to this time had not had any suspicion that the armament was directed against them as soon therefore as the message reached them they brought within their walls all that they had in the open field and made themselves ready against a siege by provisioning their town both with food and drink Thus was Naxos placed in a posture of defence

and the Persians, when they crossed the sea from Chios found the Naxians fully prepared for them However they besieged the place for four whole months When at length all the stores which they had brought with them were exhausted, and Aristagoras had likewise spent upon the siege no small sum from his private means, and more was still needed to insure success, the Persians gave up the attempt, and first building certain forts, wherein they left the banished Naxians, withdrew to the mainland, having utterly failed in their undertaking

35 And now Aristagoras found himself quite unable to make good his promises to Artaphernes, he was even hard pressed to meet the claims whereto he was liable for the pay of the troops, and at the same time his fear was great, lest, owing to the failure of the expedition and his own quarrel with Megabates, he should be ousted from the government of Miletus These manifold alarms had already caused him to contemplate raising a rebellion, when the man with the marked head came from Susa, bringing him instructions on the part of Histiaeus to revolt from the king For Histiaeus, when he was anxious to give Aristagoras orders to revolt, could find but one safe way, as the roads were guarded, of making his wishes known, which was by taking the trustiest of his slaves, shaving all the hair from off his head, and then pricking letters upon the skin, and waiting till the hair grew again Thus accordingly he did and as soon as the hair was grown, he sent the man to Miletus, giving him no other message than this, "When you come to Miletus, bid Aristagoras shave your head, and look at it " Now the marks on the head, as I have already mentioned, were a command to revolt All this Histiaeus did, because it irked him greatly to be kept at Susa, and because he had strong hopes that, if troubles broke out, he would be sent down to the coast to quell them, whereas if Miletus made no movement he did not see a chance of his ever again returning thither

36 Such, then, were the views which led Histiaeus to despatch his messenger and it so chanced that all these several motives to revolt were brought to bear upon Aristagoras at one and the same time

than Callias Such are the testimonies which are adduced on either side it is open to every man to adopt whichever view he deems the best

46 Certain Spartans accompanied Dorieus on his voya e as co founders to wit Thessalus Paraebates Celeas and Euryleon These men and all the troops under their command reached Sicily but there they fell in a battle wherein they were defeated by the Egesteans and Phoenicians only one Euryleon surviving the disaster He then collecting the remnants of the beaten army made himself master of Minoa the Selinusian colony and helped the Selinusians to throw off the yoke of their tyrant Peithagoras Havin upset Peithagoras he sought to become tyrant in his room and he even reigned at Selinus for a brief space —but after a while the Selinusians rose up in revolt against him and though he fled to the altar of Zeus of the Market place they notwithstanding put him to death

47 Another man who accompanied Dorieus and died with him was Philip the son of Butacidas a man of Croton who after he had been betrothed to a daughter of Telys the Sybarite was banished from Croton whereupon his marriage came to nought and he in his disappointment took ship and sailed to Cyrene From thence he became a follower of Dorieus furnishing to the fleet a trireme of his own the crew of which he supported at his own charge This Phil p was an Olympian victor and the hand omest Greek of his day His beauty gained him honours at the hands of the Egestaeans which they never accorded to any one else for they raised a hero temple over his grave and they still worship him with sacrif ces

48 Such then was the end of Dorieus who if he had endured the rule of Cleomenes and remained in Sparta would have been king of Lacedaemon since Cleomenes after reigning no great length of time died without male offsprin leaving behind him a single daughter by name Gorgo

49 Cleomenes however was still king when Aristagoras tyrant of Miletus reached Sparta At their interview Aristagoras according to the report of the Lacedaemonians produced a bronze tablet whereupon the whole circuit of the earth was en

graved, with all its seas and rivers[5] Discourse began between the two, and Aristagoras addressed the Spartan king in these words following, "Think it not strange, King Cleomenes, that I have been at the pains to sail hither, for the state of affairs made it fitting Shame and grief is it indeed to none so much as to us, that the sons of the Ionians should have lost their freedom, and come to be the slaves of others, but yet it touches you likewise, Spartans, beyond the rest of the Greeks, inasmuch you are leaders of all Greece We beseech you therefore, by the common gods of the Grecians, deliver the Ionians, who are your own kinsmen, from slavery Truly the task is not difficult, for the barbarians are an unwarlike people, and you are the best and bravest warriors in the whole world Their mode of fighting is the following they use bows and arrows and a short spear, they wear trousers in the field, and cover their heads with turbans So easy are they to vanquish Know too that the dwellers in these parts have more good things than all the rest of the world put together—gold, and silver, and brass, and embroidered garments, beasts of burden, and slaves—all which, if you only wish it, you may soon have for your own The nations border on one another, in the order which I will now explain Next to these Ionians" (here he pointed with his finger to the map of the world which was engraved upon the tablet that he had brought with him) 'these Lydians dwell, their soil is fertile, and few people are so rich in silver Next to them,' he continued, "come these Phrygians, who have more flocks and herds than any race that I know and more plentiful harvests On them border the Cappadocians, whom we Greeks know by the name of Syrians they are neighbours to the Cilicians, who extend all the way to this sea, where Cyprus (the island which you see here) lies The Cilicians pay the king a yearly tribute of five hundred talent Next to them come the Armenians, who live here—they too have numerous flocks and herds After them come the Matieni, inhabiting this country, then Cissia, this province, where you see the river Choaspes marked, and likewise the town Susa upon

[5] Maps according to Strabo were invented about this time by Anaximander

its banks where the Great King holds his court and where the treasuries are in which his wealth is stored Once masters of this city you may vie with Zeus himself for riches In the wars which you wage with your rivals of Messenia with them of Argos likewise and of Arcadia about paltry boundaries and strips of land not so remarkably good you contend with those who have no gold nor silver even which often give men heart to fight and die Must you wage such wars and when you might so easily be lords of A ia will you decide otherwise? Thus spoke Aristagoras and Cleomenes replied to him Milesian stranger three days hence I will give you an answer

50 So they proceeded no further at that time When how ever the day appointed for the answer came and the two once more met Cleomenes asked Aristagoras how many days jour ney it was from the sea of the Ionians to the king s residence Hereupon Aristagoras who had managed the rest so cleverly and succeeded in deceiving the king tripped in his peech and blundered for instead of concealing the truth as he ought to have done if he wanted to induce the Spartans to cross into Asia n said plainly that it was a journey of three months Cleomenes cau ht at the words and preventing Aristagoras from nnishin what he had begun to say concerning the road addressed him thus Milesian stranger quit Sparta before sunset This is no good proposal that you make to the Lacedaemonians to con duct them a distance of three months journey from the sea When he had thus spoken Cleomenes went to his home

51 But Arista oras took an olive bough in his hand and has tened to the king s house where he was admitted by reason of his suppliant s garb Gorgo the daughter of Cleomenes and his only child a girl of about eight or nine years of age happened to be there standing by her father s side Aristagoras seeing her requested Cleomenes to send her out of the room before he began to speak with him but Cleomenes told him to say on and not mind the child So Aristagoras began with a promise of ten talents if the king would grant him his request and when Cleom

Thi s th ly di t t ef H r dot t the tw ea ly Me n war

enes shook his head, continued to raise his offer till it reached fifty talents, whereupon the child spoke 'Father," she said, "get up and go, or the stranger will certainly corrupt you " Then Cleomenes, pleased at the warning of his child, withdrew, and went into another room Aristagoras quitted Sparta for good, not being able to discourse any more concerning the road which led up to the l ing

52 Now the true account of the road in question is the fol lowing Royal stations[7] exist along its whole length, and excel lent caravanserais and throughout, it traverses an inhabited tract, and is free from danger In Lydia and Phrygia there are twenty stations within a distance of ninety four and one half parasangs On leaving Phrygia the Halys has to be crossed, and here are gates through which you must pass before you can tra verse the stream A strong force guards this post When you have made the passage, and are come into Cappadocia, twenty eight stations and 104 parasangs bring you to the borders of Cilicia, where the road passes through two sets of gates at each of which there is a guard posted Leaving these behind, you go on through Cilicia, where you find three stations in a distance of fifteen and one half parasangs The boundary between Cilicia and Armenia is the river Euphrates, which it is necessary to cross in boats In Armenia the resting places are fifteen in number, and the distance fifty six and one half parasangs There is one place where a guard is posted Four large streams intersect this district, all of which have to be crossed by means of boats The first of these is the Tigris, the second and the third have both of them the same name, though they are not only different rivers, but do not even run from the same place[8] For the one which I have called the first of the two has its source in Ar menia, while the other flows afterwards out of the country of the Matienians The fourth of the streams is called the Gyndes and this is the river which Cyrus dispersed by digging for it

[7] These are the abodes of the king s couriers who conveyed despatches from their own station to the next and then returned

[8] What Herodotus here states is exactly true of the two Zabs.

360 channels Leaving Armenia and entering the Matienian country you have four stations these passed you find yourself in Cissia where eleven stations and forty two and one half parasangs bring you to another navigable stream the Choaspes on the banks of which the city of Susa is built Thus the entire number of the stations is brought to 111 and so many are in fact the resting places that one finds between Sardis and Susa

53 If then the royal road be measured aright and the parasang equals as it does thirty furlongs [9] the whole distance from Sardis to the palace of Memnon (as it is called) amounting to 450 parasangs would be 1 615 miles [10] Travelling then at the rate of eighteen miles a day one will take exactly ninety days to perform the journey

54 Thus when Aristagoras the Milesian told Cleomenes the Lacedaemonian that it was a three months journey from the sea up to the king he said no more than the truth The exact distance (if any one desires still greater accuracy) is somewhat more for the journey from Ephesus to Sardis must be added to the foregoin account and this will make the whole distance tween the Greek Sea and Susa (or the city of Memnon as it is called) 1 682 miles since Ephesus is distant from Sardis sixty even miles This would add three days to the three months urney

55 When Aristagoras left Sparta he hastened to Athens which had been freed of its tyrants in the way that I will now describe After the death of Hipparchus (the son of Pisistratus and brother of the tyrant Hippias) who in spite of the clear warning he had received concerning his fate in a dream was lain by Harmodius and Aristogeiton (men both of the race of the Gephyraeans) the oppres ion of the Athenians continued

This was th dinary estimat of th G eks Th truth is th t th ancie t parasang like the mod rn fa sakh was riginally a measur f t m (an hour) n t a m as r of dista ce

[10] As usual there is a discrepa cy th numbe s The t tions ccord ng t the p evious mall s ms, ar ighty-on inst ad f 1 and the pa asangs 3 8 instead f 45

for the space of four years,[11] and they gained nothing, but were worse used than before

56 Now the dream of Hipparchus was the following The night before the Panathenaic festival, he thought he saw in his sleep a tall and beautiful man, who stood over him, and read him the following riddle

Bear thou unbearable woes with the all bearing heart of a lion
Never, be sure, shall wrong doer escape the reward of wrong doing

As soon as day dawned he sent and submitted his dream to the interpreters, after which he offered the averting sacrifices, and then went and led the procession in which he perished

57 The family of the Gephyraeans, to which the murderers of Hipparchus belonged, *according to their own account*, came originally from Eretria My inquiries, however, have made it clear to me that they are in reality Phoenicians, descendants of those who came with Cadmus into the country now called Boeotia Here they received for their portion the district of Tanagra, in which they afterwards dwelt On their expulsion from this country by the Boeotians (which happened some time after that of the Cadmaeans from the same parts by the Argives) they took refuge at Athens The Athenians received them among their citizens upon set terms, whereby they were excluded from a number of privileges which are not worth mentioning

58 Now the Phoenicians who came with Cadmus, and to whom the Gephyraei belonged, introduced into Greece upon their arrival a great variety of arts, among the rest that of writing, whereof the Greeks till then had, as I think, been ignorant And originally they shaped their letters exactly like all the other Phoenicians, but afterwards, in course of time, they changed by degrees their language, and together with it the form likewise of

[11] From 514 B C to 510 B C Herodotus wishes to correct the popular Athenian view that the murder of Hipparchus ended the tyranny

their characters Now the Greeks who dwelt about those parts at that time were chiefly the Ionians The Phoenician letters were accordingly adopted by them but with some variation in the shape of a few and so they arrived at the present use still calling the letters Phoenician as justice required after the name of those who were the first to introduce them into Greece Paper rolls also were called from of old parchments by the Ionians because formerly when paper was scarce they u ed in tead the skins of sheep and goats—on which material many of the bar barians a e even now wont to write

59 I myself saw Cadmaean characters[1] engraved upon some tripods in the temple of Apollo Ismenias in Boeotian Thebes most of them shaped like the Ionian One of the tripods has the inscription following

Me did Amphitryon place from the far Teleboans coming

This would be about the age of Laius the son of Labdacus the son of Polydorus the son of Cadmus

60 Another of the tripods has this legend in the hexameter measure

I to far shooting Phoebus was offered by Scaeus the boxer
When he had won at the games a wondrous beautiful offering

This might be Scaeus the son of Hippocoon and the tripod if dedicated by him and not by another of the same name would belong to the time of Oedipus the son of Laius

61 The third tripod has also an inscription in hexameters which runs thus

King Laodamas gave this tripod to far seeing Apollo
When he was set on the throne a wondrous beautiful offering

It was in the reign of this Laodamas the son of Eteocles that

[1] Th old Gr ek l tters like the Pho nicia we writt n from right to left and w e ne er in shape to th se f th pa nt alph b t

the Cadmaeans were driven by the Argives out of their country, and found a shelter with the Encheleans The Gephyraeans at that time remained in the country, but afterwards they retired before the Boeotians, and took refuge at Athens, where they have a number of temples for their separate use, which the other Athenians are not allowed to enter—among the rest, one of Achaean Demeter, in whose honour they likewise celebrate special orgies

62 Having thus related the dream which Hipparchus saw, and traced the descent of the Gephyraeans, the family whereto his murderers belonged, I must proceed with the matter whereof I was intending before to speak, to wit, the way in which the Athenians got quit of their tyrants Upon the death of Hipparchus, Hippias, who was king, grew harsh towards the Athenians, and the Alcmaeonidae, an Athenian family which had been banished by the Pisistratidae, joined the other exiles, and endeavoured to procure their own return, and to free Athens, by force They seized and fortified Leipsydrium above Paeonia, and tried to gain their object by arms, but great disasters befell them, and their purpose remained unaccomplished They therefore resolved to shrink from no contrivance that might bring them success, and accordingly they contracted with the Amphictyons to build the temple which now stands at Delphi, but which in those days did not exist Having done this, they proceeded, being men of great wealth and members of an ancient and distinguished family, to build the temple much more magnificently than the plan obliged them Besides other improvements, *instead of the coarse stone whereof by the contract the* temple was to have been constructed, they made the facings of Parian marble

63 These same men, if we may believe the Athenians, during their stay at Delphi persuaded the priestess by a bribe to tell the Spartans, whenever any of them came to consult the oracle either on their own private affairs or on the business of the state, that they must free Athens So the Lacedaemonians, when they found no answer ever returned to them but this, sent at last Anchimolius the son of Aster—a man of note among their cit

izens—at the head of an army against Athens with orders to drive out the Pisistratidae albeit they were bound to them by the closest ties of friendship For they esteemed the things of heaven more highly than the things of men The troops went by sea and were conveyed in transports Anchimolius brought them to an anchorage at Phalerum and there the men disembarked But the Pisistratidae who had previous knowledge of their intentions had sent to Thessaly between which country and Athens there was an alliance with a request for aid The Thessalians in reply to their entreaties sent them by a public vote 1 000 horsemen under the command of their king Cineas who was a Conmaean When this help came the Pisistratidae laid their plan accordingly they cleared the whole plain about Phalerum so as to make it fit for the movements of cavalry and then charged the enemy s camp with their horse which fell with such fury upon the Lacedaemonians as to kill numbers amon the rest Anchimolius the general and to drive the remainder to their ships Such was the fate of the first army sent from Lacedaemon and the tomb of Anchimolius may be seen to this day in Attica it is at Alopecae near the temple of Heracles in Cynosargos

64 Afterwards the Lacedaemonians despatched a larger force against Athens which they put under the command of Cleomenes son of Anaxandridas one of their kings These troop were not sent by sea but marched by the mainland When they were come into Attica their first encounter was with the Thessalian horse which they shortly put to flight killing above forty men the remainder made good their escape and fled straight to Thessaly Cleomenes proceeded to the city and with the aid of such of the Athenians as wished for freedom besieged the tyrants who had shut themselves up in the Pelasgic fortress

65 And now there had been small chance of the Pisistratidae falling into the hands of the Spartans who did not even design to besiege the place which had moreover been well provisioned beforehand with stores both of meat and drink —nay it is likely that after a few days blockade the Lacedaemonians would have

quitted Attica altogether, and gone back to Sparta—had not an event occurred most unlucky for the besieged, and most advantageous for the besiegers The children of the Pisistratidae were made prisoners, as they were being removed out of the country By this calamity all their plans were deranged, and as the ransom of their children they consented to the demands of the Athenians, and agreed within five days' time to quit Attica Accordingly they soon afterwards left the country, and withdrew to Sigeum on the Scamander, after reigning thirty six years over the Athenians By descent they were Pylians, of the family of the Neleids, to which Codrus and Melanthus likewise belonged, men who in former times from foreign settlers became kings of Athens And hence it was that Hippocrates came to think of calling his son Pisistratus he named him after the Pisistratus who was a son of Nestor Such then was the mode in which the Athenians got rid of their tyrants What they did and suffered worthy of note from the time when they gained their freedom until the revolt of Ionia from King Darius, and the coming of Aristagoras to Athens with a request that the Athenians would lend the Ionians aid, I shall now proceed to relate

66 The power of Athens had been great before, but now that the tyrants were gone it became greater than ever The chief authority was lodged with two persons, Cleisthenes, of the family of the Alcmaeonids, who is said to have been the persuader of the Pythian priestess, and Isagoras, the son of Tisander, who belonged to a noble house, but whose pedigree I am not able to trace further Howbeit his kinsmen offer sacrifice to the Carian Zeus These two men strove together for the mastery, and Cleisthenes, finding himself the weaker, called to his aid the common people Hereupon, instead of the four tribes among which the Athenians had been divided hitherto, Cleisthenes made ten tribes, and parcelled out the Athenians among them He likewise changed the names of the tribes, for whereas they had till now been called after *Geleon, Aegicores, Argades* and *Hoples* the four sons of Ion Cleisthenes set these names aside, and called his tribes after certain other heroes,[13] all of whom were

The names of the Attic tribes were Erechtheis Aegeis Pandionis,

native except Ajax Ajax was associated because although a foreigner he was a neighbour and an ally of Athens

67 My belief is that in acting thus he did but imitate his maternal grandfather Cleisthenes king of Sicyon This king when he was at war with Argos put an end to the contest of the rhapsodists at Sicyon because in the Homeric poems Argos and the Argives were so constantly the theme of song He likewise conceived the wish to drive Adrastus the son of Talaus out of his country seeing that he was an Argive hero For Adrastus had a shrine at Sicyon which yet stands in the market place of the town Cleisthenes therefore went to Delphi and asked the oracle if he might expel Adrastus To this the priestess is reported to have answered Adrastus is the Sicyonians king but you are only a robber So when the god would not grant his request he went home and began to think how he might contrive to make Adrastus withdraw of his own accord After a while he hit upon a plan which he thought would succeed He ent envoys to Thebes in Boeotia and informed the Thebans that he wished to bring Melanippus the son of Astacus to Sicyon The Thebans consentin Cleisthenes carried Melanippus bacl with him assigned him a precinct within the town hall and built him a shrine there in the safest and stron est part The reason for hi so doin (which I must not forbear to mention) was because Melanippus was Adrastus great enemy having slain both his brother Mecistes and his son in law Tydeus Cleisthenes after assigning the precin t to Melanippus took away from Adrastus the sacrifices and festivals wherewith he had till then been honoured and transferred them to his adversary Hitherto the Sicyonians had paid extraordinary honours to Adrastus because the country had belonged to Polybus and Adrastus was Polybus daughter s son whence it came to pass that Polybus dying childless left Adrastus his kingdom Besides other ceremonies it had been their custom to honour Adrastus with tragic choruses which they assigned to him rather than Dionysus on account of his calamities Cleisthenes now gave the choru es to

Leo tis A m tis Oe is C c pis Hippoth tis A tis a d A tio ch s

Dionysus, transferring to Melampus the rest of the sacred rites

68 Such were his doings in the matter of Adrastus With respect to the Dorian tribes, not choosing the Sicyonians to have the same tribes as the Argives, he changed all the old names for new ones, and here he took special occasion to mock the Sicyonians, for he drew his new names from the words pig, and ass, adding thereto the usual tribe endings, only in the case of his own tribe he did nothing of the sort, but gave them a name drawn from his own kingly office For he called his own tribe the Archelai, or Rulers, while the others he named Hyatae, or Pig folk, Oneatae, or Ass folk, and Choereatae, or Swine folk The Sicyonians kept these names, not only during the reign of Cleisthenes, but even after his death, for sixty years then, however, they took counsel together, and changed to the well known names of Hyllaeans, Pamphylians, and Dymanatae, taking at the same time, as a fourth name, the title of Aegialeans, from Aegialeus the son of Adrastus

69 Thus had Cleisthenes the Sicyonian done The Athenian Cleisthenes, who was grandson by the mother s side of the other, and had been named after him, resolved, from contempt (as I believe) of the Ionians,[14] that his tribes should not be the same as theirs, and so followed the pattern set him by his namesake of Sicyon Having brought entirely over to his own side the common people of Athens, who had before lacked rights, he gave all the tribes new names, and made the number greater than formerly instead of the four tribal presidents he established ten, he likewise placed ten demes in each of the tribes and he was, now that the common people took his part, very much more powerful than his adversaries

70 Isagoras in his turn lost ground, and therefore, to counterplot his enemy, he called in Cleomenes the Lacedaemonian,

[14] There can be no doubt that Cleisthenes was actuated by a higher motive He abolished the old tribes not because they were Ionic, but because they were exclusive his intention was to break down an old oligarchical distinction and to admit the more readily to the franchise fresh classes of the free inhabitants

who had already at the time when he was besie ing the Pisis tratidae made a contract of friendship with him A charge is even brought against Cleomenes that he was a lover of Isagoras wife At this time the first thing that he did was to send a herald and require that Cleisthenes and a large number of Athenians besides whom he called the Accursed should leave Athens This message he sent at the suggestion of Isagoras for in the affair referred to the bloodguiltiness lay on the Alcmaeonidae and their partisans while he and his friends were quite clear of it

71 The way in which the Accursed at Athens got their name was the following There was a certain Athenian called Cylon a victor at the Olympic games who aspired to the sovereignty and aided by a number of his companions who were of the same age with himself made an attempt to seize the citadel But the attack failed and Cylon became a suppliant at the image Hereupon the presidents of the naval boards who at that time bore rule in Athens induced the fugitives to leave by a promise to spare their lives Nevertheless they were all slain and the blame was laid on the Alcmaeonidae All this happened before the time of Pisistratus

72 When the mes age of Cleomenes arrived requiring Cleis thenes and the Ac ursed to quit the city Cleisthenes departed of his own accord Cleomenes however n twithstanding came to Athens with a small band of followers and on his arrival sent into banishment 700 Athenian families which were pointed out to him by Isagoras Succeeding here he next endeavoured to dissolve the council and to put the government into the hands of 300 of the partisans of that leader But the council resisted and refused to obey his orders whereupon Cleomenes Isagoras and their followers took possession of the citadel Here they were attacked by the rest of the Athenians who took the side of the council and were besieged for the space of two days on the third day they accepted terms being allowed—at least such of them as were Lacedaemonians—to quit the country And so the word which came to Cleomenes received its fulfilment For when

[25] Th new cou cil of 500 fifty f m e h l c l t b wh ch Cl th n t d tly subst tut d f S l n co l f 400

he first went up into the citadel, meaning to seize it, just as he was entering the sanctuary of the goddess, in order to question her, the priestess arose from her throne, before he had passed the doors, and said, "Stranger from Lacedaemon, depart hence, and presume not to enter the holy place—it is not lawful for a Dorian to set foot there" But he answered, "Woman, I am not a Dorian, but an Achaean" Slighting this warning, Cleomenes made his attempt, and so he was forced to retire, together with his Lacedaemonians The rest were cast into prison by the Athenians, and condemned to die, among them Timasitheus the Delphian, of whose prowess and courage I have great things which I could tell

73 So these men died in prison The Athenians directly afterwards recalled Cleisthenes, and the 700 families which Cleomenes had driven out, and, further, sent envoys to Sardis, to make an alliance with the Persians, for they knew that war would follow with Cleomenes and the Lacedaemonians When the ambassadors reached Sardis and delivered their message, Artaphernes, son of Hystaspes, who was at that time governor of the place, inquired of them who they were, and in what part of the world they dwelt, that they wanted to become allies of the Persians The messengers told him, upon which he answered them shortly—that if the Athenians chose to give earth and water to King Darius, he would conclude an alliance with them, but if not, they might go home again After consulting together, the envoys, anxious to form the alliance, accepted the terms but on their return to Athens, they fell into deep disgrace on account of their compliance [1]

74 Meanwhile Cleomenes, who considered himself to have been insulted by the Athenians both in word and deed, was drawing a force together from all parts of the Peloponnese, without informing any one of his object, which was to revenge himself on the Athenians, and to establish Isagoras, who had escaped with him from the citadel, as despot of Athens Accordingly, with a large army, he invaded the district of Eleusis, while

[1] Herodotus seems to have concealed Cleisthenes part in these negotiations

the Boeotians who had concerted measures with him took Oenoe and Hysiae two country towns upon the frontier and at the same time the Chalcideans on another side plundered various places in Attica The Athenians notwithstanding that danger threatened them from every quarter put off all thought of the Boeotians and Chalcideans till a future time and marched against the Peloponnesians who were at Eleusis

75 As the two hosts were about to enga e first of all th Corinthians thinking that they were perpetrating a wrong changed their minds and drew off from the main army Then Demaratus son of Ariston who was himself king of Sparta and joint leader of the expedition and who till now had had no sort of quarrel with Cleomenes followed their example On account of this rupture between the kings a law was passed at Sparta forbidding both monarchs to go out together with the army as had been the custom hitherto The law also provided that as one of the kings was to be left behind one of the Tyndaridae should also remain at home whereas hitherto both had accompanied the expeditions as auxiliaries So when the rest of the allies saw that the Lacedaemonian kings were not of one mind and that the Corinthian troops had quitted their post they likewise drew off and departed

76 This was the fourth time that the Dorians had invaded Attica twice they came as enemies and twice they came to do good service to the Athenian people Their first invasion took place at the period when they founded Megara and is rightly placed in the reign of Codrus at Athens the second and third occasions were when they came from Sparta to drive out the Pisistratidae the fourth was the present attack when Cleomenes at the head of a Peloponnesian army entered at Eleusis Thus the Dorians had now four times invaded Attica

77 So when the Spartan army had broken up from its quarters thus ingloriously the Athenians wishing to revenge themselves marched first against the Chalcideans The Boeotians however advancing to the aid of the latter as far as the Euripus the Athenians thought it best to attack them first A battle was fought accordingly and the Athenians gained a very complete

victory, killing a vast number of the enemy, and taking 700 of them alive After this, on the very same day, they crossed into Euboea, and engaged the Chalcideans with the like success, whereupon they left 4,000 settlers[17] upon the lands of the Hippobotae, which is the name the Chalcideans give to their rich men All the Chalcidean prisoners whom they took were put in irons, and kept for a long time in close confinement, as likewise were the Boeotians, until the ransom asked for them was paid, and this the Athenians fixed at two minae the man The chains *wherewith they were fettered the Athenians suspended in the* citadel, where they were still to be seen in my day, hanging against the wall scorched by the Median flames, opposite the cell which faces the west The Athenians made an offering of the tenth part of the ransom money and expended it on the brazen chariot drawn by four steeds, which stands on the left hand immediately that one enters the gateway of the citadel The inscription runs as follows

> When Chalcis and Boeotia dared her might,
> Athens subdued their pride in valorous fight
> Gave bonds for insults and, the ransom paid,
> From the full tenths these steeds for Pallas made

78 Thus did the Athenians increase in strength And it is plain enough, not from this instance only, but from many everywhere, that freedom is an excellent thing, since even the Athenians, who, while they continued under the rule of tyrants, were not a whit more valiant than any of their neighbours, no sooner shook off the yoke than they became decidedly the first of all These things show that, while undergoing oppression, they let themselves be beaten, since then they worked for a master, but

[17] These allotment holders are to be carefully distinguished from the ordinary colonists who went out to find themselves a home wherever they might be able to settle, and who retained but a very slight connection with the mother-country The cleruchs were a military garrison planted in a conquered territory the best portions of which were given to them They continued Athenian subjects and retained their full rights as Athenian citizens

so soon as they got their freedom each man was eager to do the best he could for himself So fared it now with the Athenians

79 Meanwhile the Thebans who longed to be revenged on the Athenians had sent to the oracle and been told by the Pythian priestess that of their own strength they would be unable to accomplish their wish They must lay the matter she said before the many voiced and ask the aid of those nearest them The messengers therefore on their return called a meeting and laid the answer of the oracle before the people who no sooner heard the advice to ask the aid of those nearest them than they exclaimed What! are not they who dwell the nearest to us the men of Tanagra of Coronaea and Thespiae? Yet these men always fight on our side and have aided us with a good heart all through the war Of what use is it to ask them? But maybe this is not the true meaning of the oracle

80 As they were thus discoursing one with another a certain man informed of the debate cried out I think I understand what course the oracle would recommend to us Asopus they say had two daughters Thebe and Aegina The god means that as these two were sisters we ought to ask the Aeginetans to lend us aid As no one was able to hit on any better explanation the Thebans forthwith sent messengers to Aegina and according to the advice of the oracle asked their aid as the people nearest to them In answer to this petition the Aeginetans said that they would give them the Aeacidae[18] for helpers

81 The Thebans now relying on the assistance of the Aeacidae ventured to renew the war but they met with so rough a reception that they resolved to send to the Aeginetans again returning the Aeacidae and beseeching them to send some m n instead The Aeginetans who were at that time a mo t flourishing people elated with their greatness and at the same time calling to mind their ancient feud with Athens agreed to lend the Thebans aid and forthwith went to war with the Athen ans without even giving them notice by a herald The attention of these latter being engaged by the struggle with the Boeotians

[18] Pr b bly the images f th so of Aeacu

the Aeginetans in their ships of war made descents upon Attica, plundered Phalerum, and ravaged a vast number of the town ships upon the sea board, whereby the Athenians suffered very grievous damage

82 The ancient feud between the Aeginetans and Athenians arose out of the following circumstances Once upon a time the land of Epidaurus would bear no crops, and the Epidaurians sent to consult the oracle of Delphi concerning their affliction The answer bade them set up the images of Damia and Auxesia, and promised them better fortune when that should be done "Shall the images be made of bronze or stone?" the Epidaurians asked, but the priestess replied, "Of neither but let them be made of the garden olive" Then the Epidaurians sent to Athens and asked leave to cut olive wood in Attica, believing the Athenian olives to be the holiest or, according to others, because there were no olives at that time anywhere else in all the world but at Athens The Athenians answered that they would give them leave, but on condition of their bringing offerings year by year to Athena Polias and to Erechtheus The Epidaurian agreed, and having obtained what they wanted, made the images of olive wood, and set them up in their own country Henceforth their land bore its crops, and they duly paid the Athenians what had been agreed upon

83 Anciently, and even down to the time when this took place, the Aeginetans were in all things subject to the Epidaurians, and had to cross over to Epidaurus for the trial of all suits in which they were engaged one with another After this however, the Aeginetans built themselves ships, and growing proud, revolted from the Epidaurians Having thus come to be at enmity with them, the Aeginetans, who were masters of the sea, ravaged Epidaurus, and even carried off these very images of Damia and Auxesia, which they set up in their own country, in the interior, at a place called Oea, about three miles from their city This done, they fixed a worship for the images, which consisted in part of sacrifices, in part of female satiric choruses while at the same time they appointed certain men to furnish the choruses, ten for each goddess These choruses did not abuse

men but only the women of the country Holy rites of a similar kind were in use also among the Epidaurians and likewise an other sor of holy rites whereof it is not lawful to speak

84 After the robbery of the images the Epidaurians ceased to make the stipulated payments to the Athenians wherefore the Athenians sent to Epidaurus to remonstrate But the Epidaurians proved to them that they were not guilty of any wrong While the images continued in their country they said they had duly paid the offerin s according to the agreement now that the images had been taken from them they were no longer under any obligation to pay the Athenians should make their demand of the Aeginetans in whose possession the figures now were Upon this the Athenians sent to Aegina and demanded the images back but the Aeginetans answered that the Athenians had nothing whatever to do with them

85 After this the Athenians relate that they sent a trireme to Aegina with certain citizens on board and that these men who bore commission from the state landed in Aegina and sought to take the images away considering them to be their own inasmuch as they were made of their wood And first they endeavoured to wrench them from their pedestals and so carry them off but failing herein they in the next place tied ropes to them and set to work to try if they could haul them down In the midst of their hauling suddenly there was a thunderclap and with the thunderclap an earthquake and the crew of the trireme were forthwith seized with madness and like enemies began to kill one another until at last there was but one left who returned alone to Phalerum

86 Such is the account given by the Athenians The Aeginetans deny that there was only a single vessel Had there been only one they say or no more than a few they would easily have repulsed the attack even if they had had no fleet at all but the Athenians came against them with a large number of ships wherefore they gave way and did not hazard a battle They do not however explain clearly whether it was from a conviction of their own inferiority at sea that they yielded or whether it was for the purpose of doing that which in fact they

did Their account is that the Athenians, disembarking from their ships when they found that no resistance was offered, made for the statues, and failing to wrench them from their pedestals, tied ropes to them and began to haul Then, they say—and some people will perhaps believe them, though I for my part do not—the two statues, as they were being dragged and hauled, fell down both upon their knees, in which attitude they still remain Such, according to them, was the conduct of the Athenians, they meanwhile, having learnt beforehand what was intended, had prevailed on the Argives to hold themselves in readiness, and the Athenians accordingly were but just landed on their coasts when the Argives came to their aid Secretly and silently they crossed over from Epidaurus, and before the Athenians were aware, cut off their retreat to their ships, and fell upon them, and the thunder came exactly at that moment, and the earthquake with it

87 The Argives and the Aeginetans both agree in giving this account, and the Athenians themselves acknowledge that but one of their men returned alive to Attica According to the Argives, he escaped from the battle in which the rest of the Athenian troops were destroyed by them According to the Athenians, it was the god who destroyed their troops, and even this one man did not escape, for he perished in the following manner When he came back to Athens, bringing word of the calamity, the wives of those who had been sent out on the expedition took it sorely to heart, that he alone should have survived the slaughter of all the rest, they therefore crowded round the man, and struck him with the brooches by which their dresses were fastened—each, as she struck asking him, where he had left her husband And the man died in this way The Athenians thought the deed of the women more horrible even than the fate of the troops, as however they did not know how else to punish them, they changed their dress and compelled them to wear the costume of the Ionians Till this time the Athenian women had worn a Dorian dress, shaped nearly like that which prevails at Corinth Henceforth they were made to wear the linen tunic, which does not require brooches

88 In very truth however this dress is not originally Ionian but Carian for anciently the Greek women all wore the costume which is now called the Dorian It is said further that the Argives and Aeginetans made it a custom on this same account for their women to wear brooches half as large again as formerly and to offer brooches rather than anything else in the temple of these goddesses They also forbade the bringing of anything Attic into the temple were it even a jar of earthenware and made a law that none but native drinking vessels should be used there in time to come [19] From this early age to my own day the Argive and Aeginetan women have always continued to wear their brooches larger than formerly throu h hatred of the Athenians

89 Such then was the origin of the feud which existed between the Aeginetans and the Athenians Hence when the Thebans made their application for succour the Aeginetans calling to mind the matter of images gladly lent their aid to the Boeotians They ravaged all the ea coast of Attica and the Athenians were about to attacl them in return when they were stopped by the oracle of Delphi which bade them wait till thirty years had passed from the time that the Aeginetans did the wrong and in the thirty first year having first set apart a precinct for Aeacus then to begin the war So should they succeed to their wish the oracle said but if they went to war at once though they would still conquer the island in the end yet they must go through much suffering and much exertion befo e taking it On receiving this warning the Athenians set apart a precinct for Aeacus—the same which still remains dedicated to him in their market place—but they could not bear with any patience of waiting thirty years after they had suffered such grievous wrong at the hands of the Aeginetans

90 Accordingly they were making ready to take their revenge when a fresh stir on the part of the Lacedaemonians hin

[19] This law pe haps m ted to p ohib tio of th Attic pott ry and was really f the protecti n f nat e ind stry though It m y ha e been professedly a w r measure lik a blockade r an mbargo

dered their projects These last had become aware of the truth—how that the Alcmaeonidae had practised on the Pythian priestess, and the priestess had schemed against themselves, and against the Pisistratidae, and the discovery was a double grief to them, for while they had driven their own sworn friends into exile, they found that they had not gained thereby a particle of good will from Athens They were also moved by certain prophecies, which declared that many dire calamities should befall them at the hands of the Athenians Of these in times past they had been ignorant, but now they had become acquainted with them by means of Cleomenes, who had brought them with him to Sparta, having found them in the Athenian citadel, where they had been left by the Pisistratidae when they were driven from Athens they were in the temple, and Cleomenes having discovered them, carried them off

91 So when the Lacedaemonians obtained possession of the prophecies, and saw that the Athenians were growing in strength, and had no mind to acknowledge any subjection to their control, it occurred to them that, if the people of Attica were free, they would be likely to be as powerful as themselves, but if they were oppressed by a tyranny, they would be weak and submissive Under this feeling they sent and recalled Hippias, the son of Pisistratus, from Sigeum upon the Hellespont, where the Pisistratidae had taken shelter Hippias came at their bidding, and the Spartans on his arrival summoned deputies from all their other allies and thus addressed the assembly

"Friends and brothers in arms, we are free to confess that we did lately a thing which was not right Misled by counterfeit oracles, we drove from their country those who were our sworn and true friends, and who had, moreover, engaged to keep Athens in dependence upon us, and we delivered the government into the hands of an unthankful people—a people who no sooner got their freedom by our means, and grew in power, than they turned us and our king, with every token of insult, out of their city Since then they have gone on continually raising their thoughts higher, as their neighbours of Boeotia and Chalcis

have already discovered to their cost and as others too will presently discover if they shall offend them Having thus erred we will endeavour now with your help to remedy the evils we have caused and to obtain vengeance on the Athenians For this cause we have sent for Hippias to come here and have summoned you likewise from your several states that we may all now with heart and hand unite to restore him to Athens and thereby give him back that which we took from him formerly

92 Such was the address of the Spartans The greater number *of the allies listened without being persuaded None however* broke silence but Sosicles the Corinthian who exclaimed

Surely the heaven will soon be below and the earth above and men will henceforth live in the sea and fish take their place upon the dry land since you Lacedaemonians propose to put down free governments in the cities of Greece and to set up tyrannies in their stead There is nothing in the whole world so unjust nothing so bloody as a tyranny If however it seems to you a desirable thing to have the cities under despotic rule begin by putting a tyrant over yourselves and then establish despots in the other states While you continue yourelves as you have always been unacquainted with tyranny and take such excellent care that Sparta may not suffer from it to act as you are now doing is to treat your allies unworthily If you knew what tyranny was as well as ourselves you would be better advised than you now are in regard to it The government at Corinth was once an oligarchy—a single race called Bacchiadae who intermarried only among themselves held the management of affairs Now it happened that Amphion one of these had a daughter named Labda who was lame and whom therefore none of the Bacchiadae would consent to marry so she was taken to wife by Aetion son of Echecrates a man of the township of Petra who was however by descent of the race of the Lapithae and of the house of Caeneus Aetion as he had no child either by this wife or by any other went to Delphi to consult the oracle concerning the matter Scarcely had he entered the temple when the priestess saluted him in these words

No one honours thee now, Aetion, worthy of honour,
Labda shall soon be a mother—her offspring a rock, that will one day
Fall on the kingly race, and right the city of Corinth

By some chance this address of the oracle to Aetion came to the ears of the Bacchiadae, who till then had been unable to perceive the meaning of another earlier prophecy which likewise bore upon Corinth, and pointed to the same event as Aetion's prediction It was the following

When mid the rocks an eagle shall bear a carnivorous lion,
Mighty and fierce, he shall loosen the limbs of many beneath them—
Brood ye well upon this, all ye Corinthian people,
Ye who dwell by fair Peirene, and beetling Corinth

The Bacchiadae had possessed this oracle for some time, but they were quite at a loss to know what it meant until they heard the response given to Aetion then however they at once perceived its meaning, since the two agreed so well together Nevertheless, though the bearing of the first prophecy was now clear to them, they remained quiet, intending to put to death the child which Aetion was expecting As soon, therefore, as his wife was delivered, they sent ten of their number to the township where Aetion lived, with orders to make away with the baby So the men came to Petra, and went into Aetion's house, and there asked if they might see the child and Labda, who knew nothing of their purpose, but thought their inquiries arose from a kindly feeling towards her husband brought the child, and laid him in the arms of one of them Now they had agreed by the way that whoever first got hold of the child should dash it against the ground It happened, however, by a providential chance, that the babe, just as Labda put him into the man's arms smiled in his face The man saw the smile, and was touched with pity, so that he could not kill it, he therefore passed it on

to his next neighbour who gave it to a third and so it went through all the ten without any one choosing to be the murderer The mother received her child back and the men went out of the house and stood near the door and there blamed and reproached one another chiefly however accusin the man who had first had the child in his arms because he had not done as had been agreed upon At last after much time had been thus spent they resolved to go into the house again and all take part in the murder But it was fated that evil should come upon Corinth from the progeny of Aetion and so it chanced that Labda as she stood near the door heard all that the men said to one another and fearful of their changing their mind and returning to de troy her baby she carried him off and hid him in what seemed to her the most unlikely place to be suspected a cypsel or co n bin She knew that if they came back to look for the child they would search all her house and so indeed they did but not finding the child after looking everywhere they thou ht it best to go away and declare to those by whom they had b en sent that they had done their bidding And thus they reported on their return home Aetion s son grew up and in remembrance of the danger from which he had escaped was named Cypselus after the corn bin When he reached to man s estate he went to Delphi and on consulting the oracle received a respon e which was two sided It was the fo lowing

See there comes to my dwelling a man much favour d of fortune
Cypselus son of Aetion and king of the glorious Corinth —
He and his children too but not his children s children

Such was the oracle and Cypselus put so much faith in it that he forthwith made his attempt and thereby became master of Corinth Having thus got the tyranny he showed himself a harsh ruler—many of the Corinthians he drove into banishment many he deprived of their fortunes and a still greater number of their lives His reign lasted thirty years and was prosperous to its close insomuch that he left the government to Periander his son This prince at the beginning of his reign

was of a milder temper than his father, but after he corresponded by means of messengers with Thrasybulus, tyrant of Miletus, he became even more sanguinary On one occasion he sent a herald to ask Thrasybulus what mode of government it was safest to set up in order to rule with honour Thrasybulus led the messenger without the city, and took him into a field of corn, through which he began to walk, while he asked him again and again concerning his coming from Corinth, ever as he went breaking off and throwing away all such ears of corn as overtopped the rest In this way he went through the whole field and destroyed all the best and richest part of the crop, then, without a word, he sent the messenger back On the return of the man to Corinth, Periander was eager to know what Thrasybulus had counselled, but the messenger reported that he had said nothing, and he wondered that Periander had sent him to so strange a man, who seemed to have lost his senses, since he did nothing but destroy his own property And upon this he told how Thrasybulus had behaved at the interview Periander, perceiving what the action meant, and knowing that Thrasybulus advised the destruction of all the leading citizens, treated his subjects from this time forward with the very greatest cruelty Where Cypselus had spared any, and had neither put them to death nor banished them, Periander completed what his father had left unfinished One day he stripped all the women of Corinth stark naked, for the sake of his own wife Melissa He had sent messengers into Thesprotia to consult the oracle of the dead upon the Acheron concerning a pledge which had been given into his charge by a stranger, and Melissa appeared, but refused to speak or tell where the pledge was She was chill,' she said, 'having no clothes the garments buried with her were of no manner of use, since they had not been burnt And this should be her token to Periander, that what she said was true—the oven was cold when he baked his loaves in it' When this message was brought him, Periander knew the token for he had had intercourse with the dead body of Melissa, wherefore he straightway made proclamation, that all the wives of the Corinthians should go forth to the temple of Hera

the women apparelled themselves in their br vest and went forth as if to a festival Then with the help of his guards whom he had placed for the purpose he stripped them one and all making no difference between the free women and the slaves and taking their clothes to a pit he called on the name of Melissa and burnt the whole heap This done he sent a second time to the oracle and Melissa s ghost told him where he would find the stranger s pledge Such Lacedaemonians is tyranny and such are the deeds which spring from it We Corinthians marvelled greatly when we first knew of your having sent for Hippias and now it surprises us still more to hear you speak as you do We adjure you by the common gods of Greece plant not despots in her cities If however you are determined if you persist a ainst all justice in seeking to restore Hippias know at least that the Corinthians will not approve your conduct

93 When Sosicles the deputy from Corinth had thus spoken Hippias replied and invoking the same gods he said Of a surety the Corinthians will beyond all others regret the Pisistratidae when the fated days come for them to be distressed by the Athenians Hippias spoke thus because he knew the prophecies better than any man living But the rest of the allies who till Sosicles spoke had remained quiet when they heard him utter his thoughts thus boldly all to ether broke silence and declared themselves of the same mind and withal they conjured the Lacedaemonians not to revolutionise a Grecian city And in this way the enterprise came to nought

94 Hippias hereupon withdrew and Amyntas the Macedonian offered him the city of Anthemus while the Thessalians were willing to give him Iolcos but he would accept neither the one nor the other preferring to go ba k to Sigeum which city Pisistratus had taken by force of arms from the Mytilenaeans Pisistratus when he became master of the place established there as tyrant his own bastard son Hegesistratus whose mother was an Argive woman But this prince was not allowed to enjoy peaceably what his father had made over to him for during very many years there had been war between the Athe-

nians of Sigeum and the Mytilenaeans of the city called Achilleum They of Mytilene insisted on having the place restored to them but the Athenians refused, since they argued that the Aeolians had no better claim to the Trojan territory than themselves, or than any of the other Greeks who helped Menelaus on occasion of the rape of Helen

95 War accordingly continued, with many and various incidents, whereof the following was one In a battle which was gained by the Athenians, the poet Alcaeus took to flight, and saved himself, but lost his arms, which fell into the hands of the conquerors They hung them up in the temple of Athena at Sigeum, and Alcaeus made a poem describing his misadventure, to his friend Melanippus, and sent it to him at Mytilene The Mytilenaeans and Athenians were reconciled by Periander, the son of Cypselus, who was chosen by both parties as arbiter—he decided that they should each retain that of which they were at the time possessed, and Sigeum passed in this way under the dominion of Athens

96 On the return of Hippias to Asia from Lacedaemon, he moved heaven and earth to set Artaphernes against the Athenians, and did all that lay in his power to bring Athens into subjection to himself and Darius So when the Athenians learnt what he was about, they sent envoys to Sardis, and exhorted the Persians not to lend an ear to the Athenian exiles Artaphernes told them in reply that if they wished to remain safe, they must receive back Hippias The Athenians, when this answer was reported to them, determined not to consent, and therefore made up their minds to be at open enmity with the Persians

97 The Athenians had come to this decision, and were already in bad odour with the Persians, when Aristagoras the Milesian, dismissed from Sparta by Cleomenes the Lacedaemonian, arrived at Athens He knew that, after Sparta, Athens was the most powerful of the Grecian states Accordingly he appeared before the people, and, as he had done at Sparta, spoke to them of the good things which there were in Asia, and of the Persian mode of fight—how they used neither shield nor spear and were very easy to conquer All this he urged, and reminded

them also that Miletus was a colony from Athens and there fore ought to receive their succour since they were so powerful —and in the earnestness of his entreaties he cared little what he promised—till at the last he prevailed and won them over It seems indeed to be easier to deceive a multitude than one man —for Arista oras though he failed to impose on Cleomenes the Lacedaemonian succeeded with the Athenians who were 30 000 [30] Won by his persuasions they voted that twenty ship should be sent to the aid of the Ionians under the command of Melanthius one of the citizens a man of mark in every way These ships were the beginnin of mischief both to the Greeks and to the barbarians [31]

98 Aristagoras sailed away in advance and when he reached Miletus devised a plan from which no manner of advant ge could possibly accrue to the Ionians indeed in forming it he did not aim at their benefit but his sole wi h was to annoy Kin Darius He sent a messenger into Phrygia to those Paeonians *who had been led away captive by Megabazus from the river* Strymon and who now dwelt by themselves in Phrygia having a tract of land and a hamlet of their own This man when he reached the Paeonians spoke thus to them Men of Paeonia Aristagoras despot of Miletus has sent me to you to inform you that you may now escape if you choose to follow the advice he proffers All Ionia has revolted from the king and the way is open to you to return to your own land You have only to con trive to reach the sea-coast the rest shall be our business

When the Paeonians heard this they rejoiced exceed ngly and taking with them their wives and children they made all speed to the coast a few only remainin in Phrygia through fear The rest having reached the sea crossed over to Chios where they had just landed when a great troop of Persian horse came following upon their heels and seeking to overtake them

[30] Th was th c tı l t mate f the mb f citiz H rod tu t m The ensus f 3 7 B C g ,000 but th n mb r great r in th fifth e t ry

[31] Herodotus tr ats th I nia olt as a ch m of d pe t d n t rers desp t th e d ce h p sents f r P rsian p ject of q t.

Not succeeding, however, they sent a message across to Chios, and begged the Paeonians to come back again These last refused, and were conveyed by the Chians from Chios to Lesbos, and by the Lesbians thence to Doriscus from which place they made their way on foot to Paeonia

99 The Athenians now arrived with a fleet of twenty sail, and brought also in their company five triremes of the Eretrians, which had joined the expedition, not so much out of goodwill towards Athens, as to pay a debt which they already owed to the people of Miletus For in the old war between the Chalcideans and Eretrians,[2] the Milesians fought on the Eretrian side throughout, while the Chalcideans had the help of the Samian people Aristagoras, on their arrival assembled the rest of his allies, and proceeded to attack Sardis, not however leading the army in person, but appointing to the command his own brother Charopinus, and Hermophantus, one of the citizens, while he himself remained behind in Miletus

100 The Ionians sailed with this fleet to Ephesus, and, leaving their ships at Coressus in the Ephesian territory, took guides from the city, and went up the country, with a great host They marched along the course of the river Cayster, and, crossing over the ridge of Tmolus, came down upon Sardis and took it, no man opposing them, the whole city fell into their hands, except only the citadel, which Artaphernes defended in person, having with him no contemptible force

101 Though, however, they took the city, they did not succeed in plundering it for, as the houses in Sardis were most of them built of reeds, and even the few which were of brick had a reed thatching for their roof, one of them was no sooner fired by a soldier than the flames ran speedily from house to house, and spread over the whole place As the fire raged, the Lydians, and such Persians as were in the city, inclosed on every side by the flames, which had seized all the outskirts of the town, and finding themselves unable to get out, came in crowds into the market place, and gathered themselves upon the banks of the

[2] In the seventh century the commercial rivalry of these two cities apparently involved most of Greece in the struggle

Pactolus This stream which comes down from Mount Tmolus and brings the Sardians a quantity of gold dust runs directly through the market place of Sardis and joins the Hermus before that river reaches the sea So the Lydians and Persians brought together in this way in the market place and about the Pactolus were forced to stand on their defence and the Ionians when they saw the enemy in part resisting in part pouring towards them in dense crowds took fright and drawing off to the ridge which is called Tmolus when night came went back to their ships

102 Sardis however was burnt and among other buildings a temple of the native goddess Cybele was destroyed which was the reason afterwards alleged by the Persians for setting on fire the temples of the Greeks As soon as what had happened was known all the Persians who were stationed on this side the Halys drew together and brought help to the Lydians Finding however when they arrived that the Ionians had already withdrawn from Sardis they set off and following close upon their track came up with them at Ephesus The Ionians drew out against them in battle array and a fight ensued wherein the Greeks had very greatly the worse Vast numbers were slain by the Persians among other men of note they killed the captain of the Eretrians a certain Eualcidas a man who had gained crowns at the games and received much praise from Simonides the Cean Such as made their escape from the battle dispersed among the several cities

103 So ended this encounter Afterwards the Athenians quite forsook the Ionians and though Aristagoras besought them much by his ambassadors refused to give him any further help Still the Ionians notwithstanding this desertion continued unceasingly their preparations to carry on the war against the Persian king which their late conduct towards him had rendered unavoidable Sailing into the Hellespont they brought Byzantium and all the other cities in that quarter under their sway Again quitting the Hellespont they went to Caria and won the greater part of the Carians to their side while Caunus wh h

had formerly refused to join with them, after the burning of Sardis, came over likewise

104 All the Cyprians too, excepting those of Amathus, of their own proper motion espoused the Ionian cause The occasion of their revolting from the Medes was the following There was a certain Onesilus, younger brother of Gorgus, king of Salamis, and son of Chersis, who was son of Siromus, and grandson of Evelthon This man had often in former times entreated Gorgus to rebel against the king, but, when he heard of the revolt of the Ionians, he left him no peace with his importunity As, however, Gorgus would not hearken to him, he watched his occasion, and when his brother had gone outside the town, he with his partisans closed the gates upon him Gorgus, thus deprived of his city, fled to the Medes, and Onesilus, being now king of Salamis, sought to bring about a revolt of the whole of Cyprus All were prevailed on except the Amathusians, who refused to listen to him, whereupon Onesilus sat down before Amathus, and laid siege to it

105 While Onesilus was engaged in the siege of Amathus, King Darius received tidings of the taking and burning of Sardi by the Athenians and Ionians, and at the same time he learnt that the author of the league, the man by whom the whole matter had been planned and contrived, was Aristagoras the Milesian It is said he no sooner understood what had happened than, laying aside all thought concerning the Ionians, who would, he was sure, pay dear for their rebellion, he asked who the Athenians were and, being informed, called for his bow, and placing an arrow on the string, shot upward into the sky, saying, as he let fly the shaft, 'Grant me, Zeus, to revenge myself on the Athenians!" After this speech, he bade one of his servants every day, when his dinner was spread, three times repeat these words to him, 'Master, remember the Athenians "

106 Then he summoned into his presence Histiaeus of Miletus, whom he had kept at his court for so long a time, and on his appearance addressed him thus, "I am told, Histiaeus, that your lieutenant, to whom you gave Miletus in charge, has raised

a rebellion against me He has brought men from the other continent to contend with me and prevailing on the Ionians—whose conduct I shall know how to recompense—to join with this force he has robbed me of Sardis Is this as it should be do you think? Or can it have been done without your knowledge and advice? Beware lest it be found hereafter that the blame of these acts is yours

Histiaeus answered What words are these O king to which you have uttered? I advise aught from which unpleasantness of any kind little or great should come to you! What could I gain by so doing? Or what is there that I lack now? Have I not all that you have and am I not thought worthy to partake all your counsels? If my lieutenant has indeed done as you say be sure he has done it all of his own head For my part I do not think it can really be that the Milesians and my lieutenant have raised a rebellion against you But if they have indeed done so and the tidings are true which have come to you judge how ill advised you were to remove me from the sea coast The Ionians it seems have waited till I was no longer in sight and then sought to execute that which they long ago desired whereas if I had been there not a single city would have stirred Let me then hasten at my best speed to Ionia that I may place matters there upon their former footing and deliver up to you the deputy of Miletus who has caused all the troubles Having managed this business to your heart s content I swear by all the gods of the royal house I will not put off the clothes in which I reach Ionia till I have made Sardinia the biggest island in the world your tributary

107 Histiaeus spoke thus wishing to deceive the king and Darius persuaded by his words let him go only bidding him be sure to do as he had promised and afterwards come back to Susa

108 In the mean time—while the tidings of the burning of Sardis were reaching the king and Darius was shooting the arrow and having the conference with Histiaeus and the latter by permission of Darius was hastening down to the sea—in Cyprus the following events took place Tidings came to Onesilus the

Salaminian, who was still besieging Amathus, that a certain Artybius, a Persian, was looked for to arrive in Cyprus with a great Persian armament So Onesilus, when the news reached him, sent off heralds to all parts of Ionia, and begged the Ionians to give him aid After brief deliberation, these last in full force passed over into the island, and the Persians about the same time crossed in their ships from Cilicia, and proceeded by land to attack Salamis, while the Phoenicians, with the fleet, sailed round the promontory which goes by the name of the Keys of Cyprus

109 In this posture of affairs the princes of Cyprus called together the captains of the Ionians, and thus addressed them, Men of Ionia, we Cyprians leave it to you to choose whether you will fight with the Persians or with the Phoenicians If it be your pleasure to try your strength on land against the Persians, come on shore at once, and array yourselves for the battle, we will then embark aboard your ships and engage the Phoenicians by sea If, on the other hand, you prefer to encounter the Phoenicians, let that be your task, only be sure, whichever part you choose, to acquit yourselves so that Ionia and Cyprus, as far as depends on you, may preserve their freedom"

The Ionians answered, "The commonwealth of Ionia sent us here to guard the sea, not to make over our ships to you, and engage with the Persians on shore We will therefore keep the post which has been assigned to us, and seek therein to be of some service Do you, remembering what you suffered when you were the slaves of the Medes, behave like brave warriors"

110 Such was the reply of the Ionians Not long afterwards the Persians advanced into the plain before Salamis and the Cyprian kings ranged their troops in order of battle against them placing them so that while the rest of the Cyprians were drawn up against the auxiliaries of the enemy, the choicest troops of the Salaminians and the Solians were set to oppose the Persians At the same time Onesilus of his own accord, took post opposite to Artybius, the Persian general

111 Now Artybius rode a horse which had been trained to rear up against a foot soldier Onesilus, informed of this, called

to him his shieldbearer who was a Carian by nation a man well skilled in war and of daring courage and thus addressed him I hear he said that the horse which Artybius rides rears up and attacks with his fore legs and teeth the man against whom his rider urges him Consider quickly therefore and tell me which you will undertake to encounter the steed or the rider? Then the squire answered him Both my liege or either am I ready to undertake and there is nothing that I will shrink from at your bidding But I will tell you what seems to me to make most for your interest As you are a prince and a general I think you should engage with one who is himself both a prince and also a general For then if you slay your adversary it will redound to your honour and if he slays you which may Heaven forefend yet to fall by the hand of a worthy foe makes death lose half its horror Leave his war horse and his retinue to us And have no fear of the horse s tricks I promise that this is the last time he will stand up against any one

112 Thus the Carian spoke and shortly after the two hosts joined battle both by sea and land And here it chanced that by ea the Ionians who that day fought as they have never done either before or since defeated the Phoenicians the Samians es pecially distinguishing themselves Meanwhile the combat had begun on land and the two armies were engaged in a sharp struggle when thus it fell out in the matter of the generals Artybius astride upon his horse charged down upon Onesilus who as he had agreed with his shieldbearer aimed his blow at the rider the horse reared and placed his forefeet upon the shield of Onesilus when the Carian cut at him with a reaping hook and severed the two legs from the body The horse fell upon the spot and Artybius the Persian general with him

113 In the thick of the fight Stesanor tyrant of Curium who commanded no inconsiderable body of troops went over with them to the enemy On this desertion of the Curians—Ar give colonists if report says true—forthwith the war chariots of the Salaminians followed the example set them and went over likewise whereupon victory declared in favour of the Persians

and the army of the Cyprians being routed, vast numbers were slain, and among them Onesilus, the son of Chersis, who was the author of the revolt, and Aristocyprus, king of the Solians This Aristocyprus was son of Philocyprus, whom Solon the Athenian, when he visited Cyprus, praised in his poems beyond all other sovereigns

114 The Amathusians, because Onesilus had laid siege to their town, cut the head off his corpse, and took it with them to Amathus, where it was set up over the gates Here it hung till it became hollow whereupon a swarm of bees took possession of it, and filled it with a honeycomb On seeing this the Amathusians consulted the oracle, and were commanded to take down the head and bury it, and thenceforth to regard Onesilus as a hero, and offer sacrifice to him year by year so it would go the better with them And to this day the Amathusians do as they were then bidden

115 As for the Ionians who had gained the sea fight, when they found that the affairs of Onesilus were utterly lost and ruined, and that siege was laid to all the cities of Cyprus excepting Salamis, which the inhabitants had surrendered to Gorgus, the former king—forthwith they left Cyprus, and sailed away home Of the cities which were besieged Soli held out the longest the Persians took it by undermining the wall in the fifth month from the beginning of the siege

116 Thus, after enjoying a year of freedom, the Cyprians were enslaved for the second time Meanwhile Daurises, who was married to one of the daughters of Darius, together with Hymeas, Otanes, and other Persian captains, who were likewise married to daughters of the king, after pursuing the Ionians who had fought at Sardis, defeating them, and driving them to their ships, divided their efforts against the different cities, and proceeded in succession to take and sack them all

117 Daurises attacked the towns upon the Hellespont, and took in as many days the five cities of Dardanus, Abydus, Percote, Lampsacus, and Paesus From Paesus he marched against Parium, but on his way receiving intelligence that the Carians

Sardinia or should he sail to Myrcinus in Edonia which Histiaeus had received as a gift from King Darius and had begun to fortify?

125 To this question of Aristagoras Hecataeus the historian son of Hegesander made answer that in his judgment neither place was suitable Aristagoras should build a fort he said in the island of Leros and if driven from Miletus should go there and bide his time from Leros attacks might readily be made and he might re establish himself in Miletus Such was the advice given by Hecataeus

126 Aristagoras however was bent on retiring to Myrcinus Accordingly he put the government of Miletus into the hands of one of the chief citizens named Pythagoras and taking with him all who liked to go sailed to Thrace and there made himself master of the place in question From thence he proceeded to attack the Thracians but here he was cut off with his whole army while besieging a city whose defenders were anxious to accept terms of surrender

The Sixth Book, Entitled

ERATO

1 Aristagoras, the author of the Ionian revolt, perished in the way which I have described Meanwhile Histiaeus, tyrant of Miletus, who had been allowed by Darius to leave Susa, came down to Sardis On his arrival, being asked by Artaphernes, the Sardian satrap, what he thought was the reason that the Ionians had rebelled, he made answer that he could not conceive, and it had astonished him greatly, pretending to be quite unconscious of the whole business Artaphernes, however, who perceived that he was dealing dishonestly and who had in fact full knowledge of the whole history of the outbreak, said to him, "I will tell you how the case stands, Histiaeus this shoe is your stitching, Aristagoras only put it on "

2 Such was the remark made by Artaphernes concerning the rebellion Histiaeus, alarmed at the knowledge which he displayed, as soon as night fell, fled away to the coast Thus he forfeited his word to Darius for though he had pledged himself to bring Sardinia, the biggest island in the whole world, under the Persian yoke, he in reality sought to obtain the direction of the war against the king Crossing over to Chios, he was there laid in bonds by the inhabitants, who accused him of intending some mischief against them in the interest of Darius However, when the whole truth was laid before them and they found that Histiaeus was in reality a foe to the king they forthwith set him at large again

3 After this the Ionians inquired of him for what reason he

had so strongly urged Aristagoras to revolt from the king thereby doing their nation so ill a service In reply he took good care not to disclose to them the real cause but told them that King Darius had intended to remove the Phoenicians from their own country and place them in Ionia while he planted the Ionians in Phoenicia and that it was for this reason he sent Aristagoras the order Now it was not true that the king had entertained any such intention but Histiaeus succeeded hereby in arousing the fears of the Ionians

4 After this Histiaeus by means of a certain Hermippus a native of Atarneus sent letters to many of the Persians in Sardis who had before held some discourse with him concerning a revolt Hermippu however instead of conveying them to the persons to whom they were addressed delivered them into the hands of Artaphernes who perceivin what was on foot commanded Hermippus to deliver the letters according to their addresses and then bring him back the answers which were sent to Histiaeus The traitors being in this way discovered Artaphernes put a number of Persians to death and caused a commotion in Sardis

5 As for Histiaeus when his hopes in this matter were disappointed he persuaded the Chians to carry him back to Miletus but the Milesians were too well pleased at having got quit of Aristagoras to be anxious to receive another tyrant into their country besides which they had now tasted liberty They therefore opposed his return and when he endeavoured to force an entrance during the night one of the inhabitants even wounded him in the thigh Having been thus rejected from his country he went back to Chios whence after failing in an attempt to induce the Chians to give him ships he crossed over to Mytilene where he succeeded in obtaining vessels from the Lesbians They fitted out a squadron of eight triremes and sailed with him to the Hellespont where they took up their station and proceeded to seize all the vessels which passed out from the Euxine unless the crews declared themselves ready to obey his orders

6 While Histiaeus and the Mytilenaeans were thus em

ployed, Miletus was expecting an attack from a vast armament, which comprised both a fleet and also a land force The Persian captains had drawn their several detachments together, and formed them into a single army, and had resolved to pass over all the other cities, which they regarded as of lesser account, and to march straight on Miletus Of the naval states, Phoenicia showed the greatest zeal, but the fleet was composed likewise of the Cyprians (who had so lately been brought under), the Cilicians, and also the Egyptians

7 While the Persians were thus making preparations against Miletus and Ionia, the Ionians, informed of their intent, sent their deputies to the Panionium, and held a council upon the state of their affairs Here it was determined that no land force should be collected to oppose the Persians, but that the Milesians should be left to defend their own walls as they could,[1] at the same time they agreed that the whole naval force of the states, not excepting a single ship, should be equipped, and should muster at Lade, a small island lying off Miletus—to give battle on behalf of the place

8 Presently the Ionians began to assemble in their ships, and with them came the Aeolians of Lesbos, and in this way they marshalled their line The wing towards the east was formed of the Milesians themselves, who furnished eighty ships, next to them came the Prienians with twelve, and the Myusians with three ships, after the Myusians were stationed the Teians, whose ships were seventeen, then the Chians, who furnished 100 The Erythraeans and Phocaeans followed, the former with eight, the latter with three ships beyond the Phocaeans were the Lesbians, furnishing seventy, last of all came the Samians forming the western wing, and furnishing sixty vessels The fleet amounted in all to 353 triremes Such was the number on the Ionian side

[1] There is no reason to suppose that the Ionians came to this decision from jealousy of Milesian influence They always recognised the sea as their own proper element and they knew as well as the Persians that so long as they could maintain the mastery at sea Miletus and the other maritime towns were safe

9 On the side of the barbarians the number of vessels was 600 These assembled off the coast of Milesia while the land army collected upon the shore but the leaders learning the strength of the Ionian fleet began to fear lest they might fail to defeat them in which case not havin the mastery at sea they would be unable to reduce Miletus and might in consequence receive rough treatment at the hands of Darius So when they thought of all these things they resolved on the following course Calling together the Ionian tyrants who had fled to the Medes for refuge when Aristagoras deposed them from their governments and who were now in camp having joined in the expedition against Miletus the Persians addressed them thus Men of Ionia now is the fit time to show your zeal for the house of the king Use your best efforts every one of you to detach your fellow countrymen from the general body Hold forth to them the promise that if they submit no harm shall happen to them on account of their rebellion their temples shall not be burnt nor any of their private buildings neither shall they be treated with greater harshness than before the outbreak But if they refuse to yield and determine to try the chance of a battle threaten them with the fate which shall assuredly over take them in that case Tell them when they are vanquished in fight they shall be enslaved their boys shall be made eunuchs and their maidens transported to Bactra while their country shall be delivered into the hands of foreigners

10 Thus spoke the Persians The Ionian tyrants sent accordingly by night to their respective citizens and reported the words of the Persians but the people were all obstinate and refused to betray their countrymen those of each state thinkin that they alone had had overtures made to them Now these events happened on the first appearance of the Persians before Miletus

11 Afterwards while the Ionian fleet was still assembled at Lade councils were held and speeches made by various persons —among the rest by Dionysius the Phocaean capta n who thus expressed himself Our affairs hang on the razor s edge men of Ionia either to be free or to be laves and slaves too who

have shown themselves runaways. Now then you have to choose whether you will endure hardship, and so for the present lead a life of toil, but thereby gain ability to overcome your enemies and establish your own freedom; or whether you will persist in this slothfulness and disorder, in which case I see no hope of your escaping the king's vengeance for your rebellion. I beseech you, be persuaded by me, and trust yourselves to my guidance. Then, if the gods only hold the balance fairly between us, I undertake to say that our foes will either decline a battle, or, if they fight, suffer complete discomfiture."

12. These words prevailed with the Ionians, and forthwith they committed themselves to Dionysius; whereupon he proceeded every day to make the ships move in column, and the rowers ply their oars, and exercise themselves in breaking the line;[2] while the marines were held under arms, and the vessels were kept, till evening fell, upon their anchors, so that the men had nothing but toil from morning even to night. Seven days did the Ionians continue obedient, and do whatsoever he bade them; but on the eighth day, worn out by the hardness of the work and the heat of the sun, and quite unaccustomed to such fatigues, they began to confer together, and to say one to another, "What god have we offended to bring upon ourselves such a punishment as this? Fools and distracted that we were, to put ourselves into the hands of this Phocaean braggart, who furnishes but three ships to the fleet! He, now that he has got us, plagues us in the most desperate fashion; many of us, in consequence, have fallen sick already—many more expect to follow. We had better suffer anything rather than these hardships; even the slavery with which we are threatened, however harsh, can be no worse than our present thraldom. Come, let us refuse him obedience." So saying, they ceased to obey his orders, and pitched their tents, as if they had been soldiers, upon the island, where they reposed under the shade all the day, and refused to go aboard the ships and train themselves.

[2] This was the most important naval manoeuvre with which the Greeks were acquainted. It consisted in breaking through and then turning rapidly to ram the enemy ship on its defenceless side or stern.

13 Now when the Samian captains perceived what was tak ing place they were more inclined than before to accept the terms which Aeaces the son of Syloson had been authorised by the Persians to offer them on condition of their deserting from the confederacy For they saw that all was disorder among the Ionians and they felt also that it was hopeless to contend with the power of the king since if they defeated the fleet which had been sent against them they knew that another would come five times as great So they took advantage of the occasion which now offered and as soon as ever they saw the Ionians refuse to work hastened gladly to provide for the safety of their temples and their properties This Aeaces who made the overtures to the Samians was the son of Syloson and grandson of the earlier Aeaces He had formerly been tyrant of Samos but was ousted from his government by Aristagoras the Milesian at the same time with the other tyrants of the Ionians

14 The Phoenicians soon afterwards sailed to the attack and the Ionians likewise put themselves in line and went out to meet them When they had now neared one another and joined battle which of the Ionians fought like brave men and which like cowards I cannot declare with any certainty for charges are brought on all sides but the tale goes that the Samians according to the agreement which they had made with Aeaces hoisted sail and quitting their post bore away for Samos except eleven ships whose captains gave no heed to the orders of the commanders but remained and took part in the battle The state of Samos in consideration of this action granted to these men as an acknowledgment of their bravery the honour of having their names and the names of their fathers inscribed upon a pillar which still stands in the market place The Lesbians also when they saw the Samians who were drawn up next them begin to fly themselves did the like and the example once set was followed by the greater number of the Ionians

15 Of those who remained and fought none were so rudely handled as the Chians who displayed prodigies of valour and disdained to play the part of cowards They furnished to the

common fleet, as I mentioned above, 100 ships, having each of them forty armed citizens, and those picked men, on board, and when they saw the greater portion of the allies betraying the common cause, they for their part, scorning to imitate the base conduct of these traitors, although they were left almost alone and unsupported, a very few friends continuing to stand by them, notwithstanding went on with the fight, and ofttimes cut the line of the enemy, until at last, after they had taken very many of their adversaries' ships, they ended by losing more than half of their own Hereupon, with the remainder of their vessels, the Chians fled away to their own country

16 As for such of their ships as were damaged and disabled, these, being pursued by the enemy, made straight for Mycale, where the crews ran them ashore, and abandoning them began their march along the continent Happening in their way upon the territory of Ephesus, they tried to cross it but here a dire misfortune befell them It was night, and the Ephesian women chanced to be engaged in celebrating the Thesmophoria—the previous calamity of the Chians had not been heard of—so when the Ephesians saw their country invaded by an armed band they made no question of the new comers being robbers who purposed to carry off their women, and accordingly they marched out against them in full force, and slew them all Such were the misfortunes which befell them of Chios

17 Dionysius, the Phocaean, when he perceived that all was lost, having first captured three ships from the enemy, himself took to flight He would not, however, return to Phocaea, which he well knew must fall again, like the rest of Ionia, under the Persian yoke, but immediately, as he was, he set sail for Phoenicia, and there sunk a number of merchantmen, and gained a great booty, after which he directed his course to Sicily, where he established himself as a pirate, and plundered the Carthaginians and Tyrrhenians, but did no harm to the Greeks

18 The Persians, when they had vanquished the Ionians in the sea fight, besieged Miletus both by land and sea, driving mines under the walls, and making use of every known device,

sooner heard than they hurried to the rescue calling to their aid Hippocrates tyrant of Gela who was one of their allies Hip pocrates came with his army to their assistance but on his ar rival he seized Scythas the Zanclaean king who had just lost his city and sent him away in chains together with his brother Pythogenes to the town of Inycus after which he came to an understanding with the Samians exchanged oaths with them and agreed to betray the people of Zancle The reward of his treachery was to be one half of the goods and chattels including slaves which the town contained and all that he could find in the open country Upon this Hippocrates seized and bound the greater number of the Zanclaeans as slaves delivering however into the hands of the Samians 300 of the principal citizens to be slaughtered but the Samians spared the lives of these per sons

4 Scythas the king of the Zanclaeans made his escape from Inycus and fled to Himera whence he passed into Asia and went up to the court of Darius Darius thought him the most upright of all the Greeks to whom he afforded a refuge for with the king s leave he paid a visit to Sicily and thence re turned back to Persia where he lived in great comfort and died by a natural death at an advanced age

25 Thus did the Samians escape the yoke of the Medes and possess themselves without any trouble of Zancle [4] a most beau tiful city At Samos itself the Phoenicians after the fight which had Miletus for its prize was over re established Aeaces the son of Syloson upon his throne This they did by the command of the Persians who looked upon Aeaces as one who had rendered them a high service and therefore deserved well at their hands They likewise pared the Samians on account of the desertion of their vessels and did not burn either their city or their tem ples as they did those of the other rebels Immediately after the fall of Miletus the Persians recovered Caria bringing some of the cities over by force while others submitted of their own accord

26 Meanwhile tidings of what had befallen Miletus reached

Zancle th mod rn Messin

Histiaeus the Milesian, who was still at Byzantium, employed in intercepting the Ionian merchantmen as they issued from the Euxine Histiaeus had no sooner heard the news than he gave the Hellespont in charge to Bisaltes, son of Apollophanes, a native of Abydos and himself at the head of his Lesbians, set sail for Chios One of the Chian garrisons which opposed him he engaged at a place called The Hollows, situated in the Chian territory, and of these he slaughtered a vast number afterwards, by the help of his Lesbians he reduced all the rest of the Chians, who were weakened by their losses in the sea fight, Polichne, a city of Chios, serving him as headquarters

27 It mostly happens that there is some warning when great misfortunes are about to befall a state or nation and so it was in this instance, for the Chians had previously had some strange tokens sent to them A choir of 100 of their youths had been despatched to Delphi, and of these only two had returned, the remaining ninety eight having been carried off by a pestilence Likewise, about the same time and very shortly before the sea fight, the roof of a school house had fallen in upon a number of their boys, who were at lessons and out of 120 children there was but one left alive Such were the signs which God sent to warn them It was very shortly afterwards that the sea fight happened, which brought the city down upon its knees and after the sea fight came the attack of Histiaeus and his Lesbians, to whom the Chians, weakened as they were, furnished an easy conquest

28 Histiaeus now led a numerous army, composed of Ionians and Aeolians, against Thasos,[*] and had laid siege to the place when news arrived that the Phoenicians were about to quit Miletus and attack the other cities of Ionia On hearing this, Histiaeus raised the siege of Thasos, and hastened to Lesbos with all his forces There his army was in great straits for want of food whereupon Histiaeus left Lesbos and went across to the mainland, intending to cut the crops which were growing in the Atarnean territory, and likewise in the plain of the Caicus, which belonged to Mysia Now it chanced that a certain Persian

[*] The gold mines of Thasos perhaps formed the chief attraction

also the Ionian towns upon the mainland, not however netting the inhabitants, as it was not possible

32 And now their generals made good all the threats wherewith they had menaced the Ionians before the battle For no sooner did they get possession of the towns than they chose out all the best favoured boys, castrated them and made them eunuchs, while the most beautiful of the girls they tore from their homes and sent as presents to the king at the same time burning the cities themselves with their temples Thus were the Ionians for the third time reduced to slavery once by the Lydians, and a second, and now a third time by the Persians

33 The sea force after quitting Ionia, proceeded to the Hellespont, and took all the towns which lie on the left shore as one sails into the straits For the cities on the right bank had already been reduced by the land force of the Persians Now these are the places which border the Hellespont on the European side, the Chersonese, which contains a number of cities, Perinthus the forts in Thrace, Selybria, and Byzantium The Byzantines at this time, and their opposite neighbours, the Calchedonians, instead of awaiting the coming of the Phoenicians, quitted their country, and sailing into the Euxine took up their abode at the city of Mesembria The Phoenicians after burning all the places above mentioned, proceeded to Proconnesus and Artaca, which they likewise delivered to the flames this done, they returned to the Chersonese, being minded to reduce those cities which they had not ravaged in their former cruise Upon Cyzicus they made no attack at all, as before their coming the inhabitants had made terms with Oebares, the son of Megabazus, and satrap of Dascyleium, and had submitted themselves to the king In the Chersonese the Phoenicians subdued all the cities, excepting Cardia

34 Up to this time the cities of the Chersonese had been under the government of Miltiades, the son of Cimon, and grandson of Stesagoras, to whom they had descended from Miltiades, the son of Cypselus, who obtained possession of them in the following manner The Dolonci, a Thracian tribe, to whom the Chersonese at that time belonged, being harassed by a war in

which they were engaged with the Apsinthians sent their princes to Delphi to consult the oracle about the matter The reply of the priestess bade them take back with them as a colonist into their country the man who should first offer them hospitality after they quitted the temple The Dolonci following the sacred road [6] passed through the regions of Phocis and Boeotia after which as still no one invited them in they turned aside and travelled to Athens

35 Now Pisistratus was at this time sole lord of Athens but Miltiades the son of Cypselus was likewise a person of much distinction He belonged to a family which kept four horse chariots and traced its descent to Aeacus and Aegina but which from the time of Philaeus the son of Ajax who was the first Athenian citizen of the house had been naturalised at Athens It happened that as the Dolonci passed his door Miltiades was sitting in his vestibule which caused him to remark them dressed as they were in outlandish garments and armed moreover with lances He therefore called to them and on their approach invited them in offering them lodging and entertainment The strangers accepted his hospitality and after the banquet was over they laid before him in full the directions of the oracle and besought him on their own part to yield obedience to the god Miltiades was persuaded as soon as he heard their request for the government of Pisistratus was irksome to him and he wanted to be beyond the tyrant s reach He therefore went straightway to Delphi and inquired of the oracle whether he should do as the Dolonci desired

36 As the priestess backed their request Miltiades son of Cypselus who had already won the four horse chariot race at Olympia left Athens taking with him as many of the Athenians as liked to join in the enterprise and sailed away with the Dolonci On his arrival at the Chersonese he was made despot by those who had invited him After this his first act was to build a wall across the neck of the Chersonese from the city of Cardia to Pactya to protect the country from the incursions and rav

By th sac d o d is meant pp tly th d whi h l d f m D lphi ea tw d i th di ect n f Leb d a a d O h m

ages of the Apsinthians The breadth of the isthmus at this part is four miles, the whole length of the peninsula within the isthmus being fifty three miles

37 When he had finished carrying the wall across the isthmus, and had thus secured the Chersonese against the Apsinthians, Miltiades proceeded to engage in other wars, and first of all attacked the Lampsacenians but falling into an ambush which they had laid he had the misfortune to be taken prisoner Now it happened that Miltiades stood high in the favour of Croesus, king of Lydia When Croesus therefore heard of his calamity he sent and commanded the men of Lampsacus to give Miltiades his freedom ' If they refused " he said he would destroy them like a fir ' Then the Lampsacenians were somewhile in doubt about this speech of Croesus, and could not tell how to construe his threat that he would destroy them like a fir ', but at last one of their elders divined the true sense and told them that the fir is the only tree which, when cut down, makes no fresh shoots, but forthwith dies outright So the Lampsacenians being greatly afraid of Croesus released Miltiades, and let him go free

38 Thus did Miltiades, by the help of Croesus escape this danger Some time afterwards he died childless leaving his kingdom and his riches to Stesagoras, who was the son of Cimon, his half brother Ever since his death the people of the Chersonese have offered him the customary sacrifices of a founder, and they have further established in his honour a gymnic contest and a chariot race, in neither of which is it lawful for any Lampsacenian to contend Before the war with Lampsacus was ended Stesagoras too died childless he was sitting in the hall of justice when he was struck upon the head with a hatchet by a man who pretended to be a deserter, but was in actuality an enemy, and a bitter one

39 Thus died Stesagoras, and upon his death the Pisistratidae fitted out a trireme and sent Miltiades, the son of Cimon and brother of the deceased, to the Chersonese, that he migh undertake the management of affairs in that quarter They hau already shown him much favour at Athens, as if, indeed, they

had b en no parties to the death of his father Cimon—a matter whereof I will give an account in another place He upon his arrival remained shut up within the house pretending to do honour to the memory of his dead brother whereupon the chief people of the Chersonese gathered themselves together from all the cities of the land and came in a procession to the place where Miltiades was to condole with him upon his misfortune Miltiades commanded them to be seized and thrown into prison after which he made himself master of the Chersonese maintained a body of 500 mercenaries and married Hegesipyla daughter of the Thracian king Olorus

40 This Miltiades the son of Cimon had not been long in the country[7] when a calamity befell him yet more grievous than those in which he was now involved for three years earlier he had had to fly before an incur ion of the Scyths These nomads angered by the attack of Darius collected in a body and marched as far as the Chersone e Miltiades did not await their coming but fled and remained away until the Scyths retired when the Dolonci sent and fetched him back All this happened ree years before the events which befell Miltiades at the present time

41 He now no sooner heard that the Phoenicians were attacking Tenedos than he loaded five triremes with his goods and chattels and set sail for Athens Cardia was the point from which he took his departure and as he sailed down the gulf of Melas along the shore of the Chersonese he came suddenly upon the whole Phoenician fleet However he himself escaped with four of his vessels and got into Imbrus one trireme only falling into the hands of his pursuers This vessel was under the command of his eldest son Metiochus whose mother was not the daughter of the Thracian king Olorus but a different woman Metiochus and his ship were taken and when the Phoenician found out that he was a son of Miltiades they resolved to convey him to the king expecting thereby to rise high in the royal favour For they remembered that it was Miltiades who coun

Herod t s ms to h ve nf d the s qu ce of nts in this ch pter

selled the Ionians to hearken when the Scyths prayed them to break up the bridge and return home. Darius, however, when the Phoenicians brought Metiochus into his presence, was so far from doing him any hurt, that he loaded him with benefits. He gave him a house and estate, and also a Persian wife, by whom there were children born to him who were accounted Persians. As for Miltiades himself, from Imbrus he made his way in safety to Athens.

42. At this time the Persians did no more hurt to the Ionians, but on the contrary, before the year was out, they carried into effect the following measures, which were greatly to their advantage. Artaphernes, satrap of Sardis, summoned deputies from all the Ionian cities, and forced them to enter into agreements with one another, not to harass each other by force of arms but to settle their disputes by legal means. He likewise took the measurement of their whole country in parasangs—such is the name which the Persians give to a distance of thirty furlongs—and settled the tributes which the several cities were to pay, at a rate that has continued unaltered from the time when Artaphernes fixed it down to the present day. The rate was very nearly the same as that which had been paid before the revolt. Such were the peaceful dealings of the Persians with the Ionians.

43. The next spring Darius superseded all the other generals, and sent down Mardonius, the son of Gobryas, to the coast, and with him a vast body of men, some fit for sea, others for land service. Mardonius was a youth at this time, and had only lately married Artazostra, the King's daughter. When Mardonius, accompanied by this numerous host, reached Cilicia, he took ship and proceeded along shore with his fleet, while the land army marched under other leaders towards the Hellespont. In the course of his voyage along the coast of Asia he came to Ionia, and here I have a marvel to relate which will greatly surprise those Greeks who cannot believe that Otanes advised the seven conspirators to make Persia a commonwealth.[8] Mardonius put

[8] It would seem that the tale related by Herodotus in Book iii, appeared incredible to the Greeks themselves. The story does not

down all the despots throughout Ionia and established democracies Having so done he hastened to the Hellespont and when a vast multitude of ships had been brought together and likewise a powerful land force he conveyed his troops across the strait by means of his vessels and proceeded through Europe against Eretria and Athens

44 At least these towns served as a pretext for the expedition the real purpose of which was to subjugate as great a number as possible of the Grecian cities and this became plain when the Thasians who did not even lift a hand in their defence were reduced by the sea force while the land army added the Macedonians to the former slaves of the king All the tribes on the hither side of Macedonia had been reduced previously From Thasos the fleet stood across to the mainland and sailed along shore to Acanthus whence an attempt was made to double Mount Athos But here a violent north wind sprang up against which nothing could contend and handled a large number of the ships with much rudeness shattering them and driving them ind upon Athos It is said the number of the ships de- *oyed was little short of 300 and the men who perished were* more than 20 000 For the sea about Athos abounds in monsters beyond all others and so a portion were seized and devoured by these animals while others were dashed violently against the ocks some who did not know how to swim were engulfed and some died of the cold

45 While thus it fared with the fleet on land Mardonius and his army were attacked in their camp during the night by the Brygi a tribe of Thracians and here vast numbers of the Persians were slain and even Mardonius him elf received a wound The Brygi nevertheless did not succeed in maintai i g their own freedom for Mardonius would not leave the coun y till he had subdued them and made them subjects of Persia Still

d r e ny suppo t fr m th pol cy h p r ed by M d n us Th P rs s h d l rnt th t th y lo t m r by uph ld ng the t t th they gain d by th e c of h i g the go rnm t f th G e k states ssimulated t th r wn T all w G ks d m cr tl tit ti ns, w ery d ff t thi g f m o t mpl ting th d pt of u h insti t s amo g themsel es

though he brought them under the yoke, the blow which his land force had received at their hands, and the great damage done to his fleet off Athos, induced him to set out upon his retreat, and so this armament, having failed disgracefully, returned to Asia

46 The year after these events, Darius received information from certain neighbours of the Thasians that those islanders were making preparations for revolt he therefore sent a herald, and bade them dismantle their walls, and bring all their ships to Abdera The Thasians, at the time when Histiaeus the Milesian made his attack upon them, had resolved that, as their income was very great, they would apply their wealth to building ships of war and surrounding their city with another and a stronger wall Their revenue was derived partly from their possessions upon the mainland partly from the mines which they owned They were masters of the gold mines at Scapte Hyle, the yearly produce of which amounted in all to eighty talents Their mines in Thasos yielded less, but still were so far prolific that, besides being entirely free from land tax, they had a surplus income derived from the two sources of their territory on the main and their mines, in common years of 200, and in the best years of 300 talents

47 I myself have seen the mines in question by far the most curious of them are those which the Phoenicians discovered a the time when they went with Thasus and colonised the island, which afterwards took its name from him These Phoenician workings are in Thasos itself, between Coenyra and a place called Aenyra, over against Samothrace a huge mountain has been turned upside down in the search for ores Such then was the source of their wealth On this occasion no sooner did the Great King issue his commands than the Thasians dismantled their wall, and took their whole fleet to Abdera

48 After this Darius resolved to prove the Greeks, and try the bent of their minds, whether they were inclined to resist him in arms or prepared to make their submission He therefore sent out heralds in divers directions round about Greece, with orders to demand everywhere earth and water for the king At the same time he sent other heralds to the various seaport towns

paid him tribute and required them to provide a number of ships of war and horse transports

49 These towns accordingly began their preparations and the heralds who had been sent into Greece obtained what the king had bid them ask from a large number of the states upon the mainland and likewise from all the islanders whom they visited Among these last were included the Aeginetans who equally with the rest consented to give earth and water to the Persian king

When the Athenians heard what the Aeginetans had done believing that it was from enmity to themselves that they had given consent and that the Aeginetans intended to join the Persian in his attack upon Athens they straightway took the matter in hand In good truth they greatly rejoiced to have so fair a pretext and accordingly they sent frequent embassies to Sparta [1] and made it a charge against the Aeginetans that their conduct in this matter proved them to be traitors to Greece

50 Hereupon Cleomenes the son of Anaxandridas who was then king of the Spartans went in person to Aegina intending to seize those whose guilt was the greatest As soon however as he tried to arrest them a number of the Aeginetans made resistance a certain Crius son of Polycritus being the foremost in violence This person told him he should not carry off a single Aeginetan without it costing him dear—the Athenians had bribed him to make this attack for which he had no warrant from his own government—otherwise both the kings would have come together to make the seizure This he said in consequence of instructions which he had received from Demaratus Hereupon Cleomenes finding that he must quit Aegina asked Crius his name and when Crius told him Get your horns tipped with brass with all speed Crius he said for you will have to struggle with a great danger

Thi ppeal aised Sparta t the g l p tect t f G ee Hith erto h h d be l d g pow f quently call d i t d th w k r gai t th st g b t th o d fmit h g m y ptng the t t f th P lop es

Cl m nes puns p th nam Cri wh h m n m In Greek.

51 Meanwhile Demaratus, son of Ariston, was bringing charges against Cleomenes at Sparta He too, like Cleomenes, was king of the Spartans, but he belonged to the lower house—not indeed that his house was of any lower origin than the other, for both houses are of one blood—but the house of Eurysthenes is the more honoured of the two, inasmuch as it is the elder branch

52 The Lacedaemonians declare, contradicting therein all the poets, that it was king Aristodemus himself, son of Aristomachus, grandson of Cleodaeus and great grandson of Hyllus, who conducted them to the land which they now possess, and not the sons of Aristodemus The wife of Aristodemus, whose name (they say) was Argeia and who was daughter of Autesion, son of Tisamenus, grandson of Thersander, and great grandson of Polynices, within a little while after their coming into the country gave birth to twins Aristodemus just lived to see his children, but died soon afterwards of a disease The Lacedaemonians of that day determined according to custom, to take for their king the elder of the two children, but they were so alike, and so exactly of one size, that they could not possibly tell which of the two to choose, so when they found themselves unable to make a choice, or even earlier, they went to the mother and asked her to tell them which was the elder, whereupon she declared that she herself did not know the children apart, although in truth she knew them very well, and only feigned ignorance in order that, if it were possible, both of them might be made kings of Sparta The Lacedaemonians were now at a loss, so they sent to Delphi and inquired of the oracle how they should deal with the matter The priestess answered, "Let both be taken to be kings, but let the elder have the greater honour " So the Lacedaemonians were in as great a strait as before, and could not conceive how they were to discover which was the first born, till at length a certain Messenian, by name Panites, suggested to them to watch and see which of the two the mother washed and fed first, if they found she always gave one the preference, that fact would tell them all they wanted know if, on the contrary, she herself varied, and

took the one first sometimes the other it would be plain that she knew as little as they in which case they must try ome other plan The Lacedaemonians did according to the advice of the Messenian and without letting her know why kept a watch upon the mother by which means they discovered that whenever she either washed or fed her children she always gave the same child the preference So they took the boy whom the mother honoured the most and regarding him as the first born brought him up in the palace and the name which they gave to the elder boy was Eurysthenes while his brother they called Procles When the brothers grew up there was always o long as they lived enmity between them and the houses sprun from their loins have continued the feud to this day

53 Thus much is related by the Lacedaemonians but not by any of the other Greeks in what follows I give the tradition of the Greeks generally The kings of the Dorians (they say)—counting up to Perseus son of Danae and so omitting the god—are rightly given in the common Greek lists and rightly considered to have been Greeks themselves for even at this early time they ranked among that people I say up to Perseus and not further because Perseus has no mortal father by whose name he is called as Heracles has in Amphitryon whereby it appears that I have reason on my side and am right in saying up to Perseus If we follow the line of Danae daughter of Acrisius and trace her progenitors we shall find that the chiefs of the Dorians are really genuine Egyptians [11] In the genealogies here given I have followed the common Greek accounts

54 According to the Persian story Perseu was an Assyrian who became a Greek his ancestors therefore according to them were not Greeks They do not admit that the forefathers of Acri ius were in any way related to Perseus but say they were Egyptians as the Greeks likewise testify

55 Enough however of this subject How it came to pass that Egyptians obtained the kingdoms of the Dorians and what they did to rai e them elves to such a position these are questions which as they have been treated by others I shall say nothing

[11] H odot beli in th tale wh h bri g D f m Egypt

I proceed to speak of points on which no other writer has touched

56 The prerogatives which the Spartans have allowed their kings are the following In the first place, two priesthoods, those (namely) of Lacedaemonian and of Celestial Zeus, also the right of making war on what country soever they please, without hindrance from any of the other Spartans, under pain of outlawry, on service the privilege of marching first in the advance and last in the retreat, and of having 100 picked men for their body guard while with the army likewise the liberty of sacrificing as many cattle in their expeditions as it seems them good, and the right of having the skins and the chines of the slaughtered animals for their own use

57 Such are their privileges in war, in peace their rights are as follows When a citizen makes a public sacrifice the kings are given the first seats at the banquet, they are served before any of the other guests, and have a double portion of everything, they take the lead in the libations, and the hides of the sacrificed beasts belong to them Every month, on the first day, and again on the seventh of the first decade, each king receives a beast without blemish at the public cost, which he offers up to Apollo, likewise a medimnus of meal, and of wine a Laconian quart In the contests of the games they have always the seat of honour, they appoint the citizens who have to entertain foreigners,[12] they also nominate, each of them, two of the Pythians, officers whose business it is to consult the oracle at Delphi, who eat with the kings, and, like them, live at the public charge If the kings do not come to the public supper, each of them must have two choenixes of meal and a cotyle of wine sent home to him at his house if they come, they are given a double quantity of each, and the same when any private man invites

[12] The Proxeni whose special duty was to receive and entertain ambassadors from foreign states The chief states of Greece had generally a proxenus at all the more important towns who undertook this d[uty] was always a native of the place and except at Sparta was [appointed] to his office by the state whose proxenus he was At Sparta in [consequence] of the greater jealousy of foreigners, the state insisted on its [appointing] the proxeni

them to his table They have the custody of all the oracles which are pronounced but the Pythian must likewise have knowledge of them They have the whole decision of certain causes which are the e and these only When a maiden is left the heiress of her father s estate and has not been betrothed by him to any one they decide who is to marry her in all matters concerning the public highways they judge and if a per_on wants to adopt a child he must do it before the kin s They likewise have the right of sitting in council with the twenty eight senators and if they are not present then the senators neare t of kin to them have their privileges and give two votes as the royal proxies be ides a third vote which is their own

58 Such are the honours which the Spartan people have allowed their kin_s during their lifetime after they are dead other honours await them Horsemen carry the news of their death through all Laconia while in the city the women go hither and thither drumming upon a kettle At this ignal in every house two free persons a man and a woman must put on mourning or else be subject to a heavy fine The Lacedaemonians have likewi e a custom at the demise of their kin s which is common to them with the barbarians of A ia—indeed with the greater number of the barbarians everywhere—that when one of their kin_s dies not only the Spartans but a certain number of the country people rom every part of Laconia are forced whether they will or no to attend the funeral So the e persons and the Helots and likewise the Spartans themselves [13] flock together to the number of several thousands men and women intermingled and all of them smite their foreheads violently and weep and wail without stint aying always that their last king was th best If a king dies in battle then they make a tatue

[13] Th th e la f wh h the L ced mo an p p l ti n c t d a h re very cl ly distinguish d f m ne noth r 1 Th I oeci i inhab t t f th ou ry di t t th desc d nt th f the submitt d A h s Th H l ts se fs who t lled th so l upo the tates f the Do ia l l d sc d d in p t f m A h t k n with rms thei h ds b t chi fly f m the nq d M ss and 3 The Sp ta s o D rian c q ro s who were th ly t d wh lived m t xcl si ly in th cap t l

of him, and placing it upon a couch right bravely decked so carry it to the grave After the burial, for the space of ten days there is no assembly nor do they elect magistrates, but continue mourning the whole time

59 They hold with the Persians also in another custom When a king dies and another comes to the throne the newly made monarch forgives all the Spartans the debts which they owe either to the king or to the public treasury And in like manner among the Persians each king when he begins to reign remits the tribute due from the provinces

60 In one respect the Lacedaemonians resemble the Egyptians Their heralds and flute players and likewise their cooks, take their trades by succession from their fathers A flute player must be the son of a flute player, a cook of a cook, a herald of a herald, and other people cannot take advantage of the loudness of their voice to come into the profession and shut out the heralds sons, but each follows his father s business[14] Such are the customs of the Lacedaemonians

61 At the time of which we are speaking while Cleomenes in Aegina was labouring for the general good of Greece, Demaratus at Sparta continued to bring charges against him, moved not so much by love of the Aeginetans as by jealousy and hatred of his colleague Cleomenes therefore was no sooner returned from Aegina than he considered with himself how he might deprive Demaratus of his kingly office, and here the following circumstance furnished a ground for him to proceed upon Ariston king of Sparta, had been married to two wives, but neither of them had borne him any children as however he still though it was possible he might have offspring, he resolved to wed a third, and this was how the wedding was brought about He had a certain friend, a Spartan, with whom he was more intimate than with any other citizen This friend was married to a wife whose beauty far surpassed that of all the other women in Sparta and what was still more strange, she had once been as ugly as she now was beautiful For her nurse, seeing how ill

[14] No general caste system should be inferred this is merely the tendency of a society as conservative as Sparta s.

favoured she was and how sadly her parents who were wealthy people took her bad looks to heart bethought herself of a plan which was to carry the child every day to the temple of Helen at Therapna which stands above the Phoebeum and there to place her before the image and beseech the goddess to take away the child s ugliness One day as she left the temple a woman appeared to her and begged to know what it was she held in her arms The nurse told her it was a child on which she asked to see it but the nurse refused the parents she said had forbidden her to show the child to any one However the woman would not take a denial and the nurse seeing how highly she prized a look at last let her see the child Then the woman gently stroked its head and said One day this child shall be the fairest dame in Sparta And her looks began to change from that very day When she was of marriageable age Agetus son of Alcides the same whom I have mentioned above as the friend of Ariston made her his wife

62 Now it chanced that Ariston fell in love with this person and his love so preyed upon his mind that at last he devised as follows He went to his friend who was the woman s husband and proposed to him that they should exchange gifts each taking that which pleased him best out of all the possessions of the other His friend who felt no alarm about his wife since Ariston was also married consented readily and so the matter was confirmed between them by an oath Then Ariston gave Agetus the present whatever it was of which he had made choice and when it came to his turn to name the present which he was to receive in exchange required to be allowed to carry home with him Agetus wife But the other demurred and said he might have anything else except his wife however as he could not resist the oath which he had sworn or the trickery which had been practised on him at last he suffered Ariston to carry her away to his house

63 Ariston hereupon put away his second wife and took for his third this woman and she in less than the due time when she had not yet reached her full term of ten months gave birth to a child the Demaratus of whom we have spoken Then one

of his servants came and told him the news as he sat in council with the Ephors whereat remembering when it was that the woman became his wife, he counted the months upon his fingers and having so done, cried out with an oath "The boy cannot be mine" This was said in the hearing of the Ephors but they made no account of it at the time The boy grew up and Ariston repented of what he had said for he became altogether convinced that Demaratus was truly his son The reason why he named him Demaratus was the following Some time before these events the whole Spartan people looking upon Ariston as a man of mark beyond all the kings that had reigned at Sparta before him, had offered up a prayer that he might have a son On this account therefore the name Demaratus[1] was given

64 In course of time Ariston died and Demaratus received the kingdom but it was fated, as it seems that these words when bruited abroad should strip him of his sovereignty This was brought about by means of Cleomenes whom he had twice sorely vexed once when he led the army home from Eleusis and a second time when Cleomenes was gone across to Aegina against such as had espoused the side of the Medes

65 Cleomenes now, being resolved to have his revenge upon Demaratus, went to Leotychides, the son of Menares, and grandson of Agis, who was of the same family as Demaratus, and made agreement with him to this tenor following Cleomenes was to lend his aid to make Leotychides king in place of Demaratus, and then Leotychides was to take part with Cleomenes against the Aeginetans Now Leotychides hated Demaratus chiefly on account of Percalus, the daughter of Chilon, son of Demarmenus she had been betrothed to Leotychides, but Demaratus laid a plot and robbed him of his bride, forestalling him in carrying her off, and marrying her Such was the origin of the enmity At the time of which we speak, Leotychides was prevailed upon by the earnest desire of Cleomenes to come forward against Demaratus and make oath "that Demaratus was not rightful king of Sparta, since he was not the true son of

[1] Dem aratus is the People prayed for king The ten months are lunar reckoned inclusively

Ariston After he had thus sworn Leotychides sued Demaratus and brought up against him the phrase which Ariston had let drop when on the coming of his servant to announce to him the birth of his son he counted the month and cried out with an oath that the child was not his It was on this speech of Ariston s that Leotychides relied to prov that Demaratus was not his son and therefore not rightful king of Sparta and he produced as witnesses the Ephors who were sitting with Ariston at the time and heard what he said

66 At last as there came to be much strife concerning this matter the Spartans made a decree that the Delphic oracle should be asked to say whether Demaratus were Ariston son or no Cleomenes set them upon this plan and no sooner was the decree passed than he made a friend of Cobon the son of Aristophantus a man of the greatest weight among the Delphians and this man prevailed upon Perialla the prophetess to give the answer which Cleomenes wished Accordingly when the sacred messengers came and put their question the priestess answered that Demaratus was not Ariston s son Some time afterwards all this became known and Cobon was forced to fly from Delphi while Perialla the prophetess was deprived of her office

67 Such were the means whereby the deposition of Demaratus was brought about but his flying from Sparta to the Medes was by rea on of the following reproach On losing his kingdom he had been made a magistrate and in that office soon afterwards when the feast of the Naked Youths came round he took his station among the lookers-on whereupon Leotychides who was now king in his stead sent a servant to him and asked him by way of insult and mockery how it felt to be a magistrate after one had been a king Demaratus who was hurt at the question answered Tell him I have tried them both but he has not However this speech will be the cause to Sparta of infinite blessings or else of infinite woes Having thus spoken he wrapped his head in his robe and leaving the theatre went home to his own house where he prepared an ox for sacrific and offered it to Zeus after which he called for his mother

68 When he appeared he took of the entrails and placing

them in her hand, besought her in these words following, 'Dear mother, I beseech you, by all the gods, and chiefly by our own hearth-god Zeus, tell me the truth, who was really my father. For Leotychides, in the suit which we had together, declared that when you became Ariston's wife you were already pregnant by your former husband and others repeat a yet more disgraceful tale, that our groom seduced you and that I am his son. I entreat you therefore by the gods to tell me the truth. For if you went astray, you did no more than many a woman; and the Spartans remark it as strange if I am Ariston's son, that he had no children by his other wives.'

69 Thus spoke Demaratus and his mother replied as follows, "Dear son, since you beg so earnestly for the truth, it shall indeed be fully told to you. When Ariston brought me to his house, on the third night after my coming, there appeared to me one like to Ariston, who, after lying with me, rose, and taking the garlands from his own brows placed them upon my head, and so went away. Presently Ariston entered, and when he saw the garlands which I still wore, asked me who gave them to me. I said they were his, but this he stoutly denied, whereupon I solemnly swore that it was none other, and told him he did not do well to dissemble when he had so lately lain with me and left the garlands with me. Then Ariston, when he heard my oath, understood that there was something beyond nature in what had taken place. And indeed it appeared that the garlands had come from the hero temple which stands by our court gates, the temple of him they call Astrabacus, and the soothsayers, moreover, declared that the apparition was that very person. And now, my son, I have told you all you wished to know. Either you are the son of that hero—you may call Astrabacus sire, or else Ariston was your father. As for that matter which they who hate you urge the most, the words of Ariston, who, when the messenger told him of your birth, declared before many witnesses that you were not his son, forasmuch as the ten months were not fully out, it was a random speech, uttered from mere ignorance. The truth is, children are born not only at t[en] months, but at nine, and even at seven. You were, my so[n],

seven months child Ariston acknowled ed no long time after wards that his speech sprang from thoughtlessness Hearken *not then to other tales concerning your birth my son for be* assured you have the whole truth As for grooms pray heaven Leotychides and all who speak as he does may suffer wron from them Such was the mother s answer

70 Demaratus having learned all that he wished to know took with him provisions for the journey and went into Elis pretending that he proposed to proceed to Delphi and there consult the oracle The Lacedaemonians however suspecting that he meant to fly his ountry sent men in pursuit of him but Demaratus hastened and leaving Elis before they arrived sailed across to Zacynthus The Lacedaemonians followed and ought to lay hands upon him and to separate him from his retinue but the Zacynthians would not give him up to them so he escaping made his way afterwards by sea to Asia and presented himself before King Darius who received him generously and gave him both lands and cities Such was the chance which drove Demaratus to Asia a man distinguished among the Lacedaemonians for many noble deeds and wise counsels and who alone of all the Spartan kings brought honour to his country by winning at Olympia the prize in the four horse chariot race

71 After Demaratus was deposed Leotychides the son of Menares received the kingdom He had a son Zeuxidamus called Cyniscus by many of the Spartans This Zeuxidamus did not reign at Sparta bu died before his father leaving a son Archidamus Leotychides when Zeuxidamus was taken from him married a second w fe named Eurydame the sister of Menius and daughter of Diactorides By her he had no ma off spring but only a daughter called Lampito whom he gave in marriage to Archidamus Zeux damus son

72 Even Leotychides however did not spend his old age in Sparta but suffered a punishment whereby Demaratus was fully avenged He commanded the Lacedaemonians when they made war against Thessaly and might have conquered the *whole of it but was bribed by a large sum of money* It chanced that he was caught in the fact being found sitting in his tent

on a gauntlet quite full of silver Upon this he was brought to trial and banished from Sparta his house was razed to the ground, and he himself fled to Tegea where he ended his days But these events took place long afterwards

73 At the time of which we are speaking Cleomenes, having carried his proceedings in the matter of Demaratus to a prosperous issue, forthwith took Leotychides with him, and crossed over to attack the Aeginetans for his anger was hot against them on account of the affront which they had formerly put upon him Hereupon the Aeginetans, seeing that both the kings were come against them, thought it best to make no further resistance So the two kings picked out from all Aegina the ten men who for wealth and birth stood the highest, among whom were Crius son of Polycritus, and Casambus, son of Aristocrates, who wielded the chief power, and these men they carried with them to Attica, and there deposited them in the hands of the Athenians, the great enemies of the Aeginetans

74 Afterwards, when it came to be known what evil arts had been used against Demaratus Cleomenes was seized with fear of his own countrymen, and fled into Thessaly From thence he passed into Arcadia where he began to stir up troubles, and endeavoured to unite the Arcadians against Sparta He bound them by various oaths to follow him whithersoever he should lead, and was even desirous of taking their chief leaders with him to the city of Nonacris, that he might swear them to his cause by the waters of the Styx For the waters of Styx, as the Arcadians say, are in that city, and this is the appearance they present you see a little water, dripping from a rock into a basin, which is fenced round by a low wall Nonacris, where this fountain is to be seen, is a city of Arcadia near Pheneus

75 When the Lacedaemonians heard how Cleomenes was engaged, they were afraid, and agreed with him that he should come back to Sparta and be king as before So Cleomenes came back, but had no sooner returned than he, who had never been altogether of sound mind, was smitten with downright madness This he showed by striking every Spartan he met upon the fa with his sceptre On his behaving thus, and showing that he

gone quite out of his mind his kindred imprisoned him and even put his feet in the stocks While so bound finding himself left alone with a single keeper he asked the man for a knife The keeper at first refused whereupon Cleomenes began to threaten him until at last he was afraid being only a Helot and gave him what he required Cleomenes had no sooner got the steel than beginning at his legs he horribly disfigured himself cutting gashes in his flesh along his le s thighs hip and loins until at last he reached his belly which he likewise began to gash whereupon in a little time he died The Greeks generally think that this fate came upon him because he induced the priestess to pronounce against Demaratus the Athenians differ from all others in saying that it was because he cut down the sacred grove of the goddesses when he made his invasion by Eleusis while the Argives ascribed it to his having taken from their refuge and cut to pieces certain Argives who had fled from battle into a precinct sacred to Argus where Cleomenes slew them burning likewise at the same time through irreverence the grove itself

76 For once when Cleomenes had sent to Delphi to consult the oracle it was prophesied to him that he should take Argos upon which he went out at the head of the Spartans and led them to the river Erasinus This stream is reported to flow from the Stymphalian lake the waters of which empty themselves into a pitch-dark chasm and then (as they say) reappear in Argos where the Argives call them the Erasinus Cleomenes having arrived up the banks of this river proceeded to offer sacrifice to it but in spite of all that he could do the victims were not favourable to his crossing So he said that he admired the god for refusing to betray his countrymen but still the Argives should not escape him for all that He then withdrew his troops and led them down to Thyrea where he sacrificed a bull to the sea and conveyed his men on shipboard to Nauplia in the Tirynthian territory

77 The Argives when they heard of this marched down to the sea to defend their country and arriving in the nei hbourhood of Tiryns at the place which bears the name of Sepeia

they pitched their camp opposite to the Lacedaemonians, leaving no great space between the hosts And now their fear was not so much lest they should be worsted in open fight as lest some trick should be practised on them, for such was the danger which the oracle given to them in common with the Milesians seemed to intimate The oracle ran as follows

Time shall be when the female shall conquer the male, and shall
chase him
Far away, gaining so great praise and honour in Argos,
Then full many an Argive woman her cheeks shall mangle
Hence, in the times to come 'twill be said by the men who are
unborn,
"Tamed by the spear expired the coiled terrible serpent"

At the coincidence of all these things the Argives were greatly cast down, and so they resolved that they would follow the signals of the enemy's herald Having made this resolve, they proceeded to act as follows whenever the herald of the Lacedaemonians gave any order to the soldiers of his own army, the Argives did the like on their side

78 Now when Cleomenes heard that the Argives were acting thus, he commanded his troops that, so soon as the herald gave the word for the soldiers to go to dinner, they should instantly seize their arms and charge the host of the enemy Which the Lacedaemonians did accordingly, and fell upon the Argives just as, following the signal, they had begun their repast, whereby vast numbers of the Argives were slain, while the rest, who were more than they which died in the fight, were driven to take refuge in the grove of Argus hard by, where they were surrounded, and watch kept upon them

79 When things were at this pass Cleomenes acted as follows Having learnt the names of the Argives who were shut up in the sacred precinct from certain deserters who had come over to him, he sent a herald to summon them one by one, on pretence of having received their ransoms Now the ransom of prisoners among the Peloponnesians is fixed at two minae the man So Cleomenes had these persons called forth severally, to

number of fifty or thereabouts and massacred them All this while they who remained in the enclosure knew nothing of what was happening for the grove was so thick that the people inside were unable to see what was taking place without But at last one of their number climbed up into a tree and spied the treach ery after which none of those who were summoned would go forth

80 Then Cleomenes ordered all the Helots to bring brush wood and heap it around the grove which was done accord ingly and Cleomenes set the grove on fire As the flames spread he asked a deserter who was the god of the grove whereto the other answered Argus So he when he heard that uttered a loud groan and said Greatly you deceived me Apollo god of prophecy in saying that I should take Argos I fear your oracle has now got its accomplishment

81 Cleomenes now sent home the greater part of his army while with a thousand of his best troops he proceeded to the temple of Hera [16] to offer sacrifice When however he would have slain the victim on the altar himself the priest forbade him as it was not lawful (he said) for a foreigner to sacrifice in that temple At this Cleomenes ordered his Helots to drag the priest from the altar and scourge him while he performed the sacrifice himself after which he went back to Sparta

8 Thereupon his enemies brought him up before the Eph ors and made it a charge against him that he had allowed himself to be bribed and on that account had not taken Argos when h mi ht have captured it easily To this he answered whether truly or falsely I cannot say with certainty but at any rate his answer to the charge was that so soon as he discovered the sacred precinct which he had taken to belong to Argus he *directly im g.ned that the oracle had received its accomplish* ment he therefore thought it not good to attempt the town at the lea.t until he had inquired by sacrifice and ascertained if the god meant to grant him the place or was determined to oppose

[16] This t mpl of J o of the m t f m a t q ty w sit ated b twee My na nd A gos, t a dista e f less tha two miles f m the fo-me place.

his taking it So he offered in the temple of Hera, and when th omens were propitious, immediately there flashed forth a flam of fire from the breast of the image, wherefrom he knew that h was not to take Argos For if the flash had come from the head he would have gained the town, citadel and all, but as it shon from the breast, he had done as much as the god intended An his words seemed to the Spartans so true and reasonable tha he came clear off from his adversaries

83 Argos however was left so bare of men that the slave managed the state filled the offices, and administered every thing until the sons of those who were slain by Cleomenes grew up Then these latter cast out the slaves, and got the city back under their own rule, while the slaves who had been driven out fought a battle and won Tiryns After this for a time there was peace between the two but a certain man, a soothsayer, named Cleander, who was by race a Phigalean from Arcadia, joined himself to the slaves, and stirred them up to make a fresh attack upon their lords Then were they at war with one another for many years, but at length the Argives with much trouble gained the upper hand

84 The Argives say that Cleomenes lost his senses, and died so miserably, on account of these doings But his own countrymen declare that his madness proceeded not from any super natural cause whatever, but only from the habit of drinking wine unmixed with water, which he learnt of the Scyths These nomads from the time that Darius made his inroad into their country, had always had a wish for revenge They therefore sent ambassadors to Sparta to conclude a league, proposing to en deavour themselves to enter Media by the Phasis, while the Spartans should march inland from Ephesus, and then the two armies should join together in one When the Scyths came to Sparta on this errand Cleomenes was with them continually, and growing somewhat too familiar, learned of them to drink his wine without water, a practice which is thought by the Spartans to have caused his madness From this distance of time the Spartans, according to their own account, have been accus tomed, when they want to drink purer wine, aar

give the order to fill Scythian fashion The Spartans then speak thus concerning Cleomenes but for my own part I think his death was a judgment on him fo wronging Demaratus

85 No sooner did the news of Cleomenes death reach Aegina than straightway the Aeginetans ent ambassadors to Sparta to complain of the conduct of Leotychides in re pect of their hos tages who were still kept at Athens So they of Lacedaemon as sembled a court of justice and gave sentence upon Leotychides that whereas he had gros ly affronted the people of Aegina he hould be given up to the ambassadors to be led away in place of the men whom the Athenians had in their keeping Then the ambassadors were about to lead him away but Thea ide the on of Leoprepes who was a man greatly esteemed in Sparta interfered and said to them What do you intend to do men of Aegina? To lead away captive the king of the Spartans whom his countrymen have given into your hands? Though now in their an er they have pas ed this senten e yet the time will con e when they will punish you if you act thus by bringing utter destruction upon your country

The Aegin tans wh n they heard this changed their plan and instead of leading Leotychides away captive agreed with him that he should come with them to Athens and give them back thei men

86 When however he reached that city and demanded the re tor it on of his pledge the Ath nians being unwilling to comply proceeded to make excuse saying that two kings had come and left the men with them and they did not think it right to give them ba k to the one without the other So when the Athenians refused plainly to restore the men Leotychides said to them

Men of Athens act which way you choose—give me up the hostages and be ri hteous or keep them and be the contrary I wish however to tell you what happened once in Sparta about a pled e The story goes among us that three generations back there lived in Lacedaemon one Glaucus the son of Epicydes a man who in every other respect was on a par with the first in the kingdom and who e character for justice was such as to place

him above all the other Spartans Now to this man at the appointed season the following events happened A certain Milesian came to Sparta and having desired to speak with him, said, 'I am of Miletus, and I have come here, Glaucus, in the hope of profiting by your honesty For when I heard much talk in Ionia and through all the rest of Greece, and when I observed that whereas Ionia is always insecure, the Peloponnese stands firm and unshaken, and noted likewise how wealth is continually changing hands in our country, I took counsel with myself and *resolved to turn one half of my substance into money*, and *place* it in your hands, since I am well assured that it will be safe in your keeping Here then is the silver—take it—and take likewise these tokens, and be careful of them remember you are to give back the money to the person who shall bring you their fellows' Such were the words of the Milesian stranger, and Glaucus took the deposit on the terms expressed to him Many years had gone by when the sons of the man by whom the money was left came to Sparta, and had an interview with Glaucus, whereat they produced the tokens, and asked to have the money returned to them But Glaucus sought to refuse, and answered them, 'I have no recollection of the matter, nor can I bring to mind any of those particulars whereof you speak When I remember, I will certainly do what is just If I had the money, you have a right to receive it back, but if it was never given to me, I shall put the Greek law in force against you For the present I give you no answer, but four months hence I will settle the business' So the Milesians went away sorrowful, considering that their money was utterly lost to them As for Glaucus, he made a journey to Delphi, and there consulted the oracle To his question if he should swear,[1] and so make prize of the money, the priestess returned for answer these lines following

Best for the present it were, Glaucus, to do as thou wishest,
Swearing an oath to prevail, and so to make prize of the money

[1] The Greek law allowed an accused person, with the consent of the accuser to clear himself of a crime imputed to him, by taking an oath that the charge was false

Swear then—death is the lot e en of those who ne\er swear falsely
Yet hath the Oath God a son who is nameless footless and handless
Mighty in strength he approaches to ven eance and whelms in destruction
All who belong to the race or the house of the man who is per jured
But oath keeping men leave behind them a flourishing offspring

Glaucus when he heard these words earnestly besought the god to pardon his question but the priestess replied that it was as bad to have tempted the god as it would ha e been to have done the deed Glaucus however sent for the Milesian strangers and gave them back their money And now I will tell you Athenians what my purpose has been in recounting to you this history Glaucus at the present time has not a single descendant nor is there any family known as his—root and branch has he been removed from Sparta It is a good thing therefore when a pledge has been left with one not even in thought to doubt about restoring it

Thus spoke Leotychides but as he found that the Athenians would not listen to him he left them and went his way

87 The Aeginetans had never been punished for the wrongs which to please the Thebans they had committed upon Athens Now however conceiving that they were themselves wronged and had a fair ground of complaint against the Athenians they instantly prepared to revenge themselves As it chanced that the Athenians were holding a quadrennial festival at Sunium the Aeginetans contrived an ambush and made themselves masters of the embassy vessel on board of which were a number of Athenians of the highest rank whom they took and threw into prison

88 At this outrage the Athenians no longer delayed but set to work to scheme their worst against the Aeginetans and as there was in Aegina at that time a man of mark Nicodromus by name the son of Cnoethus who was on ill terms with his coun trymen because on a former occasion they had driven him into

banishment, they listened to overtures from this man, who had heard how determined they were to harm the Aeginetans, and agreed with him that on a certain day he should be ready to betray the island into their hands, and they would come with a body of troops to his assistance And Nicodromus, some time after, holding to the agreement, made himself master of what is called the old town

89 The Athenians, however, did not come to the day, for their own fleet was not of force sufficient to engage the Aeginetans, and while they were begging the Corinthians to lend them some ships, the failure of the enterprise took place In those days the Corinthians were on the best of terms with the Athenians, and accordingly they now yielded to their request and furnished them with twenty ships, but, as their law did not allow the ships to be given for nothing, they sold them to the Athenians for five drachmas apiece As soon then as the Athenians had obtained this aid, and, by manning also their own ships, had equipped a fleet of seventy sail, they crossed over to Aegina, but arrived a day later than the time agreed upon

90 Meanwhile Nicodromus, when he found the Athenians did not come at the time appointed, took ship and made his escape from the island The Aeginetans who accompanied him were settled by the Athenians at Sunium, whence they were wont to issue forth and plunder the Aeginetans of the island But this took place at a later date

91 When the wealthier Aeginetans had thus obtained the victory over the common people who had revolted with Nicodromus, they laid hands on a certain number of them, and led them out to death But here they were guilty of a sacrilege, which, notwithstanding all their efforts, they were never able to atone, being driven from the island[18] before they had appeased the goddess whom they provoked Seven hundred of the common people had fallen alive into their hands, and they were all being let out to death, when one of them escaped from his chains, and flying to the gateway of the temple of Demeter the

Herodotus refers to the expulsion of the Aeginetans by the Athenians in the first year of the Peloponnesian war 431 B C

Lawgiver laid hold of the door handles and clung to them The others sought to drag him from his refuge but finding them elves unable to tear him away they cut off his hands and so took him *leaving the hands still tightly grasping the handles*

92 Such were the doings of the Aeginetans among themselves When the Athenians arrived they went out to meet them with seventy ships and a battle took place wherein the Aeginetans suffered a defeat Hereupon they had recourse again to their old allies the Argives but these latter refused now to lend them any aid being angry because some Aeginetan ships which Cleomenes had taken by force accompanied him in his invasion of Argolis and joined in the disembarkation The same thing had happened at the same time with certain vessels of the Sicyonians and the Argives had laid a fine of 1 000 talents upon the misdoers 500 upon each whereupon the Sicyonians acknowledged themselves guilty and agreed with the Argives to pay them 100 talents *and so be quit of the debt* but the Aeginetans would make no acknowledgment at all and showed themselves proud and stiff necked For this reason when they now prayed the Argives for aid the state refused to send them a single soldier Notwithstanding volunteers joined them from Argos to the number of 1 000 under a captain Eurybates a man skilled in the pentathlon [9] Of these men the greater part never returned but were slain by the Athenians in Aegina Eurybates their captain fought a number of single combats and after killing three men in this way was himself slain by the fourth *who was a Decelean named Sophanes*

93 Afterwards the Aeginetans fell upon the Athenian fleet when it was in some disorder and beat it capturing four ships with their crews

94 Thus did war rage between the Aeginetans and Athenians Meantime the Persian pursued his own design from day to day exhorted by his servant to remember the Athenians and likewise urged continually by the Pisistratidae who were ever accusing their countrymen Moreover it pleased him well to

[9] This c nsisted of th fi spo t of jumping running th ing th discu hurli g th pe and wr stling

have a pretext for carrying war into Greece, that so he might reduce all those who had refused to give him earth and water As for Mardonius, since his expedition had succeeded so ill, Darius took the command of the troops from him, and appointed other generals in his stead, who were to lead the host against Eretria and Athens, Datis, who was by descent a Mede, and Artaphernes, the son of Artaphernes, his own nephew These men received orders to carry Athens and Eretria away captive, and to bring the prisoners into his presence

95 So the new commanders took their departure from the court and went down to Cilicia, to the Aleian plain, having with them a numerous and well appointed land army Encamping here, they were joined by the sea force which had been required of the several states and at the same time by the horse transports which Darius had, the year before, commanded his tributaries to make ready Aboard these the hor es were embarked, and the troops were received by the ships of war, after which the whole fleet, amounting in all to 600 triremes, made sail for Ionia Thence, instead of proceeding with a straight course along the shore to the Hellespont and to Thrace, they loo ed from Samos and voyaged across the Icarian sea through the midst of the islands, mainly, as I believe, because they feared the danger of doubling Mount Athos, where the year before they had suffered so grievously on their passage, but a constraining cause also was their former failure to take Naxos

96 When the Persians, therefore, approaching from the Icarian sea, cast anchor at Naxos, which, recollecting what there befell them formerly, they had determined to attack before any other state, the Naxians, instead of encountering them, took to flight, and hurried off to the hills The Persians however succeeded in laying hands on some, and them they carried away captive, while at the same time they burnt all the temples together with the town This done, they left Naxos, and sailed away to the other islands

97 While the Persians were thus employed, the Delians
wise quitted Delos, and took refuge in Tenos And
pedition drew near, when Datis sailed forward in a

other ships which he commanded instead of anchoring at Delos to rendezvous at Rhenea over against Delos while he himself proceeded to discover whither the Delians had fled after which he sent a herald to them with this message

Why have you fled O holy men? Why have you judged me so harshly and so wrongfully? I have surely sense enough even had not the king so ordered to spare the country which gave birth to the two gods to spare I say both the country and its inhabitants Come back therefore to your dwellings and once more inhabit your island Such was the message which Datis sent by his herald to the Delians He likewise placed upon the altar 300 talents weight of frankincense and offered it

98 After this he sailed with his whole host against Eretria taking with him both Ionians and Aeolians When he was departed Delos (as the Delians told me) was shaken by an earthquake the first and last shock that has been felt to this day And truly this was a prodigy whereby the god warned men of the evils that were coming upon them For in the three followin generations of Darius the son of Hystaspes Xerxes the son of Darius and Artaxerxes the son of Xerxes more woes befell Greece than in the twenty generations preceding Darius [20] woes caused in part by the Persians but in part arising from the contentions among their own chief men respecting the supreme power Wherefore it is not surprising that Delos though it had never before been shaken should at that time have felt the shock of an earthquake And indeed there was an oracle which said of Delos

Delos self will I shake which never yet has been shaken

Of the above names Darius may be rendered Worker Xerxes Warrior and Artaxerxes Great Warrior And so we might call these kin s in our own language with propriety

99 The barbarians setting out from Delos proceeded to

[20] D nus eig d 5 486 .c X rx 486 465 B.C a d Arta rx 465 424 B.C A tax rx m y b b l t'll wh H d tu w t th passage

touch at the other islands, and took troops from each, and likewise carried off a number of the children as hostages Going thus from one to another, they came at last to Carystus, but here the hostages were refused by the Carystians, who said they would neither give any, nor consent to bear arms against the cities of their neighbours, meaning Athens and Eretria Hereupon the Persians laid siege to Carystus, and wasted the country round, until at last the inhabitants were brought over and agreed to do what was required of them

100 Meanwhile the Eretrians, understanding that the Persian armament was coming against them, besought the Athenians for assistance Nor did the Athenians refuse their aid, but assigned to them as auxiliaries the 4,000 landholders to whom *they had allotted the estates of the Chalcidean Hippobatae* At Eretria, however, things were in no healthy state for though they had called in the aid of the Athenians, yet they were not agreed among themselves how they should act, some of them being minded to leave the city and to take refuge in the heights of Euboea, while others who looked to receiving a reward from the Persians, were making ready to betray their country So when these things came to the ears of Aeschines, the son of Nothon, one of the first men in Eretria, he made known the whole state of affairs to the Athenians who were already arrived, and urged them to return home to their own land, and not perish with his countrymen And the Athenians followed his advice, and crossing over to Oropus, in this way escaped the danger

101 The Persian fleet now drew near and anchored at Tamynae, Choereae, and Aegilia, three places in the territory of Eretria Once masters of these posts, they proceeded forthwith to disembark their horses, and made ready to attack the enemy But the Eretrians were not minded to sally forth and offer battle, their only care, after it had been resolved not to quit the city, was, if possible, to defend their walls And now the fortress was assaulted in good earnest, and for six days there fell on both sides vast numbers, but on the seventh day Euphorbus, the son of Alcimachus, and Philagrus, the son of Cyneas, who were both citizens of good repute, betrayed the place to the

These were no sooner entered within the walls than they plundered and burnt all the temples that there were in the town in revenge for the burning of their own temples at Sardis moreover they did according to the orders of Darius and carried away captive all the inhabitants

102 The Persians having thus brought Eretria into subjection after waiting a few days sailed for Attica greatly straitening the Athenians as they approached and thinking to deal with them as they had dealt with the people of Eretria And because there was no place in all Attica so convenient for their horse as Marathon and it lay moreover quite close to Eretria therefore Hippias the son of Pisistratus conducted them thither

103 When intelligence of this reached the Athenians they likewise marched their troops to Marathon and there stood on the defensive having at their head ten generals of whom one was Miltiades

Now this man s father Cimon the son of Stesagoras was banished from Athens by Pisistratus the son of Hippocrates In his banishment it was his fortune to win the four horse chariot race at Olympia whereby he gained the very same honour which had before been carried off by Miltiades his half brother on the moth r s side At the next Olympiad he won the prize again with the same mares upon which he caused Pisistratus to be proclaimed the winner having made an agreement with him that on yielding him this honour he should be allowed to come back to his country Afterwards still with the same mares he won the prize a third time whereupon he was put to death by the sons of Pisistratus whose father was no longer living They set men to lie in wait for him secretly and these men slew him near the town hall in the night time He was buried outside the city beyond what is called the Valley Road and right opposite his tomb were buried the mares which had won the three prizes The same success had likewise been achieved once previously to wit by the mares of Evagoras the Lacedaemonian but never except by them At the time of Cimon s death Stesagoras the elder of his two sons was in the Chersonese where he lived with Miltiades his uncle the younger who was called Miltiades after the

founder of the Chersonesite colony, was with his father in Athens

104 It was this Miltiades who now commanded the Athenians, after escaping from the Chersonese, and twice nearly losing his life First he was chased as far as Imbrus by the Phoenicians, who had a great desire to take him and carry him up to the king, and when he had avoided this danger, and, having reached his own country, thought himself to be altogether in safety, he found his enemies waiting for him, and was cited by them before a court and impeached for his tyranny in the Chersonese But he came off victorious here likewise, and was thereupon made general of the Athenians by the free choice of the people

105 And first, before they left the city, the generals sent off to Sparta a herald, one Philippides, who was by birth an Athenian, and by profession and practice a trained runner This man, according to the account which he gave to the Athenians on his return, when he was near Mount Parthenium, above Tegea, fell in with the god Pan, who called him by his name, and bade him ask the Athenians, "Why they neglected him so entirely, when he was kindly disposed towards them, and had often helped them in times past, and would do so again in time to come?" The Athenians, entirely believing in the truth of this report, as soon as their affairs were once more in good order, set up a temple to Pan under the Acropolis, and, in return for the message which I have recorded, established in his honour yearly sacrifices and a torch race

106 On the occasion of which we speak, when Philippides was sent by the Athenian generals, and, according to his own account, saw Pan on his journey, he reached Sparta on the very next day after quitting the city of Athens Upon his arrival he went before the rulers, and said

"Men of Lacedaemon, the Athenians beseech you to hasten to their aid, and not allow that state, which is the most ancient in all Greece, to be enslaved by the barbarians Eretria is already carried away captive, and Greece weakened by the loss of mean city"

Thus did Philippides deliver the message committed to him And the Spartans wished to help the Athenians but were unable to give them any pre ent aid as they did not like to break their stablished law It was the ninth day of the month and they could not march out of Sparta on the ninth when the moon had not reached the full So they waited for the full of the moon

107 The barbarians were conducted to Marathon by Hippias the son of Pisistratus who the night before had seen a strange vision in his leep He seemed to have intercourse with his mother and conjectured the dream to mean that he would be restored to Athens recover the power which he had lost and afterwards live to a good old age in his native country Such was the sense in which he interpreted the vision He now proceeded to act as guide to the Persians and in the first place he landed the prisoners taken from Eretria upon the island that is called Aegileia belonging to the Styreans after which he brought the fleet to anchor off Marathon and marshalled the bands of the barbarians as they disembarked As he was thus employed it chanced that he sneezed and at the same time cou hed with more violence than was hi wont Now as he was a man advanced in years and the greater number of his teeth were loose it so happened that one of them was driven out with the force of the cough and fell down into the sand Hippias took all the pains he could to find it but the tooth was nowhere to be seen whereupon he fetched a deep sigh and said to the bystanders After all the land is not ours and we shall never be able to bring it under All my share in it is the portion of which my tooth has possession

So Hippias believed that this fulfilled his dream

108 The Athenians were drawn up in order of battle in a precinct belonging to Heracles when they were joined by the Plataeans who came in full force to their aid Some time before [1] the Plataeans had put themselves under the rule of the Athenians and these last had already undertaken many labours on their behalf The occasion of the surrender was the following

[1] 519 B.C if we accept the date f Thucydid s (iii. 68) but 509 B.C. is more prob ble

The Plataeans suffered grievous things at the hands of the men of Thebes, so, as it chanced that Cleomenes, the son of Anaxandridas, and the Lacedaemonians were in their neighbourhood, they first of all offered to surrender themselves to them But the Lacedaemonians refused to receive them, and said, "We dwell too far off from you, and ours would be but cold comfort You might oftentimes be carried into slavery before one of us heard of it We counsel you rather to give yourselves up to the Athenians, who are your next neighbours, and well able to shelter you"

This they said, not so much out of good will towards the Plataeans as because they wished to involve the Athenians in trouble by engaging them in wars with the Boeotians The Plataeans, however, when the Lacedaemonians gave them this counsel, complied at once, and when the sacrifice to the Twelve Gods was being offered at Athens, they came and sat as suppliants about the altar, and gave themselves up to the Athenians The Thebans no sooner learned what the Plataeans had done than instantly they marched out against them, while the Athenians sent troops to their aid As the two armies were about to join battle, the Corinthians, who chanced to be at hand, would not allow them to engage, both sides consented to take them for arbitrators, whereupon they made up the quarrel, and fixed the boundary line between the two states upon this condition that if any of the Boeotians wished no longer to belong to Boeotia the Thebans should allow them to follow their own inclinations The Corinthians, when they had thus decreed, departed to their homes, the Athenians likewise set off on their return, but the Boeotians fell upon them during the march, and a battle was fought wherein they were worsted by the Athenians Hereupon these last would not be bound by the line which the Corinthians had fixed, but advanced beyond those limits, and made the Asopus the boundary line between the country of the Thebans and that of the Plataeans and Hysians Under such circumstances did the Plataeans give themselves up to Athens, and now they were come to Marathon to aid the Athenians

109 The Athenian generals were divided in their opinions,

and some advised not to risk a battle because they were too few to engage such a host as that of the Medes while others were for fighting at once and among these last was Miltiades He therefore seeing that opinions were thus divided and that the less worthy counsel appeared likely to prevail resolved to go to the Polemarch and have a conference with him For the man on whom the lot fell to be polemarch at Athens was entitled to give his vote with the ten generals since anciently the Athenians allowed him an equal right of voting with them The Polemarch at this juncture was Callimachus of Aphidnae to him therefore Miltiades went and said

With you it rests Callimachus either to brin Athens to slavery or by securing her freedom to leave behind to all future generations a memory beyond even Harmodius and Aristogeiton For never since the time that the Athenians became a people were they in so great a danger as now If they bow their necks beneath the yoke of the Medes the woes which they will have to suffer when given into the power of Hippias are already determined on if on the other hand they fight and overcome may rise to be the very first city in Greece How it comes to pass that these things are likely to happen and how the determining of them in some sort rests with you I will now proceed to make clear We generals are ten in number and our votes are divided half of us wish to engage half to avoid a combat Now if we do not fight I look to see a great disturbance at Athens which will shake men s resolutions and then I fear they will submit themselves but if we fi ht the battle before any unsoundness show itself among our citizens let the gods but give us fair play and we are well able to overcome the enemy On you therefore we depend in this matter which l es wholly in your own power You have only to add your vote to my side and your country will be free, and not free only but

[a] Th P lemarch r W r A h n was th thi d h n dignity d b f e th tim f Cl isth e h d c titutı ally the ge al superintendenc f all military matt rs ha ing su eed d t the ffi f the kin a re pect d w r Whe H od tu wr t the pol march h d no military f t n t all n t attend d t th pers l a d family int re ts of the metics and f eign rs.

the first state in Greece Or, if you prefer to give your vote to them who would decline the combat, then the reverse will follow '

110 Miltiades by these words gained Callimachus, and the addition of the polemarch's vote caused the decision to be in favor of fighting Hereupon all those generals who had been desirous of hazarding a battle, when their turn came to command the army, gave up their right to Miltiades He however, though he accepted their offers, nevertheless waited, and would not fight, until his own day of command arrived in due course [23]

111 Then at length, when his own turn was come, the Athenian battle was set in array, and this was the order of it Callimachus the polemarch led the right wing for it was at that time a rule with the Athenians to give the right wing to the polemarch After this followed the tribes, according as they were numbered, in an unbroken line, while last of all came the Plataeans, forming the left wing And ever since that day it has been a custom with the Athenians, in the sacrifices and assemblies held each fifth year at Athens, for the Athenian herald to implore the blessing of the gods on the Plataeans conjointly with the Athenians Now as they marshalled the host upon the field of Marathon, in order that the Athenian front might be of equal length with the Median, the ranks of the centre were diminished, and it became the weakest part of the line, while the wings were both made strong with a depth of many ranks

112 So when the battle was set in array, and the victims showed themselves favourable, instantly the Athenians, so soon as they were let go, charged the barbarians at a run Now the distance between the two armies was little short of a mile The Persians, therefore, when they saw the Greeks coming on at speed, made ready to receive them, although it seemed to them that the Athenians were bereft of their senses, and bent upon their own destruction, for they saw a mere handful of men coming on at a run without either horsemen or archers [24] Such was

[23] According to Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens* Herodotus is guilty of an anachronism in assigning chief command to the tribal generals

[24] It was probably on account of the deficiency of the Greeks in archers

the opinion of the barbarians but the Athenians in clo e array fell upon them and fought in a manner worthy of being re corded They were the first of the Greeks so far as I know who introduced the custom of charging the enemy at a run and they were lil ewise the first who dared to look upon the Median garb and to face men clad in that fashion Until this time the very name of the Medes had been a terror to the Greeks to hear

113 The two armies fought together on the plain of Mara thon for a length of time and in the mid battle where the Per sians them elves and the Sacae had their place the barbarians were victorious and broke and pursued the Greeks into the in ner country but on the two wings the Athenians and the Pla taeans defeated the enemy Having so done they suffered the routed barbarians to fly at their ease and joinin, the two wings in one fell upon those who had broken their own centre and fought and conquered them These likewise fled and now the Athenians hung upon the runaways and cut them down chasing them all the way to the shore on re‿ching which they laid hold of the ships and called aloud for fire

114 It was in the struggle here that Callimachus the pole march after greatly distinguishing himself lost his life Stesi laus too the son of Thrasilaus one of the generals was slain and Cynaegirus the son of Euphorion having seized on a ves el of the enemy s by the ornament at the stern had his hand cut off by the blow of an axe and so perished as likewise did many other Athenians of note and name

115 Neverthele s the Athenians secured in this way seven of the vessels while with the remainder the barbarians pushed off and taking aboard their Eretrian prisoners from the island where they had left them doubled Cape Sunium hoping to reach Athens before the return of the Athenians The Alcmae onidae were accused by their countrymen of suggesting thi course to them they had it was said n understanding with the Persians and made a signal to them by raising a shield after they were embarked in their sh ps

and ca alry th t the r p d h g (t fly ly th l t q rt mil ?) was mad Th e is reaso to beli e th t th P sian l se w still Er tria.

116 The Persians accordingly sailed round Sunium But the Athenians with all possible speed marched away to the defence of their city, and succeeded in reaching Athens before the appearance of the barbarians, and as their camp at Marathon had been pitched in a precinct of Heracles, so now they encamped in another precinct of the same god at Cynosarges The barbarian fleet arrived, and lay to off Phalerum, which was at that time the haven of Athens but after resting awhile upon their oars, they departed and sailed away to Asia

117 There fell in this battle of Marathon, on the side of the barbarians, about 6 400 men,[a] on that of the Athenians, 192 Such was the number of the slain on the one side and the other A strange prodigy likewise happened at this fight Epizelus, the son of Cuphagoras, an Athenian, was in the thick of the fray, and behaving himself as a brave man should, when suddenly he was stricken with blindness, without blow of sword or dart, and this blindness continued thenceforth during the whole of his after life The following is the account which he himself, as I have heard, gave of the matter he said that a gigantic warrior, with a huge beard, which shaded all his shield, stood over against him, but the ghostly semblance passed him by, and slew the man at his side Such, as I understand, was the tale which Epizelus told

118 Datis meanwhile was on his way back to Asia, and had reached Myconus, when he saw in his sleep a vision What it was is not known but no sooner was day come than he caused strict search to be made throughout the whole fleet, and finding on board a Phoenician vessel an image of Apollo overlaid with gold, he inquired from whence it had been taken, and learning to what temple it belonged, he took it with him in his own ship to Delos, and placed it in the temple there, enjoining the Delians, who had now come back to their island, to restore the image to the Theban Delium, which lies on the coast over against Chalcis Having left these injunctions, he sailed away, but the Delians failed to restore the statue, and it was not till twenty years

[a] This total is a moderate one although Herodotus gives no estimate of the Persian army at Marathon it numbered perhaps 15 000

son at Athens who, when the Pisistratidae were driven out, and their goods were exposed for sale by the vote of the people, had the courage to make purchases and likewise in many other ways to display the strongest hostility

[122. He was a man very worthy to be had in remembrance by all, on several accounts For not only did he thus distinguish himself beyond others in the cause of his country's freedom, but likewise, by the honours which he gained at the Olympic games, where he carried off the prize in the horse race and was second in the four horse chariot race, and by his victory at an earlier period in the Pythian games, he showed himself in the eyes of all the Greeks a man most unsparing in his expenditure He was remarkable too for his conduct in respect of his daughters, three in number, for when they came to be of marriageable age, he gave to each of them a most ample dowry, and placed it at their own disposal, allowing them to choose their husbands from among all the citizens of Athens, and giving each in marriage to the man of her own choice[2]]

123. Now the Alcmaeonidae fell not a whit short of this person in their hatred of tyrants, so that I am astonished at the charge made against them, and cannot bring myself to believe that they held up a shield, for they were men who had remained in exile during the whole time that the tyranny lasted, and they even contrived the trick by which the Pisistratidae were deprived of their throne Indeed I look upon them as the persons who in good truth gave Athens her freedom far more than Harmodius and Aristogeiton For these last merely exasperated the other Pisistratidae by slaying Hipparchus, and were far from doing anything towards putting down the tyranny, whereas the Alcmaeonidae were manifestly the actual deliverers of Athens, if at least it be true that the priestess was prevailed upon by them to bid the Lacedaemonians set Athens free, as I have already related

124. But perhaps they were offended with the people of Athens, and therefore betrayed their country Nay, but on the contrary there were none of the Athenians who were held in

This chapter is an interpolation

general esteem or who were so laden with honours [8] So that it is not even reasonable to suppose that a shield was held up by them on this account A shield was shown no doubt that can not be gainsaid but who it was that showed it I cannot any further determine

125 Now the Alcmaeonidae were even in days of yore a family of note at Athens but from the time of Alcmaeon and again of Megacles they rose to special eminence The former of these two persona es Alcmaeon the son of Megacles when Croesus the Lydian sent men from Sardis to consult the Delphic oracle gave aid gladly to his messengers and assisted them to accomplish their task Croesus informed of Alcmaeon s kind nes es by the Lydians who from time to time conveyed his messages to the god sent for him to Sardis and when he arrived made him a present of as much gold as he should be able to carry at one time about his person Finding that this was the gift assigned him Alcmaeon took his mea ures and prepared himself to receive it in the following way He clothed himself in a loose tunic which he made to bag greatly at the waist and placing upon his feet the widest busl ins that he could anywhere find followed his guides into the treasure-house Here he fell to upon a heap of gold dust and in the first place packed as much as he could inside his buskins between them and his legs after which he filled the breast of his tunic quite full of gold and then sprinkling some among his hair and taking some likewise in his mouth he came forth from the treasure house scarcely able to drag his legs along like anything rather than a man with his mouth crammed full and his bulk increased every way On seeing him Croesus burst into a laugh and not only let him have all that he had taken but gave him presents besides of fully equal worth Thus this house became one of great wealth and Alcmaeon was able to keep horses for the chariot race and won the prize at Olympia

126 Afterwards in the generation which followed Cleis

[8] H r d t d fense f th Alcmae nid is u c i ing
[9] The f llowing anecdote are p pula tal H r dot s collect d

thenes, king of Sicyon, raised the family to still greater eminence among the Greeks than even that to which it had attained before For this Cleisthenes, who was the son of Aristonymus, the grandson of Myron, and the great grandson of Andreas, had a daughter, called Agarista, whom he wished to marry to the best husband that he could find in the whole of Greece At the Olympic games, therefore, having gained the prize in the chariot-race, he caused public proclamation to be made to the following effect, "Whoever among the Greeks deems himself worthy to become the son in law of Cleisthenes, let him come, sixty days hence, or, if he will, sooner, to Sicyon, for within a year's time, counting from the end of the sixty days, Cleisthenes will decide on the man to whom he shall contract his daughter" So all the Greeks who were proud of their own merit or of their country flocked to Sicyon as suitors, and Cleisthenes had a foot course and a wrestling ground made ready, to try their powers.

127 From Italy there came Smindyrides, the son of Hippocrates, a native of Sybaris—which city about that time was at the very height of its prosperity He was a man who in luxuriousness of living exceeded all other persons Likewise there came Damasus, the son of Amyris, surnamed the Wise, a native of Siris These two were the only suitors from Italy From the Ionian Gulf appeared Amphimnestus, the son of Epistrophus, an Epidamnian, from Aetolia Males, the brother of that Titormus who excelled all the Greeks in strength, and who, wishing to avoid his fellow men, withdrew himself into the remotest parts of the Aetolian territory From the Peloponnese came several—Leocedes, son of that Pheidon, king of the Argives, who established weights and measures throughout the Peloponnese, and was the most insolent of all the Grecians—the same who drove out the Elean directors of the games, and himself presided over the contests at Olympia—Leocedes, I say, appeared, this Pheidon's son, and likewise Amiantus, son of Lycurgus, an Arcadian of the city of Trapezus Laphanes, an Azenian of Paeus, whose father, Euphorion, as the story goes in Arcadia, entertained the Dioscuri at his residence, and thenceforth kept house for all comers, and lastly Onomastus the son o

a native of Elis These four came from the Peloponnese From Athens there arrived Megacles the son of that Alcmaeon who visited Croesus and Tisander s son Hippocleides the wealthiest and handsomest of the Athenians There was likewise one Euboean Lysanias who came from Eretria then a flourishing city From Thessaly came Diactorides a Cranonian of the race of the Scopadae and Alcon arrived from the Molossians This was the list of the suitors

128 Now when they were all come and the day appointed had arrived Cleisthenes first of all inquired of each concerning his country and his family after which he kept them with him a year and made trial of their manly bearing their temper, their accomplishments and their disposition sometimes drawing them apart for converse sometimes bringing them all together Such as were still youths he took with him from time to time to the gymnasia but the greatest trial of all was at the banquet table During the whole period of their stay he lived with them as I have said and further from first to last he entertained them sumptuously Somehow or other the suitors who came from Athens pleased him the best of all and of these Hippocleides Tisander s son was specially in favour partly on account of his manly bearing and partly also because his ancestors were of kin to the Corinthian Cypselids

129 When at length the day arrived which had been fixed for the espousals and Cleisthenes had to speak out and declare his choice he first of all made a sacrifice of 100 oxen and held a banquet whereat he entertained all the suitors and the whole people of Sicyon After the feast was ended the suitors vied with each other in music and in speaking on a given subject Presently as the drinking advanced Hippocleides who quite dumbfounded the rest called aloud to the fluteplayer and bade him strike up a dance which the man did and Hippocleides danced to it And he fancied that he was dancing excellently well but Cleisthenes who was observing him began to misdoubt the whole business Then Hippocleides after a pause told an attendant to bring in a table and when it was brought he mounted upon it and danced first of all some Laconian figures

then some Attic ones, after which he stood on his head upon the table, and began to toss his legs about Cleisthenes, notwithstanding that he now loathed Hippocleides for a son in law, by reason of his dancing and his shamelessness, still, as he wished to avoid an outbreak, had restrained himself during the first and likewise during the second dance, when, however, he saw him tossing his legs in the air, he could no longer contain himself, but cried out, "Son of Tisander, you have danced your wife away!" "What does Hippocleides care?" was the other's answer And hence the proverb arose

130 Then Cleisthenes commanded silence, and spake thus before the assembled company

"Suitors of my daughter, well pleased am I with you all, and right willingly, if it were possible, would I content you all, and not by making choice of one appear to put a slight upon the rest But as it is out of my power, seeing that I have but one daughter, to grant to all their wishes, I will present to each of you whom I must needs dismiss a talent of silver, for the honour that you have done me in seeking to ally yourselves with my house, and for your long absence from your homes But my daughter, Agarista, I betroth to Megacles, the son of Alcmaeon, to be his wife, according to the usage and wont of Athens"

Then Megacles expressed his readiness, and Cleisthenes had the marriage solemnized

131 Thus ended the affair of the suitors, and thus the Alcmaeonidae came to be famous throughout the whole of Greece The issue of this marriage was the Cleisthenes—so named after his grandfather the Sicyonian—who made the tribes at Athens, and set up the popular government Megacles had likewise another son, called Hippocrates, whose children were a Megacles and an Agarista, the latter named after Agarista the daughter of Cleisthenes She married Xanthippus, the son of Ariphron, and when she was with child by him had a dream, wherein she fancied that she was delivered of a lion, after which, within a few days, she bore Xanthippus a son, Pericles

132 After the blow struck at Marathon, Miltiades who was previously held in high esteem by his countrymen, increased

more in influence Hence when he told them that he wanted a fleet of seventy ships [80] with an armed force and money without informing them what country he was going to attack but only promising to enrich them if they would accompany him seeing that it was a right wealthy land where they might easily ge as much gold as they cared to have—when he told them this they were quite carried away and gave him the whole armament which he required

133 So Miltiades having got the armament sailed against Paros with the object as he alleged of punishing the Parians for having gone to war with Athens inasmuch as a trireme of *theirs had come with the Persian fleet to Marathon This however* was a mere pretence the truth was that Miltiades owed the Parians a grudge because Lysagoras the on of Tisias who was a Parian by birth had told tales against him to Hydarnes the Persian Arrived before the place against which his expedition was designed he drove the Parians within their walls and forthwith laid siege to the city At the same time he sent a herald to the inhabitants and required of them 100 talents threatening that if they refused he would press the siege and never give it over till the town was taken But the Parians without giving his demand a thought proceeded to use every means that they could devise for the defence of their city and even invented new plans for the purpose one of which was b wo king at night to rai e such parts of the wall as were likely to be carried by assault to double their former height

134 Thus far all the Greeks agree in their accounts of this business what follows is related upon th testimony of the Parians only Miltiades had come to his wit s end when one of the prisoners a woman named Timo who was by birth a Parian ar d had held the office of under priestess in the temple of the infernal goddesses came and conferred with him This woman they say introduced into the presence of Miltiades advi ed him if he et great store by *the capture of the place to do some*

[80] Se nty h p ppea t b e be th f ll mpl m t f th Ath nian na y u til th time wh n th n mb w is d by Th mist l t 200 Miltiades theref t k th wh l Ath nian navy this expeditu

thing which she could suggest to him When therefore she had told him what it was she meant, he betook himself to the hill which lies in front of the city, and there leaped the fence enclosing the precinct of Demeter the Lawgiver, since he was not able to open the door After leaping into the place he went straight to the sanctuary, intending to do something within it—either to remove some of the holy things which it was not lawful to stir, or to perform some act or other I cannot say what—and had just reached the door, when suddenly a feeling of horror came upon him and he returned back the way he had come, but in jumping down from the outer wall, he strained his thigh, or, as some say, struck the ground with his knee

135 So Miltiades returned home sick, without bringing the Athenians any money, and without conquering Paros, having done no more than to besiege the town for twenty six days, and ravage the remainder of the island The Parians, however, when it came to their knowledge that Timo, the under priestess of the goddesses, had advised Miltiades what he should do, were minded to punish her for her crime, they therefore sent messengers to Delphi, as soon as the siege was at an end, and asked the god if they should put the under priestess to death 'She had discovered," they said, "to the enemies of her country how they might bring it into subjection, and had exhibited to Miltiades mysteries which it was not lawful for a man to know" But the priestess forbade them, and said, "Timo was not in fault, it was decreed that Miltiades should come to an unhappy end, and she was sent to lure him to his destruction" Such was the answer given to the Parians by the priestess

136 The Athenians, upon the return of Miltiades from Paros, had much debate concerning him, and Xanthippus, the son of Ariphron, who spoke more freely against him than all the rest, impeached him before the people, and brought him to trial for his life, on the charge of having dealt deceitfully with the Athenians Miltiades, though he was present in court, did not speak in his own defence, for his thigh had begun to mortify, and disabled him from pleading his cause He was forced to lie on a couch while his defence was made by his friends, who dwelt

it most length on the fight at Marathon while they made mention also of the capture of Lemnos telling how Miltiades took the island and after executing vengeance on the Pelasgians gave up his conquest to Athens The judgment of the people was in his favour so far as to spare his life but for the wrong he had done them they fined him fifty talents Soon afterwards his thigh completely gangrened and mortified and so Miltiades died and the fifty talents were paid by his on Cimon

137 Now the way in which Miltiades had made himself master of Lemnos was the following There were certain Pelasgians whom the Athenians once drove out of Attica whether they did it justly or unjustly I cannot ay since I only know what is reported of it which is the following Hecataeus the son of Hegesander says in his hi tory that it was unjustly The Athenians according to him had given to the Pelasgi a tract of land at the foot of Hymettus as payment for the wall with which the Pelasgians had surrounded their citadel This land was barren and little worth at the time but the Pelasgians brought it into good condition whereupon the Athenians be rudged them the tract and desired to recover it And so without any better excuse they took arms and dro out the Pela gians But the Athenians maintain that they were justified in what they did The Pelasgians they say while they lived at the foot of Hymettus were wont to sally forth from that region and commit outrages on their children For the Athenians u ed at that time to send their sons and daughters to draw water at the fountain called the Nine Springs inasmuch as neither they nor the other Greeks had any household slaves in those days and the maidens whenever they came were used rudely and insolently by the Pela gians Nor were they even content thus but at the last they laid a plot and were caught by the Athenians in the act of making an attempt upon their city Then the Athenians proved how much better men they were han the Pelas ians for whereas they might justly have killed them all havin caught them in the very act of rebelling they spared their lives and only required that they should leave the country Hereupon the Pelasgians quitted Attica and settled in Lemnos and other

places' Such are the accounts respectively of Hecataeus and the Athenians

138 These same Pelasgians, after they were settled in Lemnos, conceived the wish to be revenged on the Athenians So, as they were well acquainted with the Athenian festivals, they manned some fifty oared ships and having laid an ambush to catch the Athenian women as they kept the festival of Artemis at Brauron, they succeeded in carrying off a large number, whom they took to Lemnos and there kept as concubines After a while the women bore children whom they taught to speak the language of Attica and observe the manners of the Athenians These boys refused to have any commerce with the sons of the Pelasgian women and if a Pelasgian boy struck one of their number, they all made common cause and joined in avenging their comrade, nay the Greek boys even set up a claim to exercise lordship over the others, and succeeded in gaining the upper hand When these things came to the ears of the Pelasgians, they took counsel together, and on considering the matter, they grew frightened, and said one to another, "If these boys even *now are resolved to make common cause against the sons of our* lawful wives, and seek to exercise lordship over them, what may we expect when they grow up to be men? Then it seemed good to the Pelasgians to kill all the sons of the Attic women which they did accordingly, and at the same time slew likewise their mothers From this deed and that former crime of the Lemnian women, when they slew their husbands in the days of Thoas, it has come to be usual throughout Greece to call wicked actions by *the name of Lemnian deeds*

139 When the Pelasgians had thus slain their children and their women, the earth refused to bring forth its fruits for them, and their wives bore fewer children and their flocks and herds increased *more slowly than before,* till at last sore pressed by famine and bereavement they sent men to Delphi, and begged the god to tell them how they might obtain deliverance from their sufferings The priestess answered '*They must give the Athenians whatever satisfaction* they might demand Then the Pelasgians went to Athens and declared their wish to give the

Athenians satisfaction for the wrong which they had done to them So the Athenians had a couch prepared in their town hall and adorned it with the fairest coverlets and set by its ide a table laden with all manner of good things and then told the *Pela ians they must deliver up their country to them in a simi* lar condition The Pelasgians answered and said When a ship comes with a north wind from your country to ours in a single day then will we give it up to you This they said because they knew that what they required was impossible for Attica lies a long way to the south of Lemnos

140 No more passed at that time But very many years aft erwards when the Hellespontian Chersonese had been brought under the power of Athens Miltiades the son of Cimon sailed during the prevalence of the Etesian winds from Elaeus in the Chersonese to Lemnos and called on the Pelasgians to quit their island reminding them of the prophecy which they had sup posed it impossible to fulfil The people of Hephaestia obeyed the call but they of Myrina not acknowledging the Chersonese to be any part of Attica refused and were besieged and brought over by force Thus was Lemnos gained by the Athenians and Miltiades

The Seventh Book, Entitled

POLYMNIA

1 Now when tidings of the battle that had been fought at Marathon reached the ears of King Darius, the son of Hystaspes, his anger against the Athenians, which had been already roused by their attack upon Sardis, waxed still fiercer, and he became more than ever eager to lead an army against Greece Instantly he sent off messengers to make proclamation through the several states, that fresh levies were to be raised, and these at an increased rate, while ships, horses, provisions, and transports were likewise to be furnished So the men published his commands and now all Asia was in commotion for three years, while everywhere, as Greece was to be attacked, the best and bravest were enrolled for the service, and had to make their preparations accordingly

After this, in the fourth year, the Egyptians whom Cambyses had enslaved revolted from the Persians, whereupon Darius was more hot for war than ever, and earnestly desired to march an army against both adversaries

2 Now, as he was about to lead forth his levies against Egypt and Athens, a fierce contention for the sovereign power arose among his sons, since the law of the Persians was, that a king must not go out with his army, until he has appointed one to succeed him upon the throne Darius, before he obtained the kingdom, had had three sons born to him from his former wife, who was a daughter of Gobryas while since he began to reign Atossa, the daughter of Cyrus, had borne him four Artabazanes was the eldest of the first family, and Xerxes of the second These two, therefore, being the sons of different mothers, were

now at variance Artabazanes claimed the crown as the eldest of all the children because it was an established custom all over the world for the eldest to have the pre eminence while Xerxes on the other hand urged that he was prung from Atossa the daughter of Cyrus and that it was Cyrus who had won the Persians their freedom

3 Before Darius had pronounced on the matter it happened that Demaratus the son of Ariston who had been deprived of his crown at Sparta and had afterwards of his own accord gone into banishment came up to Susa and there heard of the quarrel of the princes Hereupon as report says he went to Xerxe and advised him in addition to all that he had urged before to plead—that at the time when he was born Darius was already king and bore rule over the Persians but when Artabazanes came into the world he was a mere private person It would therefore be neither right nor seemly that the crown should go to another in preference to himself For at Sparta said Demaratus by way of suggestion the law is that if a king has sons before he comes to the throne and another son is born to him afterwards the child so born is heir to his father s kingdom [1] Xerxes followed this counsel and Darius persuaded that he had justice on his side appointed him his successor For my own part I believe that even without this the crown would have gone to Xerxes for Atossa was all powerful

4 Darius when he had thus appointed Xerxes his heir was minded to lead forth his armies but he was prevented by death while his preparations were still proceeding He died in the year following the revolt of Egypt and the matters here related after having reigned in all six and thirty years leaving the revolted Egyptians and the Athenians alike unpunished At hi death the kingdom passed to his son Xerxes

5 Now Xerxes on first mounting the throne, was coldly disposed towards the Grecian war and made it his business to col

---

[1] The tale h re trod d doe not se m t h e b n ept d by H r d tus nd t i i deed ry d ubtf l wheth th law f s ces. at Sparta w such as tated It has be n r m ked th t n d tes i esting Demar tus with a fa titi importa e r f q e t l H d t

lect an army against Egypt But Mardonius, the son of Gobryas, who was at the court, and had more influence with him than any of the other Persians, being his own cousin, the child of a sister of Darius, plied him with discourses like the following

"Master, it is not fitting that they of Athens escape scot free, after doing the Persians such great injury Complete the work which you have in hand, and then, when the pride of Egypt is brought down, lead an army against Athens So shall you have good report among men, and others shall fear hereafter to attack your country"

Thus far it was of vengeance that he spoke, but sometimes he would vary the theme, and observe by the way that Europe was a beautiful region, rich in all kinds of cultivated trees, and the soil excellent no one, save the king, was worthy to own such a land

6 All this he said, because he longed for adventures, and hoped to become Satrap of Greece under the king and after a while he had his way, and persuaded Xerxes to do according to his desires Other things however, occurring about the same time, helped his persuasions For, in the first place, it chanced that messengers arrived from Thessaly sent by the Aleuadae, Thessalian kings to invite Xerxes into Greece, and to promise him all the assistance which it was in their power to give And further, the Pisistratidae, who had come up to Susa, used the same language as the Aleuadae and worked upon him even more than they, by means of Onomacritus of Athens, an oracle-monger and the same who set forth the prophecies of Musaeus in their order[2] The Pisistratidae had previously been at enmity with this man, but made up the quarrel before they removed to Susa He was banished from Athens by Hipparchus, the son of Pisistratus, because he foisted into the writings of Musaeus a prophecy that the islands which lie off Lemnos would one day disappear in the sea Lasus of Hermione[3] caught him in the act

[2] Of Musaeus all perhaps that can be said with certainty is that poems believed to be ancient were current under his name as early as 520 B.C These were chiefly oracles but not entirely so

[3] Lasus of Hermione a lyric and dithyrambic poet, was said to have been the instructor of Pindar

of so doing For this cause Hipparchus banished him though till then they had been the closest of friends Now however he went up to Susa with the sons of Pisistratus and they talked very grandly of him to the king while he for his part whenever he was in the king s company repeated to him certain of the oracles and while he took care to pass over all that spoke of disaster to the barbarians brought forward the passages which promised them the greatest success It was fated he told Xerxes that a Persian should bridge the Hellespont and march an army from Asia into Greece While Onomacritus thus plied Xerxes with his oracles the Pisistratidae and Aleuadae did not cease to press on him their advice till at last the king yielded and agreed to lead forth an expedition

7 First however in the year following the death of Darius he marched against those who had revolted from him and having reduced them and laid all Egypt under a far harder yoke than ever his father had put upon it he gave the government to Achaemenes who was his own brother and son to Darius This Achaemenes was afterwards slain in his government by Inaros the son of Psammetichus a Libyan

8 After Egypt was subdued Xerxes being about to take in hand the expedition against Athens called together an assembly *of the noblest Persians to learn their opinions* and to lay before them his own designs [4] So when the men were met the king spoke thus to them

Persians I shall not be the first to bring in among you a new custom—I shall but follow one which has come down to us from our forefathers Never yet as our old men assure me has our race reposed itself since the time when Cyrus overcame Astyages and so we Persians wrested the sceptre from the Medes Now in all this God guides us and we obeying his guidance prosper greatly What need have I to tell you of the deeds of Cyrus and Cambyses and my own father Darius how many nations they conquered and added to our dominions? You

[4] These spe ches h v hist rical cha ct r but they may b c n d d as emb dyin P rsia well as Gr k w f th ci cumst s t i wh ch the war ar se and th f l ngs of th se wh e g ged in it

know right well what great things they achieved But for myself, I will say, that from the day on which I mounted the throne, I have not ceased to consider by what means I may rival those who have preceded me in this post of honour, and increase the power of Persia as much as any of them And truly I have pondered upon this, until at last I have found out a way whereby we may at once win glory, and likewise get possession of a land which is as large and as rich as our own—nay, which is even more varied in the fruits it bears—while at the same time we obtain satisfaction and revenge For this cause I have now called you together, that I may make known to you what I design to do My intent is to throw a bridge over the Hellespont and march an army through Europe against Greece that thereby I may obtain vengeance from the Athenians for the wrongs committed by them against the Persians and against my father Your own eyes saw the preparations of Darius against these men, but death came upon him, and balked his hopes of revenge In his behalf, therefore and in behalf of all the Persians, I undertake the war, and pledge myself not to rest till I have taken and burnt Athens, which has dared, unprovoked, to injure me and my father Long since they came to Asia with Aristagoras of Miletus, who was one of our slaves, and entering Sardis, burnt its temples and its sacred groves again, more lately, when we made a landing upon their coast under Datis and Artaphernes, how roughly they handled us you do not need to be told For these reasons, therefore, I am bent upon this war, and I see likewise therewith united no few advantages Once let us subdue this people, and those neighbours of theirs who hold the land of Pelops the Phrygian, and we shall extend the Persian territory as far as God's heaven reaches The sun will then shine on no land beyond our borders for I will pass through Europe from one end to the other, and with your aid make of all the lands which it contains one country For thus, if what I hear be true, affairs stand The nations whereof I have spoken, once swept away there is no city, no country left in all the world, which will venture so much as to withstand us in arms By this course then we shall bring all mankind

yoke alike those who are guilty and those who are innocent of *doing us wrong* For yourselves if you wish to plea e me do as follows When I announce the time for the army to meet to gether hasten to the muster with a good will every one of you and know that to the man who brings with him the most gallant array I will give the gifts which our people consider the most honourable This then is what you have to do But to show that I am not self willed in this matter I lay the business before you and give you full leave to speak your minds upon it openly

Xerxes having so spoken held his peace

9 Whereupon Mardonius took the word and said

Of a truth my lord you surpass not only all living Persians but likewise those yet unborn Most true and right is each word that you have now uttered but best of all your resolve not to let the Ionians who live in Europe—a worthless crew—mock us any more It were indeed a monstrous thing if after conquering and enslaving the Sacae the Indians the Ethiopians the As syrians and many other mighty nations not for any wrong that they had done us but only to increase our empire we should then allow the Greeks who have done us such wanton injury to escape our vengeance What is it that we fear in them?—not surely their numbers?—not the greatness of their wealth? We know the manner of their battle—we know how weak their power is already have we subdued their children who dwell in our country the Ionians Aeolians and Dorians I myself have had experience of these men when I marched against them by the orders of your father and though I went as far as Mace donia and came but a little short of reaching Athens itself yet not a soul ventured to come out against me to battle And yet I am told these very Greeks are wont to wage wars against one another in the most foolish way through sheer perversity and dolt shness For no sooner is war proclaimed than they search out the smoothest and fairest plain that is to be found in all the land and there they assemble and fight whence it comes to pass that even the conquerors depart with great loss I say nothing of the conquered for they are destroyed altogether Now surely as they are all of one speech they ought to interchange he alds

and messengers, and make up their differences by any means rather than battle or, at the worst, if they must needs fight one against another, they ought to post themselves as strongly as pos sible, and so try their quarrels But, notwithstanding that they have so foolish a manner of warfare, yet these Greeks, when I led my army against them to the very borders of Macedonia, did not so much as think of offering me battle Who then will dare, O king, to meet you in arms, when you come with all Asia's warriors at your back, and with all her ships? For my part I do not believe the Greek people will be so foolhardy Grant how- ever, that I am mistaken herein, and that they are foolish enough to meet us in open fight in that case they will learn that there are no such soldiers in the whole world as we Nevertheless let us spare no pains for nothing comes without trouble, but all that men acquire is got by painstaking"

When Mardonius had in this way softened the harsh speech of Xerxes, he too held his peace

10 The other Persians were silent, for all feared to raise their voice against the plan proposed to them But Artabanus, the son of Hystaspes, and uncle of Xerxes, trusting to his relationship, was bold to speak

"O king it is impossible, if no more than one opinion is ut tered, to make choice of the best a man is forced then to follow whatever advice may have been given him but if opposite speeches are delivered then choice can be exercised In like man ner pure gold is not recognised by itself but when we test it along with baser ore, we perceive which is the better I coun selled your father, Darius, who was my own brother, not to attack the Scyths, a race of people who had no town in their whole land He thought however to subdue those wandering tribes, and would not listen to me, but marched an army against them, and before he returned home lost many of his bravest warriors You are about, O king, to attack a people far superior to the Scyths, a people distinguished above others both by land and sea It is fit therefore that I should tell you what danger you incur hereby You say that you will bridge the Hellespont, and lead your troops through Europe against Greece Now sup-

pose some disaster befall you by land or ea or by both It may be even so for the men are reputed valiant Indeed one may measure their prowess from what they have already done for when Datis and Artaphernes led their huge army against Attica the Athenians singly defeated them But grant they are not successful on both elements Still if they man their ships and defeating us by sea sail to the Hellespont and there destroy our bridge that sire were a fearful hazard And here it is not by my own mother wit alone that I conjecture what will happen but I remember how narrowly we e caped disaster once when your father after throwing bridges over the Thracian Bosporus and the Ister marched against the Scythians and they tried every sort of prayer to induce the Ionians who had charge of the bridge over the Ister to break the passage On that day if Histiaeus the King of Miletus had sided with the other princes and not set himself to oppose their views the empire of the Persians would ha e come to nought Surely a dreadful thing is this even to hear said that the king s fortunes depended wholly on one man

Think then no more of incurring so great a danger when no need presses but follow the advice I tender Break up this meeting and when you have well considered the matter with yourself and settled what you will do declare to us your resolve I know not of aught in the world that so profits a man as taking good counsel with himself for even if things fall out against one s hopes still one has counselled well though fortune has made the counsel of no effect whereas if a man counsels ill and luck follows he has gotten a windfall but his counsel is none the less silly See how god with his lightning always smites the bigger animals and will not suffer them to wax insolent while those of a lesser bulk chafe him not How likewise his bolts fall ever on the highest houses and the tallest trees? So plainly does he love to bring down everything that exalts itself Thus often a mighty host is discomfited by a few men when god in h s jealousy sends fear or storm from heaven and they perish in a way unworthy of them For god allows no one to have high thoughts but himself Again hurry always brings about disasters from

which huge sufferings are wont to arise, but in delay lie many advantages, not apparent (it may be) at first sight, but such as in course of time are seen of all Such then is my counsel, O king

"And you, Mardonius, son of Gobryas, forbear to speak foolishly concerning the Greeks, who are men that ought not to be lightly esteemed by us For while you revile the Greeks, you encourage the king to lead his own troops against them, and this, as it seems to me, is what you are specially striving to accomplish Heaven grant you succeed not in your wish! For slander is of all evils the most terrible In it two men do wrong, and one man has wrong done to him The slanderer does wrong, for he abuses a man behind his back, and the hearer for he believes what he has not searched into thoroughly The man slandered in his absence suffers wrong at the hands of both, for one brings against him a false charge, and the other thinks him an evil-doer If, however, it must needs be that we go to war with this people, at least allow the king to abide at home in Persia Then let us both stake our children on the issue, and you choose out your men, and taking with you whatever number of troops you like, lead forth our armies to battle If things go well for the king, as you say they will, let me and my children be put to death, but if they fall out as I prophesy, let your children suffer, and you too, if you come back alive But should you refuse this wager, and still resolve to march an army against Greece, sure I am that some of those whom you leave behind you here will one day receive the sad tidings, that Mardonius has brought a great disaster upon the Persian people, and lies a prey to dogs and birds somewhere in the land of the Athenians, or else in that of the Lacedaemonians, unless indeed you have perished sooner by the way, experiencing in your own person the might of those men on whom you would induce the king to make war"

11 Thus Artabanus spoke But Xerxes, full of wrath, replied to him

"Artabanus, you are my father's brother—that shall save you from receiving the proper reward for your silly words One shame however I will lay upon you, coward and faint hearted as you are—you shall not come with me to fight these Greeks, but

shall tarry here with the women Without your aid I will accomplish all of which I spoke For let me not be thought the child of Darius the son of Hystaspes the son of Arsames the son of Ariaramnes the son of Teispes nor of Cyrus the son of Cambyses the son of Teispes the son of Achaemenes if I take not vengeance on the Athenians Full well I know that were we to remain at rest yet would not they but would most certainly invade our country if at least it be right to judge from what they have already done for remember it was they who fired Sardis and attacked Asia So now retreat is on both sides impossible and the choice lies between doing and suffering injury either our empire must pass under the dominion of the Greeks or their land become the prey of the Persians for there is no middle course left in this quarrel It is right then that we who have in times past received wrong should now avenge it and that I should thereby discover what that great risk is which I run in marching against these men—men whom Pelops the Phrygian a vassal of my forefathers subdued so utterly that to this day both the land and the people who dwell therein all bear the name of the conqueror

12 Thus far did the speaking proceed Afterwards evening fell and Xerxes began to find the advice of Artabanus greatly disquiet him So he thought upon it during the night and concluded at last that it was not for his advantage to lead an army into Greece When he had thus made up his mind anew he fell asleep And now he saw in the night as the Persians declare a vision of this nature—he thought a tall and beautiful man stood over him and said Have you then changed your mind Persian and will you not lead forth your host against the Greeks after commanding the Persians to gather together their levies? Be sure you do not well to change nor is there a man here who will approve your conduct The course that you determined on during the day let that be followed After thus speaking the man seemed to Xerxes to fly away

13 Day dawned and the king made no account of this dream but called together the same Persians as before and spoke to them as follows

"Men of Persia, forgive me if I alter the resolve to which I came so lately Consider that I have not yet reached the full growth of my wisdom, and that they who urge me to engage in this war leave me not to myself for a moment When I heard the advice of Artabanus, my young blood suddenly boiled, and I spoke words against him little befitting his years, now however I confess my fault, and am resolved to follow his counsel Understand then that I have changed my intent with respect to carrying war into Greece, and cease to trouble your selves"

When they heard these words, the Persians were full of joy, and falling down at the feet of Xerxes, made obeisance to him

14 But when night came, again the same vision stood over Xerxes as he slept, and said, 'Son of Darius, it seems you have openly before all the Persians renounced the expedition, making light of my words, as though you had not heard them spoken Know therefore and be well assured, that unless you go forth to the war, this thing shall happen to you—as you are grown mighty and puissant in a short space, so likewise shall you within a little time be brought low indeed"

15 Then Xerxes, greatly frightened at the vision which he had seen, sprang from his couch, and sent a messenger to call Artabanus, who came at the summons, when Xerxes spoke to him in these words

"Artabanus, at the moment I acted foolishly, when I gave you ill words in return for your good advice However I soon repented, and was convinced that your counsel was such as I ought to follow But I may not now act in this way, greatly as I desire to do so For ever since I repented and changed my mind a dream has haunted me, which disapproves my intentions, and has now just gone from me with threats Now if this dream is sent to me from god, and if it is indeed his will that our troops should march against Greece, you too will have the same dream come to you and receive the same commands as myself And this will be most sure to happen, I think, if you put on the dress which I wear, and then, after taking your seat upon my throne, lie down to sleep on my bed"

16 Such were the words of Xerxes Artabanus would

fir t yield to the command of the king for he considered him selt unworthy to sit upon the royal throne At the last however he was forced to give way and did as Xerxes bade him but first he poke thus to the king

To me sire it seems to matter little whether a man is wise himself or willing to hearken to such as give good advice In you truly are found both tempers but the counsels of evil men lead you astray they are like the gales of wind which vex the sea—else the most useful thing for man in the whole world—and suffer it not to follow the bent of its own nature For myself it irked me not so much to be reproached by you as to observe that when two courses were placed before the Persian people one of a nature to increa e their pride the other to humble it by showing them how hurtful it is to allow one s heart always to covet more than one at present possesses you cho e that which was the worse both for yourself and for the Persians Now you say that from the time when you approv d the better course and gave up the thought of warring against Greece a dream has haunted you sent by ome god or other which will not suffer you to lay a ide the expedition But such things my son have of a truth nothing divine in them The dreams that wander to and fro among mankind I will tell you their nature—I who have seen so many more years than you Whatever a man has been thinking of during the day is likely to hover round him in the visions of his dreams at night Now we during these many days past have had our hands full of thi enterpri e If however the matter be not as I suppo e but god has indeed some part therein you have in brief declared the whole that can be said concerning it—let it appear to me as it has to you and lay on me the same injunctions But it ought not to appear to me any the more if I put on your clothes than if I wear my own nor if I go to sleep in your bed than if I do o in mine—supposing I mean that it i about to appear at all For this thing be it what it may that visits you in your sleep surely is not so far gone in folly as to see me and because I am dressed in your clothes straightway to mistake me for you Now however our business is to see if it will regard me as of small account and

not vouchsafe to appear to me, whether I wear mine own clothes or yours, while it keeps on haunting you continually If it does so, and appears often, I should myself say that it was from god For the rest, if your mind is fixed, and it is not possible to turn you from your design, but I must go and sleep in your bed, well and good, let it be even so, and when I have done as you wish, then let the dream appear to me Till such time, however, I shall keep to my former opinion '

17 Thus Artabanus spoke and, thinking to show Xerxes that his words were nought, he obeyed his orders Having put on the garments which Xerxes was wont to wear, and, taken his seat upon the royal throne, he lay down to sleep upon the king's own bed As he slept, there appeared to him the very same dream which had been seen by Xerxes, it came and stood over Artabanus, and said, ' You are the man, then, who, as if concerned for Xerxes, seek to dissuade him from leading his armies against the Greeks! But you shall not escape, either now or in time to come, because you sought to prevent that which is fated to happen As for Xerxes, it has been plainly told to himself what will befall him, if he refuses to perform my bidding "

18 In such words, as Artabanus thought, the vision threatened him, and then endeavoured to burn out his eyes with red hot irons At this he shrieked and leaping from his couch, hurried to Xerxes, and, sitting down at his side, gave him a full account of the vision, after which he went on to speak in the following words

"I, O King, am a man who have seen many mighty empires overthrown by weaker ones and therefore it was that I sought to keep you from being carried away by your youth, since I knew how evil a thing it is to covet more than one possesses I could remember the expedition of Cyrus against the Massagetae, and what was the issue of it, I could recollect the march of Cambyses against the Ethiops, I had taken part in the attack of Darius upon the Scyths bearing therefore all these things in mind, I thought with myself that if you should remain at peace all men would count you fortunate But as this impulse has plainly come from above, and a heaven sent destruction seems

about o overtake the Greeks behold I change to another mind and alter my thoughts upon the matter Therefore make known to the Persians what the god has declared and bid them follow the orders which were first given and prepare their levies Be careful to act so that the bounty of the god may not be hindered by slackness on your part

Thus these two spoke together and Xerxes encouraged by the vision when day broke laid all before the Persians while Artabanus who had formerly been the only person openly to oppose the expedition now showed as openly that he favoured it

19 After Xerxes had thus determined to go forth to the war there appeared to him in his sleep yet a third vision The Magi were consulted upon it and said that its meaning reached to the whole earth and that all mankind would become his servants Now the vision which the king saw was this he dreamed that he was crowned with a branch of an olive tree and that boughs pread out from the olive branch and covered the whole earth then suddenly the garland as it lay upon his brow vanished So when the Magi had thus interpreted the vision straightway all the Persians who were come together departed to their several governments where each displayed the greatest zeal on the faith of the king s offers For all hoped to obtain for themselves the gifts which had been promised And so Xerxes gathered together his host ransacking every corner of the continent

o Reckoning from the recovery of Egypt Xerxes spent four full years in collecting his host and making ready all things that were needful for his soldiers It was not till the close of the fifth year that he set forth on his march accompanied by a mighty multitude For of all the armaments whereof any mention has reached us this was by far the greatest insomuch that no other expedition compared to this seems of any account neither that which Darius undertook against the Scythians nor the expedition of the Scythians (which the attack of Darius was designed to avenge) when they being in pursuit of the Cimmerians fell upon the Median territory and subdued and held for a time almost the whole of Upper Asia nor again that of the Atreidae again t Troy of which we hear in story nor that of the Mysians

and Teucrians, which was still earlier, wherein these nations crossed the Bosporus into Europe, and, after conquering all Thrace, pressed forward till they came to the Ionian sea, while southward they reached as far as the river Peneus

21 All these expeditions, and others, if such there were, are as nothing compared with this For was there a nation in all Asia which Xerxes did not bring with him against Greece? Or was there a river, except those of unusual size, which sufficed for his troops to drink? One nation furnished ships, another was arrayed among the foot soldiers, a third had to supply horses a fourth, transports for the horse and men likewise for the service, a fifth, ships of war towards the bridges, a sixth, ships and provisions

2 And in the first place, because the former fleet had met with so great a disaster about Athos, preparations were made, for three years, in that quarter A fleet of triremes lay at Elaeus in the Chersonese, and from this station detachments were sent by the various nations whereof the army was composed, which relieved one another at intervals, and worked at a trench beneath the lash of taskmasters, while the people dwelling about Athos bore likewise a part in the labour Two Persians, Bubares, the son of Megabazus, and Artachaees, the son of Artaeus, superintended the undertaking

Athos is a great and famous mountain, inhabited by men, and stretching far out into the sea Where the mountain ends towards the mainland, it forms a peninsula, and in this place there is a neck of land about a mile and one half across, the whole extent whereof from the sea of the Acanthians to that over against Torone, is a level plain, broken only by a few low hills Here, upon this isthmus where Athos ends, is Sane, a Greek city Inside of Sane, and upon Athos itself, are a number of towns, which Xerxes was now employed in disjoining from the continent these are, Dium, Olophyxus, Acrothoum, Thyssus, and Cleonae Among these cities Athos was divided

23 Now the manner in which they dug was the following a line was drawn across by the city of Sane, and along this the various nations parcelled out among themselves the work to be

done When the trench grew deep the workmen at the bottom continued to dig while others handled the earth as it was dug out to labourers placed higher up upon ladders and these taking it passed it on further till it came at last to those at the top who carried it off and emptied it away All the other nations therefore except the Phoenicians had double labour for the sides of the trench fell in continually as could not but happen since they made the width no greater at the top than it was required to be at the bottom But the Phoenicians showed in this the skill which they exhibit in all their undertakings For in the portion of the work which was allotted to them they began by making the trench at the top twice as wide as the pres ribed measure and then as they dug downwards approached the sides nearer and nearer to ether so that when they reached the bottom their part of the work was of the same width as the rest In a meadow near there was a place of assembly and a market and hither great quantities of corn ready ground was brought from Asia

24 It eems to me when I consider this work that Xerxes in making it was actuated by a feeling of pride wishing to display the extent of his power and to leave a memorial behind him to posterity For notwithstanding that it was open to him with no trouble at all to have had his ships drawn across the isthmus yet he issued orders that a canal should be made through which the sea might flow and that it should be of such a width as would allow of two triremes passing through it abreast with the oars in action He likewise gave to the same persons who we e set over the d gging of the trench the task of making a bridge across the river Strymon

5 While these things were in progress he was having cables prepared for his bridges some of papyrus and some of white flax a business which he entrusted to the Phoenicians and the Egyptians He likewise laid up stores of provis ons in many places to save the army and the beasts of burden from suffering want upon their march into Greece He inquired carefully about all the sites and had the stores laid up in such as were most convenient causing them to be brought across from various

parts of Asia and in various ways, some in transports and others in merchantmen The greater portion was carried to the White Headland, upon the Thracian coast, some part, however was conveyed to Tyrodiza, in the country of the Perinthians, some to Doriscus, some to Eion upon the Strymon, and some to Macedonia

26 During the time that all these labours were in progress the land army which had been collected was marching with Xerxes towards Sardis, having started from Critalla in Cappadocia At this spot all the host which was about to accompany the king in his passage across the continent had been bidden to assemble And here I have it not in my power to mention which of the satraps was adjudged to have brought his troops in the most gallant array, and on that account rewarded by the king according to his promise, for I do not know whether this matter ever came to a judgment But it is certain that the host of Xerxes, after crossing the river Halys, marched through Phrygia till it reached the city of Celaenae Here are the sources of the river Maeander, and likewise of another stream of no less size, which bears the name of the Cataract, the last named river has its rise in the market place of Celaenae, and empties itself into the Maeander Here, too, in this market place, is hung up to view the skin of the Silenus Marsyas, which Apollo, as the Phrygian story goes, stripped off and placed there

27 Now there lived in this city a certain Pythius, the son of Atys, a Lydian This man entertained Xerxes and his whole army in a most magnificent fashion, offering at the same time to give him a sum of money for the war Xerxes, upon the mention of money, turned to the Persians who stood by, and asked of them, "Who is this Pythius, and what wealth has he, that he should venture on such an offer as this?" They answered him, "This is the man, O king, who gave your father Darius the golden plane tree, and likewise the golden vine, and he is still the wealthiest man we know of in all the world, excepting you "

28 Xerxes marvelled at these last words, and now addressing Pythius with his own lips, he asked him, what the amount of his wealth really was Pythius answered as follows

O King I will not hide this matter from you nor make pre tence that I do not know how rich I am but as I know per fectly I will declare all fully before you For when your journey *was noised abroad and I heard you were coming down to the* Grecian coast straightway as I wished to give you a sum of money for the war I made count of my stores and found them to be 2 000 talents of silver and of gold 4 000 000 of Daric staters wanting 7 000 All this I willingly make over to you as a gift and when it is gone my slaves and my estates in land will be wealth enough for my wants

29 This speech charmed Xerxes and he replied Dear Lyd ian since I left Persia there is no man but you who has either desired to entertain my army or come forward of his own free will to offer me a sum of money for the war You have done both the one and the other feasting my troops magnificently and now making offer of a right noble sum In return this is what I will bestow on you You shall be my sworn friend from this day and the 7 000 staters which are wanting to make up your 4 000 000 I will supply so that the full tale may be no longer lackin and that you may owe the completion of the round sum to me Continue to enjoy all that you have acquired hitherto and be sure to remain ever such as you now are If you do you will not repent of it so long as your life endures

30 When Xerxes had so spoken and had made his promises to Pythius good he pressed forward upon his march and passing Anaua a Phrygian city and a lake from which salt is gathered he came to Colossae a Phrygian city of great size situated at a spot where the river Lycus plunges into a chasm and disappears This river after running underground a distance of about half a mile re appears once more and empties itself like the stream above mentioned into the Maeander Leaving Colossae the army approached the borders of Phrygia where it abuts on Lydia and here they came to a city called Cydrara where was a pillar et up by Croesus having an inscription on it showing the boundaries of the two countries

31 Where it quits Phrygia and enters Lydia the road sepa rates the way on the left leads into Caria wh le that on the

right conducts to Sardis If you follow this route, you must cross the Maeander, and then pass by the city Callatebus, where the men live who make honey out of wheat and the fruit of the tamarisk Xerxes, who chose this way, found here a plane tree so beautiful, that he presented it with golden ornaments, and put it under the care of one of his Immortals The day after, he entered the Lydian capital

32 Here his first care was to send off heralds into Greece, to demand earth and water, and to require that preparation should be made everywhere to feast the king To Athens indeed and to Sparta he sent no such demand, but these cities excepted, his messengers went everywhere Now the reason why he sent for earth and water to states which had already refused, was this he thought that although they had refused when Darius made the demand, they would now be too frightened to venture to refuse So he sent his heralds, wishing to know for certain how it would be

33 Xerxes, after this, made preparations to advance to Abydos, where the bridge across the Hellespont from Asia to Europe was lately finished Midway between Sestos and Madytus in the Hellespontine Chersonese, and right over against Abydos, there is a rocky tongue of land which runs out for some distance into the sea This is the place where no long time afterwards the Greeks under Xanthippus, the son of Ariphron, took Artayctes the Persian, who was at that time governor of Sestos, and nailed him living to a plank He was the Artayctes who brought women into the temple of Protesilaus at Elaeus, and there was guilty of most unholy deeds

34 Towards this tongue of land then, the men to whom the business was assigned, carried out a double bridge from Abydos, and while the Phoenicians constructed one line with cables of white flax, the Egyptians in the other used ropes made of papyrus Now it is about a mile across from Abydos to the opposite coast When, therefore, the channel had been bridged successfully, it happened that a great storm arising broke the whole work to pieces, and destroyed all that had been done

35 So when Xerxes heard of it, he was full of wrath and

straightway gave orders that the Hellespont should receive 300 lashes and that a pair of fetters should be cast into it Nay I have even heard it said that he bade the branders take their *irons and therewith brand the Hellespont It is certain that he* commanded those who scourged the waters to utter as they lashed them these barbarian and wicked words Thou bitter water thy lord lays on thee this punishment becaus thou hast wronged him without a cause having suffered no evil at his hands Verily King Xerxes will cross thee whether thou wilt or no Well dost thou deserve that no man should honour thee with sacrifice for thou art of a truth a treacherous and unsavoury river While the sea was thus punished by his orders he likewise commanded that the overseers of the work should lose their heads

36 Then they whose business it was executed the unpleasing task laid upon them and other master builders were set over the work who accomplished it in the way which I will now describe

They joined together triremes and fifty-oared ships 360 to support the bridge on the side of the Euxine Sea and 314 to sustain the other and these they placed at right angles to the Sea and in the direction of the current of the Hellespont relieving by these means the tension of the shore cables Having joined the vessels they moored them with anchors of unusual size that th vessels of the bridge towards the Euxine might resist the winds which blow from within the straits and that those of the more western bridge facing the Aegean might withstand the winds which set in from the south and from the south east A gap was left in the fifty-oared ships and triremes to afford a pa sage for such light craft as chose to enter or leave the Euxine When all this was done they made the cables taut from the sh re by the help of wooden capstans This time moreover instead of using the two materials separately they ass gned to each bridge ix cables two of which were of white flax while four were of papyrus Both cables were of the same ize and quality but the flaxen were the heavier weighing not less than fifty pounds per *foot When the bridge across the channel was*

thus complete, trunks of trees were sawn into planks, which were cut to the width of the bridge, and these were laid side by side upon the tightened cables, and then fastened on the top This done, brushwood was brought, and arranged upon the planks, after which earth was heaped upon the brushwood, and the whole trodden down into a solid mass Lastly a bulwark was set up on either side of this causeway, of such a height as to prevent the beasts of burden and the horses from seeing over it and taking fright at the water

37 And now when all was prepared—the bridges, and the works at Athos the breakwaters about the mouths of the cutting, which were made to hinder the surf from blocking up the entrances, and the cutting itself, and when the news came to Xerxes that this last was completely finished, then at length the host, having first wintered at Sardis, began its march towards Abydos, fully equipped, on the first approach of spring At the moment of departure, the sun suddenly quitted his seat in the heavens, and disappeared, though there were no clouds in sight but the sky was clear and serene[5] Day was thus turned into night, whereupon Xerxes, who saw and remarked the prodigy, was seized with alarm, and sending at once for the Magians, inquired of them the meaning of the portent They replied, "God is foreshowing to the Greeks the destruction of their cities for the sun foretells for them and the moon for us" So Xerxes, thus instructed, proceeded on his way with great gladness of heart

38 The army had begun its march, when Pythius the Lydian, frightened at the heavenly portent, and emboldened by his gifts, came to Xerxes and said, "Grant me, O my lord, a favour which is to you a light matter, but to me of vast account" Then Xerxes, who looked for nothing less than such a prayer as Pythius in fact preferred, engaged to grant him whatever he wished, and commanded him to tell his wish freely So Pythius, full of boldness, went on to say, "My lord, I have five sons, and

[5] There was no eclipse of the sun visible in Western Asia this year but there was one the year before April 19th Herodotus may perhaps have understood of the setting forth from Sardis what was told him of departure from Susa in the spring of the preceding year

it chances that all are calleu upon to join you in this march against Greece I beseech you have compassion upon my years and et one of my sons the eldest remain behind to be my prop and stay and the guardian of my wealth Take with you the other four and when you have done all that is in your heart may you come back in safety

39 But Xerxes was greatly angered and replied to him Wretch dare you speak to me of your son when I am myself on the march against Greece with sons and brothers and kinsfolk and friends? You are my bond lave and are in duty bound to follo v me with all your hou ehold not excepting your wife! Know that man s spirit dwells in his ears and when it hears good things strai htway it fills all his body with delight but no sooner does it hear the contrary than it heaves and swells with passion As when you did good deeds and made good offers to me you were not able to boast of having outdone the king in bountifulness so now when you are changed and grown impu dent you shall not receive all your deserts but less For you and four of your five ons the entertainment which I had of you shall ga n protection but as for him to whom you cling above the rest the forfeit of his life shall be your punishment Ha in thus spol en forthwith he commanded those to whom such ta ks were assi ned to seel out the eldest of the sons of Pythius and having cut his body asunder to place the two halves one on the right the other on the left of the great road so that the army might march out between them

40 Then the king s orders were obeyed and the army marched out between the two halves of the body First of all went the bag age bearers and the beasts of burden and then a va t crowd of many nations mingled together without any in tervals amounting to more than one half of the army After the-e troops an empty pace was left to eparate between them and the king In front of the king went first 1 000 horsemen picked men of the Persian nation—then spearmen 1 000 like wise cho en troops with their pear heads pointing towards the ground—next ten of the sacred horses called Nisaean all dain tily caparisoned (Now these horses are called Nisaean because

they come from the Nisaean plain, a vast flat in Media, producing horses of unusual size) After the ten sacred horses came the holy chariot of Zeus,[6] drawn by eight milk white steeds, with the charioteer on foot behind them holding the reins, for no mortal is ever allowed to mount into the car Next to this came Xerxes himself, riding in a chariot drawn by Nisaean horses, with his charioteer, Patiramphes, the son of Otanes, a Persian, standing by his side

41 Thus rode forth Xerxes from Sardis—but he was accustomed every now and then, when the fancy took him, to alight from his chariot and travel in a litter Immediately behind the king there followed a body of 1,000 spearmen, the noblest and bravest of the Persians, holding their lances in the usual manner—then came 1,000 Persian horse, picked men—then 10,000, picked also after the rest, and serving on foot Of these last 1,000 carried spears with golden pomegranates at their lower end instead of spikes, and these encircled the other 9,000, who bore on their spears pomegranates of silver The spearmen too who pointed their lances towards the ground, had golden pomegranates, and the 1,000 Persians who followed close after Xerxes, had golden apples Behind the 10,000 footmen came a body of Persian cavalry, likewise 10,000, after which there was again a void space for as much as 400 yards, and then the rest of the army followed in a confused crowd

42 The march of the army after leaving Lydia, was directed upon the river Caicus and the land of Mysia Beyond the Caicus the road, leaving Mount Cana upon the left, passed through the Atarnean plain, to the city of Carina Quitting this, the troops advanced across the plain of Thebe, passing Adramyttium, and Antandrus, the Pelasgic city, then, holding Mount Ida upon the left hand, it entered the Trojan territory On this march the Persians suffered some loss for as they bivouacked during the night at the foot of Ida, a storm of thunder and lightning burst upon them, and killed no small number

43 On reaching the Scamander, which was the first stream, of all that they had crossed since they left Sardis, whose water

[6] Ormazd

failed them and did not suffice to satisfy the thirst of men and cattle Xerxes ascended into the Citadel of Priam since he had a longing to behold the place When he had seen everything and inquired into all particulars he made an offering of 1 000 oxen to the Trojan Athena while the Magians poured libations to the heroes who were slain at Troy The night after a panic fell upon the camp but in the morning they set off with daylight and skirting on the left hand the towns Rhoeteum Ophryneum and Dardanus (which borders on Abydos) on the right the Teucrians of Gergis so reached Abydos

44 *Arrived here Xerxes wished to look upon all his host so* as there was a throne of white marble upon a hill near the city which they of Abydos had prepared beforehand by the kin s bidding for his especial use Xerxes took his seat on it and gazing thence upon the shore below beheld at one view all his land forces and all his ships While thus employed he felt a desire to behold a sailing match among his ships which accordingly took *place and was won by the Phoenicians of Sidon much to the* joy of Xerxes who was delighted alike with the race and with his army

45 And now as he looked and saw the whole Hellespont covered with the vessels of his fleet and all the shore and every plain about Abydos as full as could be of men Xerxes congratulated himself on his good fortune but after a little while he wept

46 Then Artabanus the king s uncle (the same who at the first so freely spoke his mind to the king and advised him not to lead his army against Greece) when he heard that Xerxes was in tears went to him and said How different sire is what you are now doing from what you did a little while ago! Then you congratulated yourself and now you weep

There came upon me he replied a sudden pity when I thought of the shortness of man s life and considered that of all this host so numerous as it is not one will be alive when a hundred years are gone by

And yet there are sadder things in life than that returned the other Short as our time is there is no man whether it be

here among this multitude or elsewhere, who is so happy, as not to have felt the wish—I will not say once, but full many a time —that he were dead rather than alive Calamities fall upon us, sicknesses vex and harass us, and make life, short though it be, to appear long So death, through the wretchedness of our life, is a most sweet refuge to our race and god, who gives us the tastes that we enjoy of pleasant times, is seen, in his very gift, to be envious "

47 "True," said Xerxes, "human life is even such as you have painted it, O Artabanus But for this very reason let us turn our thoughts from it, and not dwell on what is so sad, when pleasant things are in hand Tell me rather, if the vision which we saw had not appeared so plainly to you, would you have been still of the same mind as formerly, and have continued to dis suade me from warring against Greece, or would you at this time think differently? Come now, tell me this honestly "

"O King," replied the other, "may the dream which hath ap peared to us have such issue as we both desire! For my own part, I am still full of fear, and have scarcely power to control myself, when I consider all our dangers, and especially when I see that the two things which are of most consequence are alike opposed to you "

48 "You strange man," said Xerxes in reply, "what, I pray you, are the two things you speak of? Does my land army seem to you too small in number, and will the Greeks, think you, bring into the field a more numerous host? Or is it our fleet which you consider weaker than theirs? Or are you fearful on both accounts? If in your judgment we fall short in either re spect, it were easy to bring together with all speed another armament "

49 "O King," said Artabanus, "it is not possible that a man of understanding should find fault with the size of your army or the number of your ships The more you add to these, the mor hostile will those two things, whereof I spoke, become Those two things are the land and the sea In all the wide sea there is not, I imagine, anywhere a harbour large enough to receive your vessels in case a storm arise, and afford them a sure protection

failed them and did not suffice to satisfy the thirst of men and cattle Xerxes ascended into the Citadel of Priam since he had a longing to behold the place When he had seen everythin and nquired into all particulars he made an offering of 1 000 oxen to the Trojan Athena while the Magians poured libations to the heroes who were slain at Troy The night after a panic fell upon the camp but in the morning they set off with dayli ht and skirting on the left hand the towns Rhoeteum Ophryneum and Dardanus (which borders on Abydos) on the right the Teucrians of Gergis so reached Abydos

44 Arrived here Xerxes wished to look upon all his host so as there was a throne of white marble upon a hill near the city which they of Abydos had prepared beforehand by the kin s bidding for his especial use Xerxes took his seat on it and gazing thence upon the shore below beheld at one view all his land forces and all his ships While thus employed he felt a desire to behold a sailing match among his ships which accordingly took place and was won by the Phoenicians of Sidon much to the joy of Xerxes who was delighted alike with the race and with his army

45 And now as he looked and saw the whole Hellespont covered with the vessels of his fleet and all the shore and every plain about Abydos as full as could be of men Xerxes congratulated himself on his good fortune but after a little while he wept

46 Then Artabanus the king s uncle (the same who at the first so freely spoke his mind to the king and advised him not to lead his army against Greece) when he heard that Xerxes was in tears went to him and said How different sire is what you are now doing from what you did a little while ago! Then you congratulated yourself and now you weep

There came upon me he replied a sudden pity when I thought of the shortness of man s life and considered that of all this host so numerous as it is not one will be alive when a hundred years are gone by

And yet there are sadder things in life than that returned the other Short as our time is there is no man whether it be

here among this multitude or elsewhere, who is so happy, as not to have felt the wish—I will not say once, but full many a time—that he were dead rather than alive Calamities fall upon us, sicknesses vex and harass us, and make life, short though it be, to appear long So death, through the wretchedness of our life, is a most sweet refuge to our race and god, who gives us the tastes that we enjoy of pleasant times, is seen, in his very gift, to be envious"

47 "True," said Xerxes, 'human life is even such as you have painted it, O Artabanus But for this very reason let us turn our thoughts from it, and not dwell on what is so sad, when pleasant things are in hand Tell me rather, if the vision which we saw had not appeared so plainly to you, would you have been still of the same mind as formerly, and have continued to dis suade me from warring against Greece, or would you at this time think differently? Come now, tell me this honestly"

"O King," replied the other, "may the dream which hath ap peared to us have such issue as we both desire! For my own part, I am still full of fear, and have scarcely power to control myself, when I consider all our dangers, and especially when I see that the two things which are of most consequence are alike opposed to you"

48 "You strange man," said Xerxes in reply, "what, I pray you, are the two things you speak of? Does my land army seem to you too small in number, and will the Greeks, think you, bring into the field a more numerous host? Or is it our fleet which you consider weaker than theirs? Or are you fearful on both accounts? If in your judgment we fall short in either re spect, it were easy to bring together with all speed another armament"

49 "O king," said Artabanus, "it is not possible that a man of understanding should find fault with the size of your army or the number of your ships The more you add to these, the more hostile will those two things, whereof I spoke, become Those two things are the land and the sea In all the wide sea there is not, I imagine, anywhere a harbour large enough to receive your vessels in case a storm arise, and afford them a sure prote

And yet you will want not one such harbour only, but many in succession along the entire coast by which you are about to make your advance In default then of such harbours it is well to bear in mind that chances rule men and not men chances Such is the first of the two dangers and now I will speak to you of the second The land will also be your enemy for if no one resists your advance as you proceed further and further insensibly allured onwards (for who is ever sated with uccess?) you will find it more and more hostile I mean this that should nothing else withstand you yet the mere distance becoming greater as ime goes on will at last produce a famine I think it is best for men when they take counsel to be timorous and imagine all possible calamities but when the time for action comes then to deal boldly

50 Whereto Xerxes answered There is reason O Artabanus in everything which you have said but I pray you fear not all things alike nor count up every risk For if in each matter that comes before us you look to all possible chances never you will achieve anything Far better is it to have a stout heart always and suffer one s share of evils than to be ever fearing what may happen and never incur a mischance Moreover if you oppose whatever is said by others without yourself showing us the sure course which we ought to take you are as likely to lead us into failure as they who advise differently for you are but on a par with them And as for that sure course how can you show it us when you are but a man? I do not believe you can Success for the most part attends those who act boldly not tho e who wei h everything and are slack to venture You see to how great a height the power of Persia has now reached—never would it have grown to this point if they who sat upon the throne before me had been like minded with you or even though not like minded had listened to counsellors of such a spirit It was by brave ventures that they extended their sway for great empires can only be conquered by great risks We follow then the example of our fathers in making this march and we et forward at the best season of the year and when we have brought Europe under us we shall return without suffer

ing from want or experiencing any other calamity For while on the one hand we carry vast stores of provisions with us, on the other we shall have the grain of all the countries and nations that we attack, since our march is not directed against a pastoral people, but against men who are tillers of the ground "

51 Then said Artabanus, ' If, sire, you are determined that we shall not fear anything, at least hearken to a counsel which I wish to offer, for when the matters in hand are so many, one cannot but have much to say You know that Cyrus the son of Cambyses reduced and made tributary to the Persians all the race of the Ionians, except only those of Attica Now my advice is, that you on no account lead forth these men against their fathers, since we are well able to overcome them without such aid Their choice, if we take them with us to the war, lies between showing themselves the most wicked of men by helping to enslave their fatherland, or the most righteous by joining in the struggle to keep it free If then they choose the side of injustice, they will do us but scant good while if they determine to act justly, they may greatly injure our host Lay to heart the old proverb, which says truly, The beginning and end of a matter are not always seen at once ' '

52 "Artabanus," answered Xerxes, "there is nothing in all that you have said wherein you are so wholly wrong as in this, that you suspect the faith of the Ionians Have they not given us the surest proof of their attachment, a proof which you witnessed, and likewise all those who fought with Darius against the Scythians? When it lay wholly with them to save or to destroy the entire Persian army, they dealt by us honourably and with good faith, and did us no hurt at all Besides, they will leave behind them in our country their wives, their children, and their properties—can it then be conceived that they will attempt rebellion? Have no fear, therefore, on this score, but keep a brave heart and uphold my house and empire To you, and you only, do I entrust my sovereignty "

53 After Xerxes had thus spoken, and had sent Artabanus away to return to Susa, he summoned before him all the Persians of most repute, and when they appeared, addressed

in these words Persians I have brought you together because I wished to exhort you to behave bravely and not to sully with disgrace the former achievements of the Persian people which are very great and famous Rather let us one and all singly and jointly exert ourselves to the uttermost for the matter wherein we are engaged concerns the common weal Strain every nerve then I beseech you in this war Brave warriors are the men we march against if report says true and such that if we conquer them there is not a people in all the world which will venture thereafter to withstand our arms And now let us offer prayers to the gods who watch over the welfare of Per ia and then cross the channel

54 All that day the preparations for the passage continued and on the morrow they burned all kinds of spices upon the bridges and strewed the way with myrtle boughs while they waited anxiously for the sun which they hoped to see as he rose And now the sun appeared and Xerxes took a golden goblet and poured from it a libation into the sea praying with his face turned to the sun that no m sfortune might befall him such as to hinder his conquest of Europe until he had penetrated to its uttermost boundaries After he had prayed he cast the golden cup into the Hellespont and with it a golden bowl and a Persian sword of the kind which they call acinaces I cannot say for certain whether it was as an offering to the sun god that he threw these things into the deep or whether he repented of having scourged the Hellespont and thought by his gifts to make amends to the sea for what he had done

55 When however his offerings were made the army began to cross and the foot soldiers with the horsemen pas ed over by one of the brid es—that (namely) which lay towards the Euxine—while the beasts of burden and the camp-followers passed by the other which looked on the Aegean Foremost went the Ten Thousand Persians all wearing garlands upon their heads and after them a mixed multitude of many nations These crossed upon the f rst day

On the next d / t horsemen began the passage and with

them went the soldiers who carried their spears with the point downwards, garlanded like the Ten Thousand, then came the sacred horses and the sacred chariot, next Xerxes with his lancers and the thousand horse then the rest of the army At the same time the ships sailed over to the opposite shore According, however, to another account which I have heard, the king crossed the last

56 As soon as Xerxes had reached the European side, he stood to contemplate his army as they crossed under the lash And the crossing continued during seven days and seven nights, without rest or pause It is said that here, after Xerxes had made the passage a Hellespontian exclaimed, 'Why O Zeus, do you, in the likeness of a Persian man, and with the name of Xerxes instead of your own, lead the whole race of mankind to the destruction of Greece? It would have been as easy for you to destroy it without their aid! '

57 When the whole army had crossed, and the troops were now upon their march, a strange prodigy appeared to them, whereof the king made no account, though its meaning was not difficult to conjecture Now the prodigy was this a mare gave birth to a hare Hereby it was shown plainly enough that Xerxes would lead forth his host against Greece with mighty pomp and splendour, but in order to reach again the spot from which he set out, would have to run for his life There had also been another portent, while Xerxes was still at Sardis—a mule dropped a foal with double sexual organs, the male above the female but this likewise was disregarded

58 So Xerxes, despising the omens, marched forwards, and his land army accompanied him But the fleet held an opposite course, and, sailing to the mouth of the Hellespont, made its way along the shore Thus the fleet proceeded westward, making for Cape Sarpedon, where the orders were that it should await the coming up of the troops, but the land army marched eastward along the Chersonese, leaving on the right the tomb of Helle, the daughter of Athamas, and on the left the city of Cardia Having passed through the town which is called Agora, they

call Syrians are called Assyrians by the barbarians The Chal deans served in their ranks and they had for commander Otas pes the son of Artachaeus

64 The Bactrians went to the war wearing a head dress very like the Median but armed with bows of cane after the custom of their country and with short spears

The Sacae or Scyths were clad in trousers and had on their heads tall stiff caps rising to a point They bore the bow of their country and the dagger besides which they carried the battle axe or sagaris They were in truth Amyrgian Scythians but the Persians called them Sacae since that is the name they give to all Scythians The Bactrians and the Sacae had for leader Hys taspes the son of Darius and of Atossa the daughter of Cyrus

65 The Indians wore cotton dresses and carried bows of cane and arrows also of cane with iron at the point Such was the equipment of the Indians and they marched under the com mand of Pharnazathres the son of Artabates

66 The Arians carried Median bows but in other re pects were equipped like the Bactrians Their commander was Si samnes the on of Hydarnes

The Parthians and Chora mians with the Sogdians the Gan darians and the Dadicae had the Bactrian equipment in all respects The Parthians and Chorasmians were commanded by Artabazus the son of Pharnaces the Sogdians by Azanes the son of Artaeus and the Gandarians and Dadicae by Artyphius the son of Artabanus

67 The Caspians were clad in cloaks of skin and carried the cane bow of the r country and the scimitar So equipped they went to the war and they had for commander Ariomardus the brother of Artyphius

The Sarangians had dyed garments which showed brightly and buskins which reached to the knee they bore Med an bows and lances Their leader was Pherendates the on of Megabazus

The Pactyans wore cloaks of skin and carried the bow of their country and the dagger Their commander was Artyntes the son of Ithamatres

68 Th Utians the Mycians and the Paricanians were all

equipped like the Pactyans They had for leaders, Arsamenes the son of Darius, who commanded the Utians and Mycians and Siromitres, the son of Oeobazus, who commanded the Paricanians

69 The Arabians wore the zeira, or long cloak, fastened about them with a girdle, and carried at their right side long bows, which when unstrung bent backwards

The Ethiopians were clothed in the skins of leopards and lions, and had long bows made of the stem of the palm leaf, not less than six feet in length On these they laid short arrows made of reed, and armed at the tip, not with iron, but with a piece of stone, sharpened to a point, of the kind used in engraving seals They carried likewise spears, the head of which was the sharpened horn of an antelope, and in addition they had knotted clubs When they went into battle they painted their bodies half with chalk, and half with vermilion The Arabians, and the Ethiopians who came from the region above Egypt, were commanded by Arsames the son of Darius and of Artystone daughter of Cyrus This Artystone was the best beloved of all the wives of Darius and it was she whose statue he caused to be made of gold wrought with the hammer Her son Arsames commanded these two nations

70 The eastern Ethiopians—for two nations of this name served in the army—were marshalled with the Indians They differed in nothing from the other Ethiopians, save in their language, and the character of their hair For the eastern Ethiopians have straight hair, while they of Libya are more woolly haired than any other people in the world Their equipment was in most points like that of the Indians, but they wore upon their heads the scalps of horses, with the ears and mane attached, the ears were made to stand upright, and the mane served as a crest For shields this people made use of the skins of cranes

71 The Libyans wore a dress of leather, and carried javelins made hard in the fire They had for commander Massages, the son of Oarizus

72 The Paphlagonians went to the war with plaited helmets upon their heads, and carrying small shields and spears of no

great size They had also javelins and daggers and wore on their feet the buskin of their country which reached half way up the hank In the same fashion were equipped the Ligyans the Matienians the Mariandynians and the Syrians (or Cappadocians as they are called by the Persians) The Paphlagonians and Matienians were under the command of Dotus the son of Megasidrus while the Mariandynians the Ligyan and the Syrians had for leader Gobryas the son of Darius and Artystone

73 The dress of the Phrygians closely re embled the Paphlagonian only in a very few points differing from it According to the Macedonian account the Phrygians during the time that they had their abode in Europe and dwelt with them in Macedonia bore the name of Brigians but on their removal to Asia they changed their de ignation at the same time with the r dwelling place

The Armenians who are Phrygian colonists were armed in the Phrygian fashion Both nations were under the command of Artochmes who was married to one of the dau hters of Darius

74 The Lydians were armed very nearly in the Grecian manner These Lydi ns in ancient times were called Maeonians but changed their name and took their present title from Lydu the on of Atys

The Mysi wore upon their heads a helmet made after the fashion of their country and carried a small buckler they used as javelins staves with one end hardened in the f re The Mysians are Lydian colonists and from the mountain-chain of Olympus are called Olympieni Both the Lydians and the Mysians were under the command of Artaphernes the son of that Artaphernes who with Datis made the landing at Marathon

75 The Thracians went to the war wearing the kins of foxes upon their heads and about their bodies tunics over which was thrown a long cloak of many colours Their legs and feet were clad in buskins made from the skins of fawns and they had for arms javelins with light targes and short dirks This people after crossing into Asia took the name of Bithynians before they had been called Strymonians while they dwelt upon the

Strymon, whence, according to their own account, they had been driven out by the Mysians and Teucrians The commander of these Asiatic Thracians was Bassaces the son of Artabanus

76 The [8] had small shields made of the hide of the ox, and carried each of them two spears such as are used in wolf hunting Brazen helmets protected their heads, and above these they wore the ears and horns of an ox fashioned in brass They had also crests on their helms and their legs were bound round with purple bands There is an oracle of Ares in the country of this people

77 The Cabalians, who are Maeonians, but are called Lasonians, had the same equipment as the Cilicians—an equipment which I shall describe when I come in due course to the Cilician contingent

The Milyans bore short spears, and had their garments fastened with buckles Some of their number carried Lycian bows They wore about their heads skull caps made of leather Badres the son of Hystanes led both nations to battle

78 The Moschians wore helmets made of wood, and carried shields and spears of a small size their spearheads, however, were long The Moschian equipment was that likewise of the Tibarenians, the Macronians, and the Mosynoecians The leaders of these nations were the following the Moschians and Tibarenians were under the command of Ariomardus, who was the son of Darius and of Parmys, daughter of Smerdis son of Cyrus, while the Macronians and Mosynoecians had for leader Artayctes, the son of Cherasmis, the governor of Sestos upon the Hellespont

79 The Mares wore on their heads the plaited helmet peculiar to their country, and used small leathern bucklers, and javelins

The Colchians wore wooden helmets, and carried small shields of raw hide, and short spears, besides which they had swords Both Mares and Colchians were under the command of Pharandates, the son of Teaspes

There is a defect here in the text of Herodotus the name of the nation has been lost

The Alarodians and Saspirians were armed like the Colchians their leader was Masistes the son of Siromitras

80 The Islanders who came from the Red Sea where the inhabited the islands to which the king sends those whom h banishes wore a dress and arms almost exactly like the Median Their leader was Mardontes the son of Bagaeus who the yea after perished in the battle of Mycale where he was one of th aptains

81 *Such were the nations who fought upon the dry land an* made up the infantry of the Persians And they were com manded by the captains whose names have been above recorded The marshalling and numbering of the troops had been com mitted to them and by them were appointed the captains ove 1 000 and the captains over 10 000 but the leaders of ten men or 100 were named by the captains over 10 000 There were other officers also who gave the orders to the various ranks and nations but those whom I have mentioned above were the com manders

82 Over these commanders themselves and over the whole of the infantry there were set six generals namely Mardonius on of Gobryas Tritantaechmes son of the Artabanus who gave his advice against the war with Greece Smerdomenes son of Otanes—these two were the sons of Darius brothers and thus were cousins of Xerxes—Masistes son of Darius and Atossa Gergis son of Arizus and Megabyzus son of Zopyrus

83 The whole of the infantry was under the command of these generals excepting the Ten Thousand The Ten Thou sand who were all Persians and all picked men were led by Hydarnes the son of Hydarnes They were called the Immor tals for the following reason If one of their body failed either by the stroke of death or of disease forthwith his place was filled up by another man so that their number was at no time either greater or less than 10 000

Of all the troops the Persians were adorned with the greatest magnificence and they were likewise the most valiant Besides their arms which have been already described they glittered all over with gold vast quantities of which they wore about their

persons They were followed by litters, wherein rode their concubines, and by a numerous train of attendants handsomely dressed Camels and sumpter beasts carried their provision, apart from that of the other soldiers

84 All these various nations fight on horseback, they did not, however, at this time all furnish horsemen, but only the following

The Persians, who were armed in the same way as their own footmen, excepting that some of them wore upon their heads devices fashioned with the hammer in brass or steel

85 The wandering tribe known by the name of Sagartians—a people Persian in language, and in dress half Persian, half Pactyan, who furnished to the army as many as 8,000 horse It is not the wont of this people to carry arms, either of bronze or steel, except only a dirk, but they use lassoes made of thongs plaited together, and trust to these whenever they go to the wars Now the manner in which they fight is the following when they meet their enemy, straightway they discharge their lassoes, which end in a noose, then, whatever the noose encircles, be it man or be it horse, they drag towards them, and the foe entangled in the toils, is forthwith slain Such is the manner in which this people fight, and now their horsemen were drawn up with the Persians

86 The Medes, and Cissians, who had the same equipment as their foot soldiers The Indians, equipped as their footmen, but some on horseback and some in chariots, the chariots drawn either by horses, or by wild asses The Bactrians and Caspians, arrayed as their foot soldiers The Libyans, equipped as their foot soldiers like the rest, but all riding in chariots The Caspeirians and Paricanians, equipped as their foot soldiers The Arabians, in the same array as their footmen, but all riding on camels, not inferior in fleetness to horses

87 These nations and these only furnished horse to the army and the number of the horse was 80,000, without counting camels or chariots All were marshalled in squadrons, excepting the Arabians, who were placed last, to avoid frightening the horses, which cannot endure the sight of the camel

88 The horse was commanded by Armamithras and Tithaeus sons of Datis The other commander Pharnuches who was to have been their colleague had been left sick at Sardis since at the moment that he was leaving the city a sad mischance befell him a dog ran under the feet of the horse upon which he was mounted and the horse not seeing it coming was startled and rearing bolt upright threw his rider After this fall Pharnuches spat blood and fell into a consumption As for the horse he was treated at once as Pharnuches ordered the attendants took him to the spot where he had thrown his master and there cut off his four legs at the hock Thus Pharnuches lost his command

89 The triremes amounted in *all* to 1 207 [9] and were *fur* nished by the following nations

The Phoenicians with the Syrians of Palestine furnished 300 vessels the crews of which were thus accoutred upon their heads they wore helmets made nearly in the Grecian manner about their bodies they had breastplates of linen they carried *hields without rims and were armed with javelins This nation* according to their own account dwelt anciently upon the Red Sea but crossing thence they fixed themselves on the sea coast of Syria where they still inhabit This part of Syria and all the region extending from hence to Egypt is known by the name of Palestine

The Egyptians furnished 200 ships Their crews had pl1 ted helmets upon their heads and bore concave shields with rims of unusual size They were armed with spears suited for a sea f ht and with *huge poleaxes The greater part of them wore breast* plates and all had long cutlasses

90 The Cyprians furnished 150 ships and were equipped in the following fashion. Their kings had turbans bound about

[9] This f u e agree w th th t of A chyl (*P sa* 34 343) f the b ttl f S l mi f th 7 w ft h ps m t d sep t ly by A h l are t b dd d t his d n mb f ,000 H weve M (*C m bridg A t H t y* IV 273 76) h h w th t t i p b H that th G k o t m t d th f th *P si* y whi h lly c sisted of fi e fleets c ntai t ship Th Ph ia fl t w pe b th in q lity a d mb d p b bly c t d of th 207 ships si gled ut by Aeschylus.

their heads, while the people wore tunics, in other respects they were clad like the Greeks They are of various races, some are sprung from Athens and Salamis, some from Arcadia, some from Cythnus, some from Phoenicia, and a portion, according to their own account, from Ethiopia

91 The Cilicians furnished 100 ships The crews wore upon their heads the helmet of their country, and carried instead of shields light targes made of raw hide, they were clad in woollen tunics, and were each armed with two javelins, and a sword closely resembling the cutlass of the Egyptians This people bore anciently the name of Hypachaeans, but took their present title from Cilix, the son of Agenor, a Phoenician

The Pamphylians furnished thirty ships, the crews of which were armed exactly as the Greeks This nation is descended from those who on the return from Troy were dispersed with Amphilochus and Calchas

92 The Lycians furnished fifty ships Their crews wore greaves and breastplates, while for arms they had bows of cornel wood, reed arrows without feathers, and javelins Their outer garment was the skin of a goat, which hung from their shoulders, their head dress a hat encircled with plumes and besides their other weapons they carried daggers and falchions This people came from Crete, and were once called Termilae, they got the name which they now bear from Lycus, the son of Pandion, an Athenian

93 The Dorians of Asia furnished thirty ships They were armed in the Grecian fashion, inasmuch as their forefathers came from the Peloponnese

The Carians furnished seventy ships, and were equipped like the Greeks, but carried, in addition, falchions and daggers What name the Carians bore anciently was declared in the first part of this history

94 The Ionians furnished 100 ships, and were armed like the Greeks Now these Ionians, during the time that they dwelt in the Peloponnese and inhabited the land now called Achaea (which was before the arrival of Danaus and Xuthus in the Peloponnese), were called, according to the Greek account,

Aegialean Pelasgi or Pelasgi of the Sea shore but afterwards from Ion the son of Xuthus they were called Ionians

95 The Islanders furnished seventeen ships and wore arms like the Greeks They too were a Pelasgian race who in later times took the name of Ionians for the same reason as those who inhabited the twelve cities founded from Athens

The Aeolians furnished sixty ships and were equipped in the Grecian fashion They too were anciently called Pelasgians as the Greeks declare

The Hellespontians from the Pontus who are colonists of the Ionians and Dorians furnished 100 ships the crews of which wore the Grecian armour This did not include the Abydenians who stayed in their own country because the king had assigned them the special duty of guarding the bridges

96 On board of every ship was a band of soldiers Persians Medes or Sacans The Phoenician ships were the best sailers in the fleet and the Sidonian the best among the Phoenicians The contingent of each nation whether to the fleet or to the land army had at its head a native leader but the names of these leaders I shall not mention as it is not necessary for the cour e of my history For the leaders of some nations were not worthy to have their names recorded and besides there were in each nation as many leaders as there were cities And it was not really as commanders that they accompanied the army but as mere slaves like the rest of the host For I have already mentioned the Pe sian generals who had the actual command and were at the head of several nations which composed the army

97 The fleet was commanded by the followin —Ariabignes the son of Darius Prexaspes the son of Aspathines Megabazus the on of Me abates and Achaemenes the on of Darius Aria bignes who was the child of Darius by a daughter of Gobryas was leader of the Ionian and Carian ships Achaemenes who was own brother to Xerxes of the Egyptian the rest of the fleet was commanded by the other two Besides the triremes there was an assemblage of thirty-oared and fifty oared galleys of l ht gal leys and transports for conveying horses amounting in all to 3 000

98 Next to the commanders, the following were the most renowned of those who sailed aboard the fleet Tetramnestus, the son of Anysus, the Sidonian, Mapen, the son of Sirom, the Tyrian, Merbal, the son of Agbal, the Aradian, Syennesis, the son of Oromedon, the Cilician Cyberniscus, the son of Sicas, the Lycian, Gorgus, the son of Chersis, and Timonax, the son of Timagoras, the Cyprians, and Histiaeus, the son of Timnes, Pigres, the son of Seldomus, and Damasithymus, the son of Candaules, the Carians

99 Of the other lower officers I shall make no mention, since no necessity is laid on me, but I must speak of a certain leader named Artemisia,[10] whose participation in the attack upon Greece, notwithstanding that she was a woman, moves my special wonder She had obtained the sovereign power after the death of her husband, and though she had now a son grown up, yet her brave spirit and manly daring sent her forth to the war, when no need required her to adventure Her name, as I said, was Artemisia, and she was the daughter of Lygdamis, by race she was on his side a Halicarnassian, though by her mother a Cretan She ruled over the Halicarnassians, the men of Cos, of Nisyrus, and of Calydna, and the five triremes which she furnished to the Persians were, next to the Sidonian, the most famous ships in the fleet She likewise gave to Xerxes sounder counsel than any of his other allies Now the cities over which I have mentioned that she bore sway, were one and all Dorian, for the Halicarnassians were colonists from Troezen, while the remainder were from Epidaurus Thus much concerning the sea-force

100 Now when the numbering and marshalling of the host was ended, Xerxes conceived a wish to go himself throughout the forces, and with his own eyes behold everything Accordingly he traversed the ranks seated in his chariot, and going from nation to nation, made manifold inquiries, while his scribes wrote down the answers, till at last he had passed from end to end of the whole land army, both the horsemen and likewise the foot.

[10] The special notice taken of Artemisia is undoubtedly due in part her having been queen of Halicarnassus the native place of the

This done he exchanged his chariot for a Sidonian galley and seated beneath a golden awning sailed along the prows of all his ves els (the vessels having now been hauled down and launched into the sea) while he made inquiries again as he had done when he reviewed the land forces and caused the answers to be recorded by his scribes The captains took their ships to the distance of about 400 feet from the shore and there lay to with their vessels in a single row the prows facing the land and with the fighting men upon the decks accoutred as if for war while the King sailed along in the open space between the ships and the shore and so reviewed the fleet

101 Now after Xerxes had sailed down th whole line and was gone ashore he sent for Demaratus the son of Ariston who had accompanied him in his march upon Greece and addressed him thus

Demaratus it is my pleasure at this time to ask you certain things which I wish to know You are a Greek and as I hear from the other Greeks with whom I converse no less than from your own lips you are a native of a city which is not the mean est or the weakest in their land Tell me therefore what do you think? Will the Greeks lift a hand against us? My own judg ment is that even if all the Greeks and all the barbarians of the west were gathered together in one place they would not be able to abide my onset not being really of one mind But I would like to know what you think

Thus Xerxes questioned and the other replied in his turn O King do you wish me to give you a true answer or do you wish for a pleasant one?

Then the King bade him speak the plain truth and promi e l that he would not on that account hold him in le s favour than heretofore

102 So Demaratus when he heard the promise spoke as fol lows O King since you bid me a all risks speak the truth and not say what will one day prove me to have lied to you thus I answer Want has at all times been a fellow-dweller with us in our land while Valour is an ally whom we have gained by d nt of wisdom and strict laws Her aid enables us to drive out want

and escape tyranny Brave are all the Greeks who dwell in any Dorian land, but what I am about to say does not concern all, but only the Lacedaemonians First then, come what may, they will never accept your terms, which would reduce Greece to slavery, and further, they are sure to join battle with you, though all the rest of the Greeks should submit to your will As for their numbers, do not ask how many they are, that their resistance should be a possible thing, for if 1,000 of them should take the field, they will meet you in battle, and so will any number, be it less than this, or be it more"

103 When Xerxes heard this answer of Demaratus, he laughed and answered, "What wild words, Demaratus! 1,000 men join battle with such an army as this! Come then, will you—who were once, as you say, their king—engage to fight this very day with ten men? I think not And yet, if all your fellow citizens be indeed such as you say they are, you ought, as their king, by your own country's usages, to be ready to fight with twice the number If then each one of them be a match for ten of my soldiers, I may well call upon you to be a match for twenty So would you assure the truth of what you have now said If, however, you Greeks, who vaunt yourselves so much, are of a truth men like those whom I have seen about my court, as you, Demaratus, and the others with whom I converse, if, I say, you are really men of this sort and size, how is the speech that you have uttered more than a mere empty boast? For, to go to the very verge of likelihood,—how could 1,000 men, or 10,000, or even 50,000, particularly if they were all alike free, and not under one lord, how could such a force, I say, stand against an army like mine? Let them be 5,000, and we shall have more than 1,000 men to each one of theirs If, indeed, like our troops, they had a single master, their fear of him might make them courageous beyond their natural bent, or they might be urged by lashes against an enemy which far outnumbered them But left to their own free choice, assuredly they will act differently For my own part, I believe, that if the Greeks had to contend with the Persians only, and the numbers were equal on both sides, the Greeks would find it hard to stand their ground

We too have among us such men as those of whom you spoke—not many indeed but still we possess a few For instance some of my body guard would be willing to engage singly with three Greeks But this you did not know and therefore it was you talked so foolishly

104 Demaratus answered him I knew O King at the out set that if I told you the truth my speech would displease your ears But as you required me to answer you with all possible truthfulness I informed you what the Spartans will do And in this I speak not from any love that I bear them—for you know what my love towards them is likely to be at the present time when they have robbed me of my rank and my ancestral hon ours and made me a homeless exile whom your father received bestowing on me both shelter and sustenance What likelihood is there that a man of understanding should be unthankful for kindness shown him and not cherish it in his heart? For myself I pretend not to cope with ten men or with two nay had I the choice I would rather not fight even with one But if need ap peared or if there were any great cause urging me on I would contend with right good will against one of those persons who boast themselves a match for any three Greeks So likewise the Lacedaemonians when they fight singly are as good men as any in the world and when they fight in a body are the bravest of all For though they be free men they are not in all re pects free Law is the master whom they own and this master they fear more than your subjects fear you Whatever it commands they do and its commandment is always the same it forbids them to flee in battle whatever the number of their foes and re quires them to stand firm and either to conquer or die If in these words O King I seem to you to peak foolishly I am con tent from this time forward evermore to hold my peace I had not now poken unless compelled by you But I pray that all may turn out according to your wishes

105 Such was the answer of Demaratus and Xerxes was not angry with him at all but only laughed and ent him away with words of kindness After this interview and after he had made Mascames the on of Megadostes governor of Doriscus setting

aside the governor appointed by Darius, Xerxes started with his army, and marched upon Greece through Thrace

106 This man, Mascames, whom he left behind him, was a person of such merit that gifts were sent him yearly by the king as a special favour, because he excelled all the other governors that had been appointed either by Xerxes or by Darius In like manner, Artaxerxes son of Xerxes, sent gifts yearly to the descendants of Mascames Persian governors had been established in Thrace and about the Hellespont before the march of Xerxes began, but these persons, after the expedition was over, were all driven from their towns by the Greeks, except the governor of Doriscus no one succeeded in driving out Mascames, though many made the attempt For this reason the gifts are sent him every year by the king who reigns over the Persians

107 Of the other governors whom the Greeks drove out, there was not one who, in the judgment of Xerxes, showed himself a brave man, excepting Boges, the governor of Eion Him Xerxes never could praise enough, and such of his sons as were left in Persia, and survived their father, he very specially honoured And of a truth this Boges was worthy of great commendation, for when he was besieged by the Athenians under Cimon, the son of Miltiades, and it was open to him to retire from the city upon terms, and return to Asia, he refused, because he feared the king might think he had played the coward to save his own life, wherefore, instead of surrendering, he held out to the last extremity When all the food in the fortress was gone, he raised a vast funeral pile, slew his children, his wife, his concubines, and his household slaves, and cast them all into the flames Then collecting whatever gold and silver there was in the place, he flung it from the walls into the Strymon, and when that was done, to crown all, he himself leaped into the fire For this action Boges is with reason praised by the Persians even at the present day

108 Xerxes, as I have said, pursued his march from Doriscus against Greece, and on his way he forced all the nations through which he passed to take part in the expedition For the whole country as far as the frontiers of Thessaly had been (as I have

already shown) enslaved and made tributary to the king by the conquests of Megabazus and more lately of Mardonius And first after leaving Doriscus Xerxes passed the Samothracian fortresses whereof Mesembria is the furthermost as one goes towards the west The next city is Stryme which belongs to Thasos Midway between it and Mesembria flows the river Lissus which did not suffice to furnish water for the army but was drunk up and failed This region was formerly called Gallaica now it bears the name of Briantica but in strict truth it likewise is really Ciconian

109 *After crossing the dry channel of the Lissus* Xerxes passed the Grecian cities of Maroneia Dicaea and Abdera and likewise the famous lakes which are in their neighbourhood Lake Ismaris between Maroneia and Stryme and Lake Bistonis near Dicaea which receives the waters of two rivers the Travus and the Compsatus Near Abdera there was no famous lake *for him to pass* but he crossed the river Nestus which *there reaches the sea* Proceeding further upon his way he passed by several continental cities one of them possessing a lake nearly four miles in circuit full of fish and very salt of which the beasts of burden only drank and which they drained dry The name of this city was Pistyrus All these towns which were Grecian, and lay upon the coast Xerxes kept upon his left hand as he passed along

110 The following are the Thracian tribes through whose country he marched the Paeti the Ciconians the Bistonians the Sapaeans the Dersaeans the Edonians and the Satrae Some of these dwelt by the sea and furnished ships to the king s fleet while others lived in the more inland parts and of these all the tribes which I have mentioned except the Satrae were forced to serve on foot

111 The Satrae so far as our knowledge goes have never yet been brought under by any one but continue to this day a free and unconquered people unlike the other Thracians They dwell amid lofty mountains clothed with forests of different trees and capped with snow and are very valiant in fight They are the Thracians who have an oracle of Dionysus in their country

which is situated upon their highest mountain range The Bessi, a Satrian race, deliver the oracles, but the prophet, as at Delphi, is a woman, and her answers are not harder to read

112 When Xerxes had passed through the region mentioned above, he came next to the Pierian fortresses, one of which is called Phagres, and another Pergamus Here his line of march lay close by the walls, with the long high range of Pangaeum upon his right, a tract in which there are mines both of gold and silver, some worked by the Pierians and Odomantians, but the greater part by the Satrae

113 Xerxes then marched through the country of the Paeonian tribes—the Doberians and the Paeoplae—which lay to the north of Pangaeum, and, advancing westward, reached the river Strymon and the city Eion, whereof Boges, of whom I spoke a short time ago, and who was still alive, was governor The tract of land lying about Mount Pangaeum is called Phyllis, on the west it reaches to the river Angites, which flows into the Strymon, and on the south to the Strymon itself, where at this time the Magi were sacrificing white horses to make the stream favourable

114 After propitiating the stream by these and many other magical ceremonies, the Persians crossed the Strymon by bridges made before their arrival, at a place called the Nine Ways, which was in the territory of the Edonians And when they learned that the name of the place was the Nine Ways, they took nine of the youths of the land and as many of their maidens, and buried them alive on the spot Burying alive is a Persian custom I have heard that Amestris, the wife of Xerxes, in her old age buried alive seven pairs of Persian youths, sons of illustrious men, as a thank offering to the god who is suppo ed to dwell underneath the earth

115 From the Strymon the army, proceeding westward, came to a strip of shore, on which there stands the Grecian town of Argilus This shore, and the whole tract above it, is called B tia Passing this, and keeping on the left hand the Gulf of sideium, Xerxes crossed the Sylean plai , as it is called passing by Stagirus, a Greek city, came to Acanthus

habitants of these parts as well as those who dwelt about Mount Pangaeum were forced to join the armament like those others of whom I spoke before the dwellers along the coast being made to serve in the fleet while those who lived more inland had to follow with the land forces The road which the army of Xerxes took remains to this day untouched the Thracians neither plough nor sow it but hold it in great honour

116 On reaching Acanthus the Persian king seeing the great zeal of the Acanthians for his service and hearing what had been done about the cutting took them into the number of his sworn friends sent them as a present a Median dress and besides commended them highly

117 It was while he remained here that Artachaees who presided over the canal a man in high repute with Xerxes and by birth an Achaemenid who was moreover the tallest of all the Persians being eight feet high and who had a stronger voice than any other man in the world fell sick and died Xerxes therefore who was greatly afflicted at the mischance carried him to the tomb and buried him with all magnificence while the whole army helped to raise a mound over his grave The Acanthians in obedience to an oracle offer sacrifice to this Artachaees as a hero invoking him in their prayers by name But King Xerxes sorrowed greatly over his death

118 Now the Greeks who had to feed the army and to entertain Xerxes were brought thereby to the very extremity of distress insomuch that some of them were forced even to forsake house and home When the Thasians received and feasted the host on account of their possessions upon the mainland Antipater the son of Orges one of the citizens of best repute and the man to whom the business was assigned proved that the cost of the meal was 400 talents of silver

119 *And estimates almost to the same amount were made* by the superintendents in other cities For the entertainment which had been ordered long beforehand and was reckoned to be of much consequence was in the manner of it such as I will now describe No sooner did the heralds who brought the orders give their message than in every city the inhabitants made a division

of their stores of corn, and proceeded to grind flour of wheat and of barley for many months together Besides this, they purchased the best cattle that they could find, and fattened them, and fed poultry and water fowl in ponds and buildings, to be in readiness for the army, while they likewise prepared gold and silver vases and drinking cups, and whatsoever else is needed for the service of the table These last preparations were made for the king only, and those who sat at meat with him for the rest of the army nothing was made ready beyond the food for which orders had been given On the arrival of the Persians, a tent ready pitched for the purpose received Xerxes, who took his rest therein, while the soldiers remained under the open heaven When the dinner hour came, great was the toil of those who entertained the army while the guests ate their fill, and then, after passing the night at the place, tore down the royal tent next morning, and seizing its contents, carried them all off leaving nothing behind

120 On one of these occasions Megacreon of Abdera wittily recommended his countrymen to go to the temples in a body, men and women alike, and there take their station as suppliants, and beseech the gods that they would in future always spare them one half of the woes which might threaten their peace—thanking them at the same time very warmly for their past goodness in that they had caused Xerxes to be content with one meal in the day For had the order been to provide breakfast for the king as well as dinner, the Abderites must either have fled before Xerxes came or else have awaited his coming, and been brought to absolute ruin As it was, the nations, though suffering heavy pressure, complied nevertheless with the directions that had been given

121 At Acanthus Xerxes separated from his fleet, bidding the captains sail on ahead and await his coming at Therma, on the Thermaic Gulf, the place from which the bay takes its name Through this town lay, he understood, his shortest road Previously, his order of march had been the following from D cus to Acanthus his land force had proceeded in three one of which took the way along the sea shore in

the fleet and was commanded by Mardonius and Masistes while another pursued an inland track under Tritantaechmes and Gergis the third with whom was Xerxes himself marchin midway between the other two and having for its leaders Smer domenes and Megabyzus

122 The fleet therefore after leaving the king sailed through the channel which had been cut for it by Mount Athos and came into the bay whereon lie the cities of Assa Pilorus Singus and Sarta from all which it received contingents Thence it stood on for the Thermaic Gulf and roundin Cape Ampelus the promontory of the Toronaeans passed the Grecian cities Torone Galepsus Sermyla Mecyberna and Olynthus receiv ing from each a number of ships and men This re ion is called Sithonia

1 3 From Cape Ampelus the fleet stretched acro s by a short course to Cape Canastraeum which is the point of the peninsula of Pallene that runs out furthest into the ea and gathered fresh supplies of ships and men from Potidaea Aphytis Neapolis Aega Therambus Scione Mende and Sane The e are the cities of the tract called anciently Phlegra but now Pallene Hence they again followed the coast still advancing towards the place appointed by the king and had accessions from all the cities that lie near Pallene and border on the Thermaic Gulf whereof the names are Lipaxus Combreia Lisae Gigonus Campsa Smila and Aenea The tract where these towns lie still retains its old name of Crossaea After passing Aenea the city which I last named the fleet found itself arrived in the Thermaic Gulf off the land of Mygdonia And so at length they reached Therma the appointed place and came likewise to Sindus and Chalestra upon the river Axius which separates Bottiaea from Mygdonia. Bottiaea has a scanty seaboard which is occupied by the two cities Ichnae and Pella

124 So the fleet anchored off the Axius and off Therma and the towns that lay between waiting the king s comin Xerxes meanwhile with his land force left Acanthus and started for Therma taking his way across the land This road led him

through Paeonia and Crestonia to the river Echidorus, which, rising in the country of the Crestonians, flows through Mygdonia, and reaches the sea near the marsh upon the Axius

125 Upon this march the camels that carried the provisions of the army were set upon by lions, which left their lairs and came down by night, but spared the men and the beasts of burden, while they made the camels their prey I marvel what may have been the cause which compelled the lions to leave the other animals untouched and attack the camels, when they had never seen that beast before, or had any experience of it

126 That whole region is full of lions, and wild bulls, with gigantic horns which are brought into Greece The lions are confined within the tract lying between the river Nestus (which flows through Abdera) on the one side, and the Achelous (which waters Acarnania) on the other No one ever sees a lion in the fore part of Europe east of the Nestus, or through the entire continent westward of the Achelous, but in the space between these bounds lions are found

127 On reaching Therma Xerxes halted his army, which encamped along the coast, beginning at the city of Therma in Mygdonia, and stretching out as far as the rivers Lydias and Haliacmon, two streams which, mingling their waters in one, form the boundary between Bottiaea and Macedonia Such was the extent of country through which the barbarians encamped The rivers here mentioned were all of them sufficient to supply the troops, except the Echidorus, which was drunk dry

128 From Therma Xerxes beheld the Thessalian mountains, Olympus and Ossa, which are of a wonderful height Here, learning that there lay between these mountains a narrow gorge through which the river Peneus ran, and where there was a road that gave an entrance into Thessaly, he formed the wish to go by sea himself, and examine the mouth of the river His design was to lead his army by the upper road through the country of the inland Macedonians, and so to enter Perrhaebia, and come down by the city of Gonnus, for he was told that that
the most secure No sooner therefore had he

than he acted accordingly Embarking as was his wont on all such occasions aboard a Sidonian vessel he gave the signal to the rest of the fleet to get under way and quitting his land army set sail and proceeded to the Peneus Here the view of the mouth caused him to wonder greatly and sending for his guides he asked them whether it were possible to turn the course of the stream and make it reach the sea at any other point

9 Now there is a tradition that Thessaly was in ancient times a lake shut in on every side by huge hills Ossa and Pelion —ranges which join at the foot—do in fact inclose it upon the east while Olympus forms a barrier upon the north Pindus upon the west and Othrys towards the south The tract contained within these mountains which is a deep basin is called Thessaly Many rivers pour their waters into it but five of them are of more note than the rest namely the Peneus the Apidanus the Onochonus the Enipeus and the Pamisus These streams flow down from the mountains which surround Thessaly and meeting in the plain mingle their waters together and discharge themselves into the sea by a single outlet which is a gorge of extreme narrowness After the junction all the other names disappear and the river is known as the Peneus It is said that of old the gorge which allows the waters an outlet did not exist accordingly the rivers which were then as well as the Lake Boebeis without names but flowed with as much water as at present made Thessaly a sea The Thessalians tell us that the gorge through which the water escapes was caused by Poseidon and this is likely enough at least any man who believes that Poseidon causes earthquakes and that chasms so produced are his handiwork would say upon seeing this rent that Poseidon did it For it plainly appeared to me that the hills had been torn asunder by an earthquake[11]

130 When Xerxes therefore asked the guides if there were any other outlet by which the waters could reach the sea they

[11] Modern sci ce will scarcely q rr l with this d scripti n f Thessaly which shows He odotus t ha e had the eye of a phys cal ge grapher nd the imagination of a geologist.

being men well acquainted with the nature of their country, answered, "O King, there is no other passage by which this stream can empty itself into the sea save that which you see For Thessaly is girt about with a circlet of hills"

Xerxes is said to have observed upon this, "Wise men truly are they of Thessaly and good reason had they to change their minds in time and consult for their own safety For, to pass by other matters, they must have felt that they lived in a country which may easily be brought under and subdued Nothing more is needed than to turn the river upon their lands by an embankment which should fill up the gorge and force the stream from its present channel and all Thessaly, except the mountains, would at once be laid under water"

The king aimed in this speech at the sons of Aleuas, who were Thessalians, and had been the first of all the Greeks to make submission to him He thought that they had made their friendly offers in the name of the whole people[1] So Xerxes, when he had viewed the place and made the above speech, went back to Therma

131 The stay of Xerxes in Pieria lasted for several days during which a third part of his army was employed in cutting down the woods on the Macedonian mountain range to give his forces free passage into Perrhaebia At this time the heralds who had been sent into Greece to require earth for the king returned to the camp, some of them empty handed others with earth and water

132 Among the number of those from whom earth and water were brought, were the Thessalians, Dolopians, Enianians, Perrhaebians, Locrians, Magnetians, Malians, Achaeans of Phthiotis Thebans, and Boeotians generally, except those of Plataea and Thespiae These are the nations against whom the Greeks that had taken up arms to resist the barbarians swore the oath, which ran thus From all those of Greek blood who delivered themselves up to the Persians without necessity, when their af-

[1] This was not the case It appears in the subsequent narrative, that the Thessalian people was very desirous of resisting the invasion of

fairs were in good condition we will take a tithe of their goods and give it to the god at Delphi So ran the words of the Greek oath [13]

133 King Xerxes had sent no heralds either to Athens or Sparta to ask earth and water for a reason which I will now relate When Darius some time before sent messengers for the same purpose they were thrown at Athens into the pit of punishment at Sparta into a well and bidden to take therefrom earth and water for themselves and carry it to their king On this account Xerxes did not send to ask them What calamity came upon the Athenians to punish them for their treatment of the heralds I cannot say unless it were the laying waste of their city and territory but that I believe was not on account of this crime

134 On the Lacedaemonians however the wrath of Talthybius Agamemnon s herald fell with violence Talthybius ha temple at Sparta and his descendants who are called Talthybiadae still live there and have the privilege of being the only persons who discharge the office of herald When therefore the Spartans had done the deed of which we speak the victims at their sacrifices failed to give good tokens and this failure lasted for a very long time Then the Spartans were troubled and regarding what had befallen them as a grievous calamity they held frequent assemblies of the people and made proclamation through the town Was any Lacedaemonian willing to give his life for Sparta? Upon this two Spartans Sperthias the son of Aneristus and Bulis the son of Nicolaus both men of noble birth and among the wealthiest in the place came forward and freely offered themselves as an atonement to Xerxes for the heralds of Darius slain at Sparta So the Spartans sent them away to the Medes to undergo death

135 Nor is the courage which these men hereby displayed alone worthy of wonder but so likewise are the following speeches which were made by them On their road to Susa they presented themselves before Hydarnes This Hydarnes was a

[13] A g od deal of d bt hangs ab ut this oath Both the time and the terms of it are differ ntly rep rt d

Persian by birth, and had the command of all the nations that dwelt along the sea coast of Asia He accordingly showed them hospitality, and invited them to a banquet, where, as they feasted, he said to them, "Men of Lacedaemon, why will you not consent to be friends with the king? You have but to look at me and my fortune to see that the king knows well how to honour merit In like manner you yourselves, were you to make your submission to him, would receive at his hands, seeing that he deems you men of merit, some government in Greece"

"Hydarnes," they answered, "you are a one sided counsellor You have experience of half the matter, but the other half is beyond your knowledge A slave's life you understand, but never having tasted liberty, you can not tell whether it be sweet or no Had you known what freedom is, you would have bidden us fight for it, not with the spear only, but with the battle-axe"

So they answered Hydarnes

136 And afterwards, when they came to Susa into the king's presence, and the guards ordered them to fall down and do obeisance, and went so far as to use force to compel them, they refused, and said they would never do any such thing, even were their heads thrust down to the ground, for it was not their custom to worship men, and they had not come to Persia for that purpose So they fought off the ceremony, and having done so, addressed the king in words much like the following, "O King of the Medes, the Lacedaemonians have sent us hither, in the place of those heralds of yours who were slain in Sparta, to make atonement to you on their account"

Then Xerxes answered with true greatness of soul that he would not act like the Lacedaemonians, who, by killing the heralds, had broken the laws which all men hold in common As he had blamed such conduct in them, he would never be guilty of it himself And besides, he did not wish, by putting the two men to death, to free the Lacedaemonians from the stain of their former outrage

137 This conduct on the part of the Spartans caused the anger of Talthybius to cease for a while, notwithstanding Sperthias and Bulis returned home alive But many years

wards it awoke once more as the Lacedaemonians themselves declare durin the war between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians In my judgment this was a case wherein the hand of heaven was most plainly manifest That the wrath of Talthybius should have fallen upon ambassadors and not slacked till it had full vent so much justice required but that it should have come upon the sons of the very men who were sent up to the Persian king on its account—upon Nicolaus the son of Bulis and Aneristus the son of Sperthias (the ame who carried off fishermen from Tiryns when cruising in a well manned merchant ship) this does seem to me to be plainly a supernatural circumstance Yet certain it is that these two men having been sent to Asia as ambassadors by the Lacedaemonians were betrayed by Sitalces the on of Tereus king of Thrace and Nymphodorus the on of Pythes a native of Abdera and being made prisoners at Bisanthe upon the Hellespont were conveyed to Attica and ther put to death by the Athenians at the same time as Aristeas the son of Adeimantus the Corinthian All this happened however very many years after the expedition of Xerxes[14]

138 To return however to my main subject the expedition of the Persian king though it was in name directed against A threatened really the whole of Greece And of this the Greeks were aware some time before but they did not all view the matt r in the same light Some of them had given the Persian earth and water and were bold on this account deeming themselves thereby secured against suffering hurt from he barbarian army while others who had refused compliance were thrown into extreme alarm For whereas they con idered all the ships in Greece too few to engage the enemy it was plain that the greater number of states would take no part in the war but warmly favoured the Medes

139 And here I feel constrained to deliver an opinion which most men I know will dislike but which as it seems to me to be true I am determined not to withhold Had the Athenians

The eve t to k place th year 430 B.C e ly sixty y rs ft th mu d of the P rsian oys

from fear of the approaching danger, quitted their country, or had they without quitting it submitted to the power of Xerxes, there would certainly have been no attempt to resist the Persians by sea, in which case, the course of events by land would have been the following Though the Peloponnesians might have carried ever so many breastworks across the Isthmus, yet their allies would have fallen off from the Lacedaemonians, not by voluntary desertion, but because town after town must have been taken by the fleet of the barbarians and so the Lacedaemonians would at last have stood alone, and, standing alone, would have displayed prodigies of valour, and died nobly Either they would have done thus, or else, before it came to that extremity, seeing one Greek state after another embrace the cause of the Medes, they would have come to terms with King Xerxes, and thus, either way Greece would have been brought under Persia For I cannot understand of what possible use the walls across the Isthmus could have been, if the King had had the mastery of the sea [1] If then a man should now say that the Athenians were the saviours of Greece, he would not exceed the truth For they truly held the scale , and whichever side they espoused must have carried the day They too it was who, when they had determined to maintain the freedom of Greece, roused up that portion of the Greek nation which had not gone over to the Medes, and so, next to the gods, they repulsed the invader Even the terrible oracles which reached them from Delphi, and struck fear into their hearts, failed to persuade them to fly from Greece They had the courage to remain faithful to their land, and await the coming of the foe

140 When the Athenians, anxious to consult the oracle, sent their messengers to Delphi, hardly had the envoys completed the customary rites about the sacred precinct, and taken their seat inside the sanctuary of the god, when the priestess, Aristonice by name, thus prophesied

[1] These arguments are quite unanswerable and seem to moderns al too plain to be enunciated but their force was not felt at the time

Wretches why sit ye here? Fly fly to the ends of creation
Quitting your homes and the crags which your city crowns with
her circlet
Neither the head nor the body i firm in its place nor at bottom
Firm the feet nor the hands nor resteth the middle uninjur d
All—all ruined and lost Since fire and impetuous Ares
Speeding along in a Syrian chariot hastes to destroy her
Not alone shalt thou suffer full many the towers he will level
Many the shrines of the gods he will give to a fiery destruction
Even now they stand with dark sweat horribly dripping
Trembling and quaking for fear and lo! from the high roofs
trickl th
Black blood sign prophetic of hard distresses impending
Get ye away from the temple and brood on the ills that await
ye!

141 When the Athenian messengers heard this reply they were filled with the deepest affliction whereupon Timon the son of Androbulus one of the men of most mark among the Delphians eeing how utterly cast down they were at the gloomy prophecy advised them to take an olive branch and enter in the sanctuary again onsult the oracle as suppliants The Athenians followed this advice and going in once more said "O King we pray thee reverence the e boughs of supplication which we bear in our hands and deliver to us something more comforting concerning our country Else we will not l ave thy sanctuary but will stay here till we die" Upon this the priestess gave them a second answer which was the following

Pallas has not been able to soften the lord of Olympu
Though she has often prayed him and urged him with excellent
counsel
Yet once more I address thee in words than adamant f rmer
When the foe shall have taken whatever the limit of Cecrops
Holds within it and all which divine Cithaeron shelters
Then far seeing Zeus grants this to the prayers of Athena
Safe shall the wooden wall continue for thee and thy children
Wait not the tramp of the ho se nor the footmen mightily mov
ing

Over the land, but turn your back to the foe, and retire ye
Yet shall a day arrive when ye shall meet him in battle
Holy Salamis, thou shalt destroy the offspring of women,
When men scatter the seed or when they gather the harvest

142 This answer seemed, as indeed it was, gentler than the former one, so the envoys wrote it down, and went back with it to Athens When, however, upon their arrival, they produced it before the people, and inquiry began to be made into its true meaning, many and various were the interpretations which men put on it, two, more especially, seemed to be directly opposed to one another Certain of the old men were of opinion that the god meant to tell them the citadel would escape, for this was anciently defended by a palisade, and they supposed that barrier to be the wooden wall of the oracle Others maintained that the fleet was what the god pointed at, and their advice was that nothing should be thought of except the ships, which had best be at once got ready Still such as said the wooden wall meant the fleet, were perplexed by the last two lines of the oracle

Holy Salamis, thou shalt destroy the offspring of women,
When men scatter the seed, or when they gather the harvest

These words caused great disturbance among those who took the wooden wall to be the ships, since the interpreters understood them to mean, that, if they made preparations for a sea fight, they would suffer a defeat off Salamis

143 Now there was at Athens a man who had lately made his way into the first rank of citizens, his true name was Themistocles, but he was known more generally as the son of Neocles This man came forward and said, that the interpreters had not explained the oracle altogether aright, "For if," he argued, "the clause in question had really respected the Athenians, it would not have been expressed so mildly, the phrase used would have been Luckless Salamis, rather than Holy Salamis, had those to whom the island belonged been about to perish in its neighbourhood Rightly taken, the response of the god threatened the enemy much more than the Athenians" He therefore

his countrymen to make ready to fight on board their ships since they were the wooden wall in which the god told them to trust When Themistocles had thus cleared the matter the Athenians embraced his view preferring it to that of the interpreters The advice of these last had been against engaging in a sea fi ht All the Athenians could do they said was without lifting a hand in their defence to quit Attica and make a settlement in some other country

144 Themistocles had before this given a counsel which prevailed very seasonably The Athenians having a large sum of money in their treasury the produce of the mines at Laureium were about to share it among the full grown citizens who would have received ten drachmas apiece when Themistocles per uaded them to forbear the distribution and build with the money oo hips[16] to help them in their war against the Aeginetans It was the breaking out of the Aeginetan war which was at this time the saving of Greece for hereby were the Athenians forced to become a maritime power The new ships were not used for the purpose for which they had been built but became a help to Greece in her hour of need And the Athenians had not only these vessels ready before the war but they likewise set to work to build more while they determined in a council which was held after the debate upon the oracle that according to the advice of the god they would embark their whole force aboard their sh ps and with such Greeks as cho e to join them give battle to the barbarian invader Such then were the oracles which had been received by the Athenians

145 The Greeks who were well affected to the Grecian cause having assembled in one place and ther consulted together and rterchanged pledges with each other agreed that before any other step was taken the feuds and enmities which existed between the different nations should first of all b appeased Many such there were but one wa of more importance than the rest

[16] This is wh t H r d tus ays but pe h p n t wh t h m t t y I seems c rtain th t th re l det rmi t w t raise th vy t th n mb of 200 v ssels. This was the umbe ctually mpl y d b th t Artemisium and t Salamis

namely, the war which was still going on between the Athenians and the Aeginetans When this business was concluded, understanding that Xerxes had reached Sardis with his army, they resolved to despatch spies into Asia to take note of the king's affairs At the same time they determined to send ambassadors to the Argives, and conclude a league with them against the Persians, while they likewise despatched messengers to Gelo, the son of Deinomenes, in Sicily, to the people of Corcyra, and to those of Crete, exhorting them to send help to Greece Their wish was to unite, if possible, the entire Greek name in one, and so to bring all to join in the same plan of defence, inasmuch as the approaching dangers threatened all alike Now the power of Gelo was said to be very great, far greater than that of any single Grecian people

146 So when these resolutions had been agreed upon, and the quarrels between the states made up, first of all they sent into Asia three men as spies These men reached Sardis, and took note of the king's forces, but, being discovered, were examined by order of the generals who commanded the land army, and, having been condemned to suffer death, were led out to execution Xerxes, however, when the news reached him, disapproving the sentence of the generals, sent some of his body guard with instructions, if they found the spies still alive, to bring them into his presence The messengers found the spies alive, and brought them before the king, who, when he heard the purpose for which they had come, gave orders to his guards to take them round the camp, and show them all the footmen and all the horse, letting them gaze at everything to their heart s content then, when they were satisfied, to send them away unharmed to whatever country they desired

147 For these orders Xerxes gave afterwards the following reasons "Had the spies been put to death," he said, ' the Greeks would have continued ignorant of the vastness of his army, which surpassed the common report of it, while he would have done them a very small injury by killing three of their [illegible] the other hand, by the return of the spies to Greece, would become known and the Greeks, he [illegible]

make surrender of their freedom before he began his march by which means his troops would be saved all the trouble of an expedition. This reasoning was like to that which he used upon another occasion While he was staying at Abydos he saw som corn ships, which were passing through the Hellespont from the Euxine [7] on their way to Aegina and the Peloponne e His at*tendants hearing that they were the enemy s were ready to cap*ture them and looked to see when Xerxes would give the signal He however merely asked Whither the ships were bound? and when they answered For your foes master with corn on board We too are bound thither he rejoined laden amon other things with corn What harm is it if they carry our provisions for us?

So the spies when they had seen everythin were dismis ed and came back to Europe

148 The Greeks who had banded themselves together agam t the Persian king after despatching the spies into Asia sent next ambassadors to Argos The account which the Argives give of their own proceedings is the following They say that they had information from the very first of the preparations which the barbarians were making against Greece So as they expected that the Greeks would come upon them for aid against the as sailant they sent envoys to Delphi to inquire of the god what it would be best for them to do in the matter They had lost not long before 6,o o citizens who had been slain by the Lacedaemonians under Cleomenes the son of Anaxandridas which was the reason why they now sent to Delphi When the priestess heard their question she replied

Hated of all thy neighbours beloved of the blessed Immortals
Sit thou still with thy lance drawn inward patiently watching
Warily guard thine head and the head will take care of the body

[7] Th rn g ow g o ntn po th Bl k S a in d nt s In mod n times suppl d the c mm cial nati s with thei chi f article of food.

This prophecy had been given them some time before the envoys came, but still, when they afterwards arrived, it was permitted them to enter the council house, and there deliver their message And this answer was returned to their demands, "Argos is ready to do as you require, if the Lacedaemonians will first make a truce for thirty years, and will further divide with Argos the leadership of the allied army Although in strict right the whole command should be hers, she will be content to have the leadership divided equally"

149 Such, they say, was the reply made by the council, in spite of the oracle which forbade them to enter into a league with the Greeks For, while not without fear of disobeying the oracle, they were greatly desirous of obtaining a thirty years' truce, to give time for their sons to grow to man's estate They reflected, that if no such truce were concluded, and it should be their lot to suffer a second calamity at the hands of the Persians, it was likely they would fall hopelessly under the power of Sparta But to the demands of the Argive council the Lacedaemonian envoys answered, "They would bring before the people the question of concluding a truce With regard to the leadership, they had received orders what to say, and the reply was, that Sparta had two kings, Argos but one—it was not possible that either of the two Spartans should be stripped of his dignity—but they did not oppose the Argive king having one vote like each of them" The Argives say, that they could not brook this arrogance on the part of Sparta, and rather than yield one jot to it, they preferred to be under the rule of the barbarians So they told the envoys to begone, before sunset, from their territory, or they should be treated as enemies

150 Such is the account which is given of these matters by the Argives themselves There is another story, which is told generally through Greece, of a different tenor Xerxes, it is said, before he set forth on his expedition against Greece, sent a herald to Argos, who on his arrival spoke as follows

"Men of Argos, King Xerxes speaks thus to you We Persians deem that the Perses from whom we descend was the child of

Perseus the son of Danae and of Andromeda the daughter of Cepheus Hereby it would seem that we come of your stock and lineage So then it neither befits us to make war upon those from whom we spring nor can it be right for you to fight on behalf of others against us Your place is to keep quiet and hold your selves aloof Only let matters proceed as I wish and there is no people whom I shall have in higher esteem than you

This address says the story was highly valued by the Ar gives who therefore at the first neither gave a promise to the Greeks nor yet put forward a demand Afterwards however when the Greeks called upon them to give their aid they made the claim which has been mentioned because they knew well that the Lacedaemonians would never yield it and so they would have a pretext for taking no part in the war

151 Some of the Greeks say that this account agrees remark ably with what happened many years afterwards Callias the son of Hipponicus and certain others with him had gone up to Susa the city of Memnon as ambassadors of the Athenians upon a business quite distinct from this While they were there it hap pened that the Argives likewise sent ambassadors to Susa to ask Artaxerxes the son of Xerxes If the friendship which they had formed with his father still continued or if he looked upon them as his enemies? To which King Artaxerxes replied Most certainly it continues and there is no city which I reckon more my friend than Argos

152 For my own part I cannot positively say whether Xerxes did send the herald to Argos or not nor whether Argive ambas sadors at Susa did really put this question to Artaxerxes about the friendship between them and him neither do I deliver any opinion hereupon other than that of the Argives themselves This however I know—that if every nation were to bring all its evil deeds to a given place in order to make an exchange with some other nation when they *had all looked carefully at their* neighbours faults they would be truly glad to carry their own back again So after all the conduct of the Argives was not per haps more disgraceful than that of others For myself my duty is to report all that is said but I am not obliged to believe it all

alike—a remark which may be understood to apply to my whole History Some even go so far as to say that the Argives first invited the Persians to invade Greece, because of their ill success in the war with Lacedaemon, since they preferred anything to the smart of their actual sufferings Thus much concerning the Argives

153 Other ambassadors, among whom was Syagrus from Lacedaemon, were sent by the allies into Sicily with instructions to confer with Gelo

The ancestor of this Gelo who first settled at Gela, was a native of the isle of Telos, which lies off Triopium When Gela was colonised by Antiphemus and the Lindians of Rhodes, he likewise took part in the expedition In course of time his descendants became the high priests of the gods who dwell below—an office which they held continually, from the time that Telines, one of Gelo's ancestors, obtained it in the way which I will now mention Certain citizens of Gela, worsted in a sedition, had found a refuge at Mactorium, a town situated on the heights above Gela Telines reinstated these men, without any human help, solely by means of the sacred rites of these deities From whom he received them, or how he himself acquired them, I cannot say, but certain it is, that relying on their power he brought the exiles back For this his reward was to be, the office of high priest of those gods for himself and his seed for ever It surprises me especially that such a feat should have been performed by Telines for I have always looked upon acts of this nature as beyond the abilities of common men and only to be achieved by such as are of a bold and manly spirit whereas Telines is said by those who dwell about Sicily to have been a soft hearted and womanish person He however obtained this office in the manner above described

154 Afterwards, on the death of Cleander the son of Pantares, who was slain by Sabyllus, a citizen of Gela after he had held the tyranny for seven years, Hippocrates, Cleander's brother, mounted the throne During his reign, Gelo, a descendant of the high priest Telines, served with many others—of whom Aenesidemus, son of Pataicus, was one—in the

body guard Within a little time his merit caused him to be raised to the command of all the horse For when Hippocrates laid siege to Callipolis and afterwards to Naxos to Zancle to Leontini and moreover to Syracuse and many cities of the bar barians Gelo in every war distinguished himself above all the combatants Of the various cities above named there was none but Syracuse which was not reduced to slavery The Syracusans were saved from this fate after they had suffered defeat on the river Elorus by the Corinthians and Corcyraeans who made peace between them and Hippocrates on condition of their ced ing Camarina to him for that city anciently belonged to Syra cuse

155 When however Hippocrates after a reign of the same length as that of Cleander his brother perished near the city Hybla as he was warring with the native Sicilians then Gelo pretending to espouse the cause of the two sons of Hippocrates Eucleides and Cleander defeated the citizens who were seeking to recover their freedom and having so done set aside the chil dren and himself took the kingly power After this piece of good fortune Gelo likewise became master of Syracuse in the follow ing manner The Syracusan landholders as they were called had been driven from their city by the common people assisted by their own slaves the Cyllyrians and had fled to Casmenae Gelo brought them back to Syracuse and so got possession of the town for the people surrendered themselves and gave up their city on his approach

156 Being now master of Syracuse Gelo cared less to govern Gela which he therefore entrusted to his brother Hiero while he strengthened the defences of his new city which indeed was now all in all to him And Syracuse sprang up rapidly to power and became a flourishing place For Gelo razed Camarina to the ground and brought all the inhabitants to Syracuse and made them citizens he also brought thither more than half the citi zens of Gela and gave them the same rights as the Camarin aeans So likewise with the Megareans of Sicily—after besieging their town and forcing them to surrender he took the rich men who having made the war looked now for nothing less than

death at his hands, and carrying them to Syracuse, established them there as citizens, while the common people, who, as they had not taken any share in the struggle, felt secure that no harm would be done to them, he carried likewise to Syracuse, where he sold them all as slaves to be conveyed abroad He did the like also by the Euboeans of Sicily, making the same difference His conduct towards both nations arose from his belief, that a "people" was a most unpleasant companion In this way Gelo became a powerful despot

157 When the Greek envoys reached Syracuse, and were admitted to an audience, they spoke as follows, "We have been sent hither by the Lacedaemonians and Athenians, with their respective allies, to ask you to join us against the barbarian Doubtless you have heard of his invasion, and are aware that a Persian is about to throw a bridge over the Hellespont, and bringing with him out of Asia all the forces of the East, to carry war into Greece—professing indeed that he only seeks to attack Athens, but really bent on bringing all the Greeks into subjection Do you therefore, we beseech you, aid those who would maintain the freedom of Greece, and yourself assist to free her, since the power which you wield is great, and your portion in Greece, as lord of Sicily, is no small one For if all Greece join together in one, there will be a mighty host collected, and we shall be a match for our assailants, but if some turn traitors, and others refuse their aid, and only a small part of the whole body remains sound, then there is reason to fear that all Greece may perish For do not cherish a hope that the Persian, when he has conquered our country, will be content and not advance against you Rather take your measure beforehand, and consider that you defend yourself when you give aid to us Wise counsels, be sure, for the most part have prosperous issues"

158 Thus the envoys spoke, and Gelo replied with vehemence, "Greeks, you have had the face to come here with selfish words, and exhort me to join in league with you against the barbarian Yet when I asked you to join with me in fighting barbarians, when the quarrel broke out between me and Ca[illegible] and when I earnestly besought you to revenge on the

Egesta their murder of Dorieus the son of Anaxandridas promising to assist you in setting free the trading places from which you receive great profits and advantages you neither came hither to give me succour nor yet to revenge Dorieus but for any efforts on your part to hinder it these countries might at this time have been entirely under the barbarians Now however that matters have prospered and gone well with me while the danger has shifted its ground and at present threatens yourselves you call Gelo to mind But though you slighted me then I will not imitate you now I am ready to give you aid and to furnish as my contribution 200 triremes 20 000 men at arms 000 cavalry and an equal number of archers slingers and light horsemen together with corn for the whole Grecian army so long as the war shall last These services however I promise on one condition—that you appoint me chief captain and commander of the Grecian forces during the war with the barbarian Unless you agree to this I will neither send aid nor come myself

159 Syagrus when he heard these words was unable to contain himself and exclaimed Surely a groan would burst from Pelops son Agamemnon did he hear that her leadership was snatched from Sparta by Gelo and the men of Syracuse Speak then no more of any such condition as that we should yield you the chief command but if you are willing to come to the aid of Greece prepare to serve under Lacedaemonian generals Will you not serve under a leader? Then send no aid

160 Hereupon Gelo seeing the indignation which showed itself in the words of Syagrus delivered to the envoys his final offer Spartan stranger he said reproaches cast forth against a man are wont to provoke him to anger but the insults you uttered in your speech shall not persuade me to outstep good breeding in my answer Surely if you maintain so stoutly your right to the command it is reasonable that I should be still more stiff in maintaining mine since I am at the head of a far larger fleet and army Since however the claim which I have put forward is so displeasing to you I will yield and be content with less Take if it please you the command of the land force and

I will be admiral of the fleet, or assume, if you prefer it, the command by sea, and I will be leader upon the land Unless you are satisfied with these terms, you must return home by yourselves, and lose this great alliance ' Such was the offer which Gelo made

161 The Athenian envoy broke in, before the Spartan could answer, and thus addressed Gelo, "King of the Syracusans, Greece sent us here to you to ask for an army and not to ask for a general You, however, do not promise to send us any army at all, if you are not made leader of the Greeks and this command is what alone you desire Now when your request was to have the whole command, we were content to keep silence, for well we know that we might trust the Spartan envoy to make answer for us both But since, after failing in your claim to lead the whole armament, you now put forward a request to have the command of the fleet, know that, even should the Spartan envoy consent to this, we will not consent The command by sea, if the Lacedaemonians do not wish for it, belongs to us While they like to keep this command, we shall raise no dispute, but we will not yield our right to it in favour of any one else Where would be the advantage of our having raised up a naval force greater than that of any other Greek people, if nevertheless we should suffer Syracusans to take the command away from us? From us I say, who are Athenians, the most ancient nation in Greece, the only Greeks who have never changed their abode—the people who are said by the poet Homer to have sent to Troy the man best able of all the Greeks to array and marshal an army—so that we cannot be reproached for what we say"

162 Gelo replied, "Athenian stranger, you have it seems, no lack of commanders but you are likely to lack men to receive their orders As you are resolved to yield nothing and claim everything, you had best make haste back to Greece, and say, that the spring of her year is lost to her" [18] The meaning of this expression was the following as the spring is manifestly the

[18] A similar expression is said by Aristotle to have been introd a funeral oration of Pericles but it does not occur in the Thucydides The explanation of the image is probably an

finest season of the year o (he meant to say) were his troops the finest of the Greek army—Greece therefore deprived of his alliance would be like a year with the spring taken from it

163 Then the Greek envoys without having any further dealings with Gelo sailed away home And Gelo who feared that the Greeks would be too weak to withstand the barbarians and yet could not any how bring himself to go to the Pelopon nese and there though despot of Sicily serve under the Lacedaemonians left off altogether to contemplate that course of ac tion and betook himself to quite a different plan As soon as ever tidings reached him of the passage of the Hellespont by the Persians he sent off three fifty-oared galleys under the com mand of Cadmus the son of Scythas a native of Cos who was to go to Delphi taking with him a large sum of money and a stock of friendly words there he was to watch the war and see what turn it would take if the barbarians prevailed he was to give Xerxes the treasure and with it earth and water for the lands which Gelo ruled—if the Greeks won the day he was to convey the treasure back

164 This Cadmus had at an earlier time received from his father the kingly power at Cos in a right good condition and had of his own free will and without the approach of any danger from pure love of justice given up his power into the hands of the people at large and departed to Sicily where he assisted in the Samian seizure and settlement of Zancle or Messana as it was afterwards called Upon this occasion Gelo chose him to send into Greece because he was acquainted with the proofs of honesty which he had given And now he added to his former honourable deeds an action which is not the least of his merits With a vast sum entrusted to him and completely in his power so that he might have kept it for his own use if he had liked he did not touch it but when the Greeks gained the sea fight and Xerxes fled away with his army he brought the whole treasure back with him to Sicily

165 They however who dwell in Sicily say that Gelo though he knew that he must serve under the Lacedaemonians would nevertheless have come to the aid of the Greeks had not

it been for Terillus, the son of Crinippus, king of Himera, who, driven from his city by Thero, the son of Aenesidemus, king of Agrigentum, brought into Sicily at this very time an army of 300,000 men, Phoenicians, Libyans, Iberians, Ligurians, Helisycians, Sardinians, and Corsicans, under the command of Hamilcar the son of Hanno, king of the Carthaginians Terillus prevailed upon Hamilcar, partly as his sworn friend, but more through the zealous aid of Anaxilaus the son of Cretines, king of Rhegium, who, by giving his own sons to Hamilcar as hostages, induced him to make the expedition Anaxilaus herein served his father in law, for he was married to a daughter of Terillus, by name Cydippe So as Gelo could not give the Greeks any aid, he sent (they say) the sum of money to Delphi

166 They say too, that the victory of Gelo and Thero in Sicily over Hamilcar the Carthaginian, fell out upon the very day that the Greeks defeated the Persians at Salamis Hamilcar, who was a Carthaginian on his father's side only, but on his mother's a Syracusan, and who had been raised by his merit to the throne of Carthage, after the battle and the defeat, as I am informed, disappeared from sight Gelo made the strictest search for him, but he could not be found anywhere, either dead or alive

167 The Carthaginians, who take probability for their guide, give the following account of this matter Hamilcar, they say, during all the time that the battle raged between the Greeks and the barbarians, which was from early dawn till evening, remained in the camp, sacrificing and seeking favourable omens, while he burned on a huge pyre the entire bodies of the victims which he offered Here, as he poured libations upon the sacrifices, he saw the rout of his army whereupon he cast himself headlong into the flames, and so was consumed and disappeared But whether Hamilcar's disappearance was, as the Phoenicians tell us, in this way, or, as the Syracusans maintain, in some other, certain it is that the Carthaginians offer him sacrifice, and in all their colonies have monuments erected in his honour, as well as one, which is the grandest of all, at Carthage T[illegible] concerning the affairs of Sicily

168 As for the Corcyraeans whom the envoys that visited Sicily took in their way and to whom they delivered the same message as to Gelo their answers and actions were the following With great readiness they promised to come and give their help to the Greeks declaring that the ruin of Greece was a thing which they could not tamely stand by and see for should she fall they must the very next day submit to slavery so that they were bound to assist her to the very utmost of their power But notwithstanding that they answered so smoothly yet when the time came for aid to be sent they were of quite a different mind and though they manned sixty ships it was long before they put to sea with them and when they had so done they went no further than the Peloponnese where they lay to with their fleet off the Lacedaemonian coast about Pylos and Taenarum like Gelo watching to see what turn the war would take For they despaired altogether of the Greeks gaining the day and expected that the Persians would win a great battle and then be masters of the whole of Greece They therefore acted as I have said in order that they might be able to address Xerxes in word like these O King though the Greeks sought to obtain our aid in their war with you and though we had a force of no small size and could have furnished a greater number of ships than any Greek state except Athens yet we refused since we would not fight against you or do aught to cause you annoyance The Corcyraeans hoped that a speech like this would gain them better treatment from the Persians than the rest of the Greeks and it would have done so in my judgment At the same time they had an excuse ready to give their countrymen which they used when the time came Reproached by them for sending no assistance they replied that they had fitted out a fleet of sixty triremes but that the Etesian winds did not allow them to double Cape Malea and this hindered them from reaching Salamis—it was not from any bad motive that they had missed the sea fight In this way the Corcyraeans eluded the reproaches of the Greeks

169 The Cretans when the envoys sent to ask aid from them

came and made their request, acted as follows They despatched messengers in the name of their state to Delphi and asked the god, whether it would make for their welfare if they should lend succour to Greece "Fools!' replied the priestess, 'do you not still complain of the woes which the assisting of Menelaus cost you at the hands of angry Minos? How wroth was he when, in spite of their having lent you no aid towards avenging his death at Camicus, you helped them to avenge the carrying off by a barbarian of a woman from Sparta!" When this answer was brought from Delphi to the Cretans, they thought no more of assisting the Greeks

170 Minos, according to tradition, went to Sicania, or Sicily, as it is now called in search of Daedalus and there perished by a violent death After a while the Cretans, warned by some god or other, made a great expedition into Sicania all except the Polichnites and the Praesians and besieged Camicus (which in my time belonged to Agrigentum) for five years At last, however, failing in their efforts to take the place, and unable to carry on the siege any longer from the pressure of hunger, they departed and went their way Voyaging homewards they had reached Iapygia, when a furious storm arose and threw them upon the coast All their vessels were broken in pieces and so, as they saw no means of returning to Crete, they founded the town of Hyria, where they took up their abode, changing their name from Cretans to Messapian Iapygians and at the same time becoming inhabitants of the mainland instead of islanders From Hyria they afterwards founded those other towns which the Tarentines at a much later period endeavoured to take but could not being defeated signally Indeed so dreadful a slaughter of the Greeks never happened at any other time, so far as my knowledge extends nor was it only the Tarentines who suffered, but the men of Rhegium too, who had been forced to go to the aid of the Tarentines by Micythus the son of Choerus, lost here 3,000 of their citizens while the number of the Tarentines who fell was beyond all count This Micythus had been a ... slave of Anaxilaus and was by him left in charge of R...

he is the same man who was afterwards forced to leave Rhegium when he settled at Tegea in Arcadia from which place he made his many offerings of statues to the shrine at Olympia

171 This account of the Rhegians and the Tarentines is a digression from the story which I was relating To return—the Praesians say that men of various nations now flocked to Crete which was stripped of its inhabitants but none came in such numbers as the Grecians Three generations after the death of Minos the Trojan war took place and the Cretans were not the least distinguished among the helpers of Menelaus But on this account when they came back from Troy famine and pestilence fell upon them and destroyed both the men and the cattle Crete was a second time stripped of its inhabitants a remnant only being left who form together with fresh settlers the third Cretan people by whom the island has been inhabited These were the events of which the priestess now reminded the men of Crete and thereby she prevented them from giving the Greeks aid though they wished to have gone to their assistance

172 The Thessalians did not embrace the cause of the Medes until they were forced to do so for they gave plain proof that the intrigues of the Aleuadae were not at all to their liking No sooner did they hear that the Persian was about to cross over *into Europe than they despatched envoys to the Greeks* who were met to consult together at the Isthmus whither all the states which were well inclined to the Grecian cause had sent their delegates These envoys on their arrival thus addressed their countrymen Men of Greece you should guard the pass of Olympus for thus will Thessaly be placed in safety as well as the rest of Greece We for our parts are quite ready to take our share in this work but you must likewise send us a strong force otherwise we give you fair warning that we shall make terms with the Persians For we ought not to be left exposed as we are in front of all the rest of Greece to die in your defence alone and unassisted If however you do not choose to send us aid you cannot force us to resist the enemy for there is no force so strong as inability We shall therefore do our best to secure our own safety *Such was the declaration of the Thessalians*

173 Hereupon the Greeks determined to send a body of foot to Thessaly by sea, which should defend the pass of Olympus Accordingly a force was collected, which passed up the Euripus, and disembarking at Alus, on the coast of Achaea, left the ships there, and marched by land into Thessaly Here they occupied the defile of Tempe, which leads from Lower Macedonia into Thessaly along the course of the Peneus, having the range of Olympus on the one hand and Ossa upon the other In this place the Greek force that had been collected, amounting to about 10,000 heavy armed men, pitched their camp, and here they were joined by the Thessalian cavalry The commanders were, on the part of the Lacedaemonians, Evaenetus, the son of Carenus, who had been chosen out of the polemarchs, but did not belong to the blood royal, and on the part of the Athenians, Themistocles, the son of Neocles They did not however main tain their station for more than a few days, since envoys came from Alexander, the son of Amyntas, the Macedonian, and coun selled them to decamp from Tempe, telling them that if they remained in the pass they would be trodden under foot by the invading army, whose numbers they recounted, and likewise the multitude of their ships So when the envoys thus counselled them, and the counsel seemed to be good, and the Macedonian who sent it friendly, they did even as he advised In my opinion what chiefly wrought on them was the fear that the Persians might enter by another pass, whereof they now heard, which led from Upper Macedonia into Thessaly through the territory of the Perrhaebi, and by the town of Gonnus, the pass by which soon after the army of Xerxes actually made its entrance The Greeks therefore went back to their ships and sailed away to the Isthmus

174 Such were the circumstances of the expedition into Thessaly, which took place when the king was at Abydos, preparing to pass from Asia into Europe The Thessalians, when their allies forsook them, no longer wavered, but warmly es poused the side of the Medes, and afterwards, in the course the war, they were of the very greatest service to Xerxes

175 The Greeks, on their return to the Isthmus, took

sel together concerning the words of Alexander and considered where they should fix the war and what places they should occupy The opinion which prevailed was that they should guard the pass of Thermopylae since it was narrower than the Thessalian defile and at the same tim nearer to them Of the pathway by which the Greeks who fell at Thermopylae were intercepted they had no knowledge until on their arrival at Thermopylae it was discovered to them by the Trachinians This pass then it was determined that they should guard in order to prevent the barbarians from penetrating into Greece through it and at the same time it was resolved that the fleet should proceed to Artemisium in the region of Histiaeotis for as those places are near to one another it would be easy for the fleet and army to hold communication The two places may be thus described

176 Artemisium is where the sea of Thrace contracts into a narrow channel running between the isle of Sciathus and the mainland of Magnesia When this narrow strait is passed you come to the line of coast called Artemisium which is a portion of Euboea and contains a temple of Artemis As for the entrance into Greece by Trachis it is at its narrowest point about fifty feet wide This however is not the place where the passage is most contracted for it is still narrower a little above and a little below Thermopylae At Alpeni which is lower down than that place it is only wide enough for a single carriage and up above at the river Phoenix near the town called Anthela it is the same West of Thermopylae rises a lofty and precipitous hill *impossible to climb which runs up into the chain of Oeta while* to the east the road is shut in by the sea and by marshes In this place are the warm springs which the natives call The Cauldrons and above them stands an altar sacred to Heracles A wall had once been carried across the opening and in this there had of old times been a gateway These works were made by the Phocians through fear of the Thessalians at the time when the latter came from Thesprotia to establish themselves in the land of Aeolis, which they still occupy As the Thessalians strove to

reduce Phocis, the Phocians raised the wall to protect themselves, and likewise turned the hot springs upon the pass, that so the ground might be broken up by watercourses, using thus all possible means to hinder the Thessalians from invading their country The old wall had been built in very remote times, and the greater part of it had gone to decay through age Now however the Greeks resolved to repair its breaches, and here make their stand against the barbarian At this point there is a village very nigh the road, Alpeni by name, from which the Greeks reckoned on getting corn for their troops

177 These places, therefore, seemed to the Greeks fit for their purpose Weighing well all that was likely to happen, and considering that in this region the barbarians could make no use of their vast numbers, nor of their cavalry, they resolved to await here the invader of Greece And when news reached them of the Persians being in Pieria, straightway they broke up from the Isthmus, and proceeded, some on foot to Thermopylae, others by sea to Artemisium

178 The Greeks now made all speed to reach the two stations, and about the same time the Delphians, alarmed both for themselves and for their country, consulted the god, and received for answer a command to pray to the winds, for the winds would do Greece good service So when this answer was given them, forthwith the Delphians sent word of the prophecy to the Greeks who were zealous for freedom, and cheering them thereby amid the fears which they entertained with respect to the barbarian, earned their everlasting gratitude This done, they raised an altar to the winds at Thyia (where Thyia, the daughter of Cephissus, from whom the region takes its name has a precinct), and worshipped them with sacrifices And even to the present day the Delphians sacrifice to the winds, because of this oracle

179 The fleet of Xerxes now departed from Therma, and ten of the swiftest sailing ships ventured to stretch across direct for Sciathus, at which place there were upon the look-out t vessels belonging to the Greeks, one a ship of Troezen,

of Aegina and the third from Athens These vessels no sooner saw from a distance the barbarians approaching than they all hurriedly took to flight

180 The barbarians at once pursued and the Troezenian ship which was commanded by Prexinus fell into their hands Hereupon the Persians took the handsomest of the men at arms and drew him to the prow of the vessel where they sacrificed him for they thought the man a good omen to their cause seeing that he was at once so beautiful and likewise the first captive they had made The man who was slain in this way was called Leo and it may be that the name he bore helped him to his fate in some measure

181 The Aeginetan trireme under its captain Asonides gave the Persians no little trouble one of the men at arms Pythes the son of Ischenous distinguishing himself beyond all the others who fought on that day After the hip was taken this man continued to resist and did not cease fighting till he fell quite covered with wounds The Persians who served as men at arms in the squadron finding that he was not dead but still breathed and being very anxious to ave his life since he had behaved so valiantly dressed his wounds with myrrh and bound em up with bandages of cotton Then when they were returned to their own station they displayed their prisoner admiringly to the whole host and behaved towards him with much kindne s but all the rest of the hip s crew were treated merely as slaves

18 Thus did the Persians succeed in taking two of the e els The third a trireme commanded by Phormus of Athens took to flight and ran aground at the mouth of the river Peneus The barbarians got possession of the bark but not of the men For the Athenians had no sooner run their ve el aground than they leaped out and made their way through Thessaly back to Athens

When the Greeks stationed at Artemi ium learned what had happened by fire ignals[1] from Sciathus so terrif ed were they

[1] The employme t of fi ign l mo g the Greeks w very common.

that, quitting their anchorage ground at Artemisium, and leaving scouts to watch the foe on the high lands of Euboea, they removed to Chalcis, intending to guard the Euripus

183 Meantime three of the ten vessels sent forward by the barbarians advanced as far as the sunken rock between Sciathus and Magnesia, which is called the Ant, and there set up a stone pillar which they had brought with them for that purpose After this, their course being now clear, the barbarians set sail with all their ships from Therma, eleven days from the time that the king quitted the town The rock, which lay directly in their course, had been made known to them by Pammon of Scyros A day's voyage without a stop brought them to Sepias in Magnesia, and to the strip of coast which lies between the town of Casthanaea and the promontory of Sepias

184 As far as this point then, and on land, as far as Thermopylae, the armament of Xerxes had been free from mischance, and the numbers were still according to my reckoning, of the following amount First there was the ancient complement of the 1,207 vessels which came with the king from Asia—the contingents of the nations severally—amounting, if we allow to each ship a crew of 200 men, [a] to 241,400 Each of these vessels had on board, besides native soldiers, thirty fighting men, who were either Persians, Medes, or Sacans, which gives an addition of 36,210 To these two members I shall further add the crews of the fifty-oared galleys, which may be reckoned, one with another, at fourscore men each Of such vessels there were (as I said before) 3,000 and the men on board them accordingly would be 240,000 This was the sea force brought by the king from Asia, and it amounted in all to 517 610 men The number of the foot soldiers was 1,700,000, that of the horsemen 80 000, to which must be added the Arabs who rode on camels, and the Libyans who fought in chariots whom I reckon at 20,000 The whole number, therefore, of the land and sea forces added together amounts to 2,317,610 men Such was the force brought

[a] The crew of a Greek trireme seems to have been 00 170 rowers and thirty fighters

from Asia without including the camp followers or taking any account of the provision ships and the men whom they had on board

185 To the amount thus reached we have still to add the forces gathered in Europe concerning which I can only speak from conjecture The Greeks dwelling in Thrace and in the islands off the coast of Thrace furnished to the fleet 120 ships the crews of which would amount to 24 000 men Besides these footmen were furnished by the Thracians the Paeonians the Eordians the Bottiaeans by the Chalcidean tribes by the Brygians the Pierians the Macedonians the Perrhaebians the Enianians the Dolopians the Magnesians the Achaeans and by all the dwellers upon the Thracian sea board and the forces of these nations amounted I believe to 300 000 men These numbers added to those of the force which came out of Asia make the sum of the fighting men 2 641 610

186 Such then being the number of the fi hting men it is my belief that the attendants who followed the camp together with the crews of the corn barks and of the other craft accom panying the army made up an amount rather above than below that of the fi hting men However I will not reckon them as either fewer or more but take them at an equal number We have therefore to add to the sum already reached an exactly equal amount This will give 5 283 220 as the whole number of men brought by Xerxes the son of Darius as far as Sepias and Thermopylae

187 Such then was the amount of the entire host of Xerxes As for the number of the women who ground the corn of the concubines and the eunuchs no one can give any sure account of it nor can the baggage horses and other pack animals nor the Indian hounds whi h followed the army be calculated by reason of their multitude Hence I am not at all surpri ed that the water of the r vers was found too scant for the army in some instances rather it is a marvel to me how the provisions did not fail when the numbers were so great For I f nd on calculation that if each man consumed no more than a choenix of corn a

[a] See n t s 7 and 9 in this b k.

day, there must have been used daily by the army 110 340 medimni, and this without counting what was eaten by the women, the eunuchs, the pack animals, and the hounds Among all this multitude of men there was not one who, for beauty and stature, deserved more than Xerxes himself to wield so vast a power

188 The fleet then, as I said, on leaving Therma, sailed to the Magnesian territory, and there occupied the strip of coast between the city of Casthanaea and Cape Sepias The ships of the first row were moored to the land, while the remainder swung at anchor further off The beach extended but a very little way, so that they had to anchor off the shore, row upon row, eight deep In this manner they passed the night But at dawn of day calm and stillness gave place to a raging sea, and a violent storm, which fell upon them with a strong gale from the east—a wind which the people in those parts call Hellespontias Such of them as percieved the wind rising, and were so moored as to allow of it, forestalled the tempest by dragging their ships up on the beach, and in this way saved both themselves and their vessels But the ships which the storm caught out at sea were driven ashore, some of them near the place called the Ovens, at the foot of Pelion, others on the strand itself others again about Cape Sepias while a portion were dashed to pieces near the cities of Meliboea and Casthanaea There was no resisting the tempest

189 It is said that the Athenians had called upon Boreas to aid the Greeks on account of a fresh oracle which had reached them, commanding them to seek help from their son in law For Boreas, according to the tradition of the Greeks took to wife a woman of Attica, Orithyia, the daughter of Erechtheus So the Athenians, as the tale goes considering that this marriage made Boreas their son in law, and perceiving, while they lay with their ships at Chalcis of Euboea, that the wind was rising, or, it may be, even before it freshened, offered sacrifice both to Boreas and likewise to Orithyia, entreating them to come to their and to destroy the ships of the barbarians, as they did fore off Mount Athos Whether it was owing to this that fell with violence on the barbarians at their anchorage

say but the Athenians declare that they had received aid from Boreas before and that it was he who now caused all these disasters They therefore on their return home built a temple to this god on the banks of the Ilissus

190 Such as put the loss of the Persian fleet in this storm at the lowest say that 400 of their ships were destroyed that a countless multitude of men were slain and a vast treasure engulfed Ameinocles the son of Cretines a Magnesian who farmed land near Cape Sepias found the wreck of these vessels a source of great gain to him many were the gold and silver drinking-cups cast up long afterwards by the surf which he gathered while treasure boxes too which had belonged to the Persians and golden articles of all kinds and beyond count came into his possession Ameinocles grew to be a man of great wealth in this way but in other respects things did not go over well with him he too like other men had his own grief—the calamity of slaying his son

191 As for the number of the provision craft and other merchant ships which perished it was beyond count Indeed such was the loss that the commanders of the sea force fearing lest in their shattered condition the Thessalians should venture on an attack raised a lofty barricade around their station out of the wreck of the vessels ca t ashore The storm lasted three days At length the Magians by offering victims to the Winds and charming them with the help of conjurers while at the same time they sacrificed to Thetis and the Nereids succeeded in laying the storm four days after it first began or perhaps it ceased of itself The reason of their offering sacrifice to Thetis was this they were told by the Ionians that here was the place whence Peleus carried her off and that the whole promontory was sacred to her and to her sister Nereids So the storm lulled upon the fourth day

19 The scouts left by the Greeks about the highlands of Euboea hastened down from their stations on the day following that whereon the storm began and acquainted their countrymen with all that had befallen the Persian fleet These no sooner heard what had happened than straightway they returned

thanks to Poseidon the Saviour, and poured libations in his honour, after which they hastened back with all speed to Artemisium, expecting to find a very few ships left to oppose them, and arriving there for the second time, took up their station on that strip of coast nor from that day to the present have they ceased to address Poseidon by the name then given him, of Saviour

193 The barbarians, when the wind lulled and the sea grew smooth, drew their ships down to the water, and proceeded to coast along the mainland Having then rounded the extreme point of Magnesia, they sailed straight into the bay that runs up to Pagasae There is a place in this bay, belonging to Magnesia, where Heracles is said to have been put ashore to fetch water by Jason and his companions, who then deserted him and went on their way to Aea in Colchis, on board the ship Argo, in quest of the golden fleece From the circumstance that they intended, after watering their vessel at this place, to quit the shore and launch forth into the deep, it received the name of Aphetae Here then it was that the fleet of Xerxes came to an anchor

194 Fifteen ships, which had lagged greatly behind the rest, happening to catch sight of the Greek fleet at Artemisium, mistook it for their own, and sailing down into the midst of it, fell into the hands of the enemy The commander of this squadron was Sandoces, the son of Thamasius, governor of Cyme, in Aeolis He was of the number of the royal judges, and had been crucified by Darius some time before, on the charge of taking a bribe to determine a cause wrongly but while he yet hung on the cross, Darius bethought him that the good deeds of Sandoces towards the king's house were more numerous than his evil deeds, and so confessing that he had acted with more haste than wisdom, he ordered him to be taken down and set at large Thus Sandoces escaped destruction at the hands of Darius, and was alive at this time, but he was not fated to come off so cheaply from his second peril, for as soon as the Greeks saw the ships making towards them, they guessed their mistake, and putting to sea, took them without difficulty

195 Aridolis, tyrant of Alabanda in Caria, was on board

of the ships and was made prisoner as also was the Paphian general Penthylus the son of Demonous who was on board an other This person had brought with him twelve ships from Paphos *and after losing eleven in the storm off Sepias* was taken in the remaining one as he sailed towards Artemisium The Greeks after questioning their prisoners as much as they wished concernin the forces of Xerxes sent them away in chains to the Isthmus of Corinth

196 The sea force of the barbarians with the exception of the fifteen ships commanded (as I said) by Sandoces came safe to Aphete Xerxes meanwhile with the land army had pro ceeded through Thessaly and Achaea and three days earlier had entered the territory of the Malians In Thessaly he matched his own horses against the Thessalian which he heard were the best in Greece but the Greek coursers were left far behind in the race All the rivers in this region had water enough to supply his army except only the Onochonus but in Achaea the largest of the streams the Apidanus barely held out

197 On his arrival at Alus in Achaea his guides wishing to inform him of everything told him the tale known to the dwell ers in those parts concerning the temple of the Laphystian Zeus —how that Athamas the son of Aeolus took counsel with Ino *and plotted the death of Phrixus* and how *that afterwards the* Achaeans warned by an oracle laid a forfeit upon his posterity forbidding the eldest of the race ever to enter into the court house (which they call the people s house) and keeping watch themselves to see the law obeyed If one comes within the doors he can never go out again except to be sacrificed Further they told him how that many persons when on the point of being slain are seized with such fear that they flee away and take refuge in some other country and that these if they come back long afterwards and are found to be the per ons who entered the court hou e are led forth covered with chaplets and in a grand procession and are sacrificed This forfeit is paid by the descendants of Cytissorus the son of Phrixus because when the Achaeans in obedience to an oracle made Athamas the son of Aeolus their sin-offering and were about to slay him Cytissorus

came from Aea in Colchis and rescued Athamas, by which deed he brought the anger of the god upon his own posterity Xerxes, therefore, having heard this story, when he reached the grove of the god, avoided it, and commanded his army to do the like He also paid the same respect to the house and precinct of the descendants of Athamas

198 Such were the doings of Xerxes in Thessaly and in Achaea From hence he passed on into Malis, along the shore of a bay, in which there is an ebb and flow of the tide daily By the side of this bay lies a piece of flat land, in one part broad, but in another very narrow indeed, around which runs a range of lofty hills impossible to climb enclosing all Malis within them, and called the Trachinian Cliffs The first city upon the bay, as you come from Achaea, is Anticyra, near which the river Spercheius, flowing down from the country of the Enianians, empties itself into the sea About two miles from this stream there is a second river, called the Dyras which is said to have appeared first to help Heracles when he was burning Again, at the distance of about two miles, there is a stream called the Melas, near which within half a mile, stands the city of Trachis

199 At the point where this city is built the plain between the hills and the sea is broader than at any other, for it there measures 420 miles[a] South of Trachis there is a cleft in the mountain range which shuts in the territory of Trachinia, and the river Asopus issuing from this cleft flows for a while along the foot of the hills

200 Further to the south, another river, called the Phoenix, which has no great body of water, flows from the same hills, and falls into the Asopus Here is the narrowest place of all, for in this part there is only a causeway wide enough for a single carriage From the river Phoenix to Thermopylae is a distance of two miles and in this space is situated the village called Anthela, which the river Asopus passes before it reaches the sea The space about Anthela is of some width and contains a temple

[a] This is certainly an incorrect reading The plain is even now at the utmost seven miles across It is possible to understand the passage as whole of the plain area

of Amphictyonian Demeter as well as the seats of the Amphictyonic deputies and a temple of Amphictyon himself

201 King Xerxes pitched his camp in the region of Malis called Trachinia while on their side the Greeks occupied the straits The e straits the Greeks in general call Thermopylae (the Hot Gates) but the natives and tho e who dwell in the neighbourhood call them Pylae (the Gates) Here then the two armies took their stand the one master of all the region lying north of Trachis the other of the country extending southward of that place to the verge of the continent

20 The Greeks who at this spot awaited the coming of Xerxes were the following From Sparta 300 men at arms from Arcadia 1 000 Tegeans and Mantineans 500 of each peopl 120 Orchomenians from the Arcadian Orchomenus and 1 000 from other cities from Corinth 400 men from Phlius 200 and from Mycenae eighty Such was the number from the Peloponnese There were also p e ent from Boeotia 700 The pians and 400 Thebans

203 Besides these troops the Locrians of Opus and the Phocians had obeyed the call of their countrymen and sent the former all the force they had the latter 1 000 men For envoys had gone from the Greeks at Thermopylae among the Locrians and Phocians to call on them for assistance and to say They were themselves but the vanguard of the host sent to precede the main body which might every day be expected to follow them The sea was in good keeping watched by the Athenians the Aeginetans and the rest of the fleet There was no cau e why they should fear for after all the invader was not a god but a man and there never had been and never would be a man who was not liable to misfortunes from the very day of his birth and tho e greater in proportion to his own greatness The assailant therefore being only a mortal must needs fall from his glory Thus urged the Locrians and the Phocians had come with their troops to Trachis

204 The various nations had each captains of their own under whom they erved but the one to whom all e pecially looked up and who had the command of th entire force was the Lace

daemonian, Leonidas Now Leonidas was the son of Anaxandridas, who was the son of Leo, who was the son of Eurycratidas, who was the son of Anaxander, who was the son of Eurycrates, who was the son of Polydorus, who was the son of Alcamenes, who was the son of Telecles, who was the son of Archelaus, who was the son of Agesilaus, who was the son of Doryssus, who was the son of Labotas, who was the son of Echestratus, who was the son of Agis, who was the son of Eurysthenes, who was the son of Aristodemus, who was the son of Aristomachus, who was the son of Cleodaeus, who was the son of Hyllus, who was the son of Heracles

Leonidas had come to be king of Sparta quite unexpectedly

205 Having two elder brothers, Cleomenes and Dorieus, he had no thought of ever mounting the throne However when Cleomenes died without male offspring, as Dorieus was likewise deceased, having perished in Sicily, the crown fell to Leonidas, who was older than Cleombrotus, the youngest of the sons of Anaxandridas, and, moreover, was married to the daughter of Cleomenes He had now come to Thermopylae, accompanied by the 300 men which the law assigned him, whom he had himself chosen from among the citizens, and who were all of them fathers with sons living On his way he had taken the troops from Thebes, whose number I have already mentioned, and who were under the command of Leontiades the son of Eurymachus The reason why he made a point of taking troops from Thebes and Thebes only was, that the Thebans were strongly suspected of being well inclined to the Medes Leonidas therefore called on them to come with him to the war, wishing to see whether they would comply with his demand, or openly refuse, and disclaim the Greek alliance They, however, though their wishes leant the other way, nevertheless sent the men

206 The force with Leonidas was sent forward by the Spartans in advance of their main body, that the sight of them might encourage the allies to fight, and hinder them from going over to the Medes, as it was likely they might have done had they seen Sparta backward They intended presently, when they had celebrated the Carneian festival, which was what now kept

them at home to leave a garrison in Sparta and hasten in full force to join the army The rest of the allies also intended to act similarly for it happened that the Olympic festival fell exactly at this same period None of them looked to see the contest at Thermopylae decided so speedily wherefore they were content to send forward a mere advanced guard Such accordin ly were the intentions of the allies

07 The Greek forces at Thermopylae when the Persian army drew near to the entrance of the pass were seized with fear and a council was held to consider about a retreat It was the wish of the Peloponnesians generally that the army hould fall back upon the Peloponnese and there guard the Isthmus But Leonidas who saw with wha indignation the Phocians and Locrians heard of this plan gave his voice for remaining where they were while they sent envoys to the several cities to ask for help since they were too few to make a stand against an army like that of the Medes

08 While this debate was going on Xerxes sent a mounted spy to observe the Greeks and note how many they were and what they were doing He had heard before he came out of Thessaly that a few men were assembled at this place and that at their head were certain Lacedaemonians under Leonidas a descendant of Heracles The horseman rode up to the camp and looked about him but did not see the whole army for such as were on the further side of the wall (which had been rebuilt and was now carefully guarded) it was not possible for him to behold but he observed those on the outside who were encamped in front of the rampart It chanced that at this time the Lacedaemonians held the outer guard and were seen by the spy some of them engaged in gymnastic exercises others combing their long hair At this the spy greatly marvelled but he counted their number and when he had taken accurate note of everything he rode back quietly for no one pursued after him or paid any heed to his visit So he returned and told Xerxes all that he had seen

09 Upon this Xerxes who had no means of surmising the truth—namely that the Spartans were preparing to do or die

manfully—but thought it laughable that they should be engaged in such employments, sent and called to his presence Demaratus the son of Ariston, who still remained with the army When he appeared, Xerxes told him all that he had heard, and questioned him concerning the news, since he was anxious to understand the meaning of such behaviour on the part of the Spartans Then Demaratus said, "I spoke to you, O King, concerning these men long since, when we had but just begun our march upon Greece you, however, only laughed at my words, when I told you of all this, which I saw would come to pass Earnestly do I struggle at all times to speak truth to you, sire, and now listen to it once more These men have come to dispute the pass with us, and it is for this that they are now making ready It is their custom, when they are about to hazard their lives, to adorn their heads with care Be assured, however, that if you can subdue the men who are here and the Lacedaemonians who remain in Sparta, there is no other nation in all the world which will venture to lift a hand in their defence You have now to deal with the first kingdom and town in Greece, and with the bravest men"

Then Xerxes, to whom what Demaratus said seemed altogether to surpass belief, asked further, "How it was possible for so small an army to contend with his?"

"O King," Demaratus answered, "let me be treated as a liar, if matters fall not out as I say"

210 But Xerxes was not persuaded any the more Four whole days he suffered to go by,"[3] expecting that the Greeks would run away When, however, he found on the fifth that they were not gone, thinking that their firm stand was mere impudence and recklessness, he grew wroth, and sent against them the Medes and Cissians, with orders to take them alive and bring them into his presence Then the Medes rushed forward and charged the Greeks, but fell in vast numbers others however took the places of the slain, and would not be beaten off, though they suffered terrible losses In this way it became clear to all, and especially

[3] We may suppose that the Persian king looked at first to obtaining the co operation of his fleet and only began the attack when it failed him

to the king that though he had plenty of combatants he had but very few warriors The struggle however continued during the whole day

11 Then the Medes havin met so rough a reception with drew from the fight and their place was taken by the band of Persians under Hydarnes whom the king called his Immortals they it was thought would soon finish the business But when they joined battle with the Greeks it was with no better success than the Median detachment—things went much as before—the two armies fi hting in a narrow space and the barbarians using shorter spears than the Greeks and having no advantage from thei numbers The Lacedaemonians fou ht in a way worthy of note and showed themselves far more skilful in fight than their adversaries often turning their backs and making as though they were all flying away on which the barbarians would rush after them with much noise and shouting when the Spar tans at their approach would wheel round and face their pur uers in this way destroying vast numbers of the enemy Some Spartans likewise fell in these encounters but only a very few At last the Persians finding that all their efforts to gain the pass a ailed nothing and that whether they attacked by divisions or in any other way it was to no purpose withdrew to their own quarters

12 During these assaults it is said that Xerxes who was watching the battle thrice leaped from the throne on which he sat in terror for his army

Next day the combat was renewed but with no better success on the part of the barbarians The Greeks were so few that the barbarians hoped to find them disabled by reason of their wounds from offer ng any further resistance and so they once more attacked them But the Greeks were drawn up in detach ments according to their cities and bore the brunt of the battle in turns all except the Phocians who had been stationed on the mountain to guard the pathway So when the Pers ans found no difference between that day and the preceding they again re tired to their quarters

13 Now as the king was at a loss and knew not how he

should deal with the emergency, Ephialtes, the son of Eurydemus, a man of Malis, came to him and was admitted to a conference Stirred by the hope of receiving a rich reward at the king's hands, he had come to tell him of the pathway which led across the mountain to Thermopylae, by which disclosure he brought destruction on the band of Greeks who had there withstood the barbarians This Ephialtes afterwards, from fear of the Lacedaemonians, fled into Thessaly, and during his exile, in an assembly of the Amphictyons held at Pylae, a price was set upon his head by the Pylagorae When some time had gone by, he returned from exile, and went to Anticyra, where he was slain by Athenades, a native of Trachis Athenades did not slay him for his treachery, but for another reason, which I shall mention in a later part of my history [1] yet still the Lacedaemonians honoured him none the less Thus then did Ephialtes perish a long time afterwards

214 Besides this there is another story told, which I do not at all believe, that Onetas the son of Phanagoras, a native of Carystus, and Corydallus a man of Anticyra were the persons who spoke on this matter to the king, and took the Persians across the mountain One may guess which story is true, from the fact that the deputies of the Greeks, the Pylagorae, who must have had the best means of ascertaining the truth, did not offer the reward for the heads of Onetas and Corydallus, but for that of Ephialtes of Trachis and again from the flight of Ephialtes, which we know to have been on this account Onetas, I allow, although he was not a Malian, might have been acquainted with the path, if he had lived much in that part of the country, but as Ephialtes was the person who actually led the Persians round the mountain by the pathway, I leave his name on record as that of the man who did the deed

215 Great was the joy of Xerxes on this occasion, and as he approved highly of the enterprise which Ephialtes undertook to accomplish, he forthwith sent upon the errand Hydarnes, and the Persians under him The troops left the camp about the time of the lighting of the lamps The pathway along wh

[1] This promise is not fulfilled in the work as it now ...s

went was first discovered by the Malians of these parts who soon afterwards led the Thessalians by it to attack the Phocians at the time when the Phocians fortified the pass with a wall and o put themselves under covert from danger And ever since the path has always been put to an ill use by the Malians

216 The course which it takes is the following Beginning at the Asopus where that stream flows through the cleft in the hills it runs along the ridge of the mountain (which is called like the pathway over it Anopaea) and ends at the city of Alpenus—the first Locrian town as you come from Malis—by the stone called *Black buttock* and the seats of the Cercopians Here it is as narrow as at any other point

217 The Persians took this path and crossing the Asopus continued their march through the whole of the night having the mountains of Oeta on their right hand and on their left those of Trachis At dawn of day they found themselves close to the summit Now the hill was guarded as I have already said by 1 000 Phocian men at arms who were placed there to defend the pathway and at the same time to secure their own country They had been given the guard of the mountain path while the ther Greeks defended the pass below because they had volunteered for the service and had pledged themselves to Leonidas to maintain the post

218 The ascent of the Persians became known to the Phocians in the following manner During all the time that they were making their way up the Greeks remained unconscious of it inasmuch as the whole mountain was covered with groves of oa' but it happened that the air was very still and the leaves which the Persians stirred with their feet made as it was likely they would a loud rustling whereupon the Phocians jumped up and flew to seize their arms In a moment the barbarians came in sight and perceiving men arming themselves were greatly amazed for they had fallen in with an enemy when they expected no opposition Hydarnes alarmed at the sight and fearing l st the Phocians might be Lacedaemonians inquired of Ephialtes to what nation these troops belonged Ephialtes told him the exact truth whereupon he arrayed his Persians for

battle The Phocians, galled by the showers of arrows to which they were exposed, and imagining themselves the special object of the Persian attack, fled hastily to the crest of the mountain, and there made ready to meet death, but while their mistake continued, the Persians, with Ephialtes and Hydarnes, not thinking it worth their while to delay on account of Phocians, passed on and descended the mountain with all possible speed

219 The Greeks at Thermopylae received the first warning of the destruction which the dawn would bring on them from the seer Megistias, who read their fate in the victims as he was sacrificing After this deserters came in, and brought the news that the Persians were marching round by the hills it was still night when these men arrived Last of all, the scouts came running down from the heights, and brought in the same accounts, when the day was just beginning to break Then the Greeks held a council to consider what they should do, and here opinions were divided some were strong against quitting their post while others contended to the contrary So when the council had broken up, part of the troops departed and went their ways homeward to their several states, part however resolved to remain, and to stand by Leonidas to the last

220 It is said that Leonidas himself sent away the troops who departed, because he tendered their safety, but thought it unseemly that either he or his Spartans should quit the post which they had been especially sent to guard For my own part, I incline to think that Leonidas gave the order, because he perceived the allies to be out of heart and unwilling to encounter the danger to which his own mind was made up[23] He therefore commanded them to retreat, but said that he himself could not draw back with honour, knowing that, if he stayed, glory

[23] Herodotus by accident or design, has practically ignored the Greek plan of campaign in the relation between operations on land and sea Leonidas was perhaps surprised that the Persians came around by the short route of the Anopaea but his main task so far as he knew was to hold the land route until the Greek fleet could force a decisive action This could be done if the allies met the Persians near Mount Callidromus, the longer route to the rear of Thermopylae Leonidas believed ould hold the pass with his remaining force

225 Thus two brothers of Xerxes here fought and fell And now there arose a fierce struggle between the Persians and the Lacedaemonians over the body of Leonidas in which the Greeks four times drove back the enemy and at last by their great bravery succeeded in bearing off the body This combat was scarcely ended when the Persians with Ephialtes approached and the Greeks informed that they drew nigh made a change in the manner of their fighting Drawn back into the narrow est part of the pass and retreating even behind the cross wall they posted themselves upon a hillock where they stood all drawn up together in one close body except only the Thebans The hillock whereof I speak i at the entrance of the straits where the stone lion stands which was set up in honour of Leonidas Here they defended themselves to the last such as still had swords using them and the others resisting with their hands and teeth till the barbarians who in part had pulled down the wall and attacked them in front in part had gone round and now encircled them upon every side overwhelmed and buried the remnant left beneath showers of missile weapons

226 Thus nobly did the whole body of Lacedaemonians and Thespians behave but nevertheless one man is said to have dis tinguished himself above all the rest to wit Dienece the Spartan A speech which he made before the Greeks eng ged the Medes remains on record One of the Trachinians told him Such was the number of the barbarians that when they shot forth their arrows the sun would be darkened by their multi tude Dieneces not at all frightened at these words but making light of the Median numbers answered Our Trachinian friend brings us excellent tidings If the Medes darken the sun we shall have our fight in the shade Other sayings too of a like nature are said to have been left on record by this same person

227 Next to him two brothers Lacedaemonians are reputed to have made themselves conspicuous they were named Alpheus and Maro and were the sons of Orsiphantus There was also a Thespian who gained greater glory than any of his countrymen he was a man called Dithyrambus the son of Harmatidas

228 The slain were buried where they fell and in their hon-

our, nor less in honour of those who died before Leonidas sent the allies away, an inscription was set up, which said

> Here did four thousand men from Pelops' land
> Against three hundred myriads bravely stand

This was in honour of all Another was for the Spartans alone

> Go, stranger, and to Lacedaemon tell
> That here, obeying her behests, we fell

This was for the Lacedaemonians The seer had the following

> The great Megistias' tomb you here may view,
> Whom slew the Medes fresh from Spercheius fords
> Well the wise seer the coming death foreknew,
> Yet scorned he to forsake his Spartan lords

These inscriptions, and the pillars likewise were all set up by the Amphictyons, except that in honour of Megistias, which was inscribed to him (on account of their sworn friendship) by Simonides, the son of Leoprepes[27]

229 Two of the 300 it is said, Aristodemus and Eurytus having been attacked by a disease of the eyes, had received orders from Leonidas to quit the camp, and both lay at Alpeni in the worst stage of the malady These two men might, had they been so minded, have agreed together to return alive to Sparta, or if they did not like to return, they might have gone both to the field and fallen with their countrymen But at this time, when either way was open to them, unhappily they could not agree, but took contrary courses Eurytus no sooner heard that the Persians had come round the mountain than straightway he called for his armour, and having buckled it on, bade his Helot[28]

[27] All three inscriptions are assigned to Simonides by other writers
[28] By the expression his Helot we are to understand the special ~ whose business it was to attend constantly upon the Spartan

lead him to the place where his friends were fighting The Helot did so and then turned and fled but Eurytus plunged into the thick of the battle and so perished Aristodemus on the other hand was faint of heart and remained at Alpeni It is my belief that if Aristodemus only had been sick and returned or if both had come back together the Spartans would have been content and felt no anger but when there were two men with the very same excuse and one of them was chary of his life while the other freely gave it they could not but be very wroth with the former

230 This is the account which some give of the escape of Aristodemus *Others say that he with another had been sent* on a messa e from the army and having it in his power to return in time for the battle purpo ely loitered on the road and so survived his comrades while his fellow messenger came back in time and fell in the battle

231 When Aristodemus returned to Lacedaemon reproach and disgrace awaited him disgrace inasmuch as no Spartan would give him a light to kindle his fire or so much as address a word to him and reproach since all spoke of him as the craven However he wiped away all his shame afterwards at the battle of Plataea

232 Another of the 300 is likewise said to have survived the battle a man named Pantites whom Leonidas had sent on an embassy into Thessaly He they say on his return to Sparta found himself in such di grace that he hanged him elf

233 The Thebans under the command of Leontiades remained with the Greeks and fought against the barbarians only so long as necessity compelled them No sooner did they see victory inclining to the Persians and the Greeks under Leonidas hurrying with all speed towards the hillock than they moved away from their companions and with hands upraised advanced *towards the barbarians exclaiming as was indeed most true* They for their part wished well to the Medes and had been among the first to give earth and water to the king force alone had brought them to Thermopylae and so they must not be blamed for the slaughter which had befallen the king s army

These words, the truth of which was attested by the Thessalians, sufficed to obtain the Thebans the grant of their lives However, their good fortune was not without some drawback, for several of them were slain by the barbarians on their first approach, and the rest, who were the greater number, had the royal mark branded upon their bodies by the command of Xerxes, Leontiades, their captain, being the first to suffer (This man's son Eurymachus, was afterwards slain by the Plataeans, when he came with a band of 400 Thebans, and seized their city)

234 Thus fought the Greeks at Thermopylae And Xerxes after the fight was over, called for Demaratus to question him, and began as follows, "Demaratus, you are a worthy man, your true speaking proves it All has happened as you forewarned me Now, then, tell me, how many Lacedaemonians are there left, and of those left how many are such brave warriors as these? Or are they all alike?"

"O King," replied the other, "the whole number of the Lacedaemonians is very great, and many are the cities which they inhabit But I will tell you what you really wish to learn There is a town of Lacedaemon called Sparta, which contains within it about 8,000 full grown men They are, one and all, equal to those who have fought here The other Lacedaemonians are brave men, but not such warriors as these "

"Tell me now, Demaratus," rejoined Xerxes, "how we may with least trouble subdue these men You must know all the paths of their counsels, as you were once their king "

235 Then Demaratus answered, "O King, since you ask my advice so earnestly, it is fitting that I should inform you what I consider to be the best course Detach 300 vessels from the body of your fleet, and send them to attack the shores of Laconia There is an island called Cythera in those parts, not far from the coast, concerning which Chilon, one of our wisest men, made the remark, that Sparta would gain if it were sunk to the bottom of the sea—so constantly did he expect that it would give occasion to some project like that which I now recommend to yo
mean not to say that he had a foreknowledge of your
upon Greece, but in truth he feared all armaments

ships then to this island and thence frighten the Spartans I once they have a war of their own close to their doors fear nc their giving any help to the rest of the Greeks while your land force is engaged in conquering them In this way may all Greec be subdued and then Sparta left to herself will be powerless But if you will not take this advice I will tell you what you may expect When you come to the Peloponnese you will find a nar row neck of land where all the Peloponnesians who are leagued against you will be gathered together and there you will have to fight bloodier battles than any which you have yet witnessed If however you follow my plan the isthmus and the cities o Peloponnese will yield to you without a battle

36 Achaemenes who was present at their conversation now spoke—he was brother to Xerxes and having the command o the fleet feared lest Xerxes might be prevailed upon to do as Demaratus advised I perceive O king he said that you are listening to the words of a man who is envious of your good fortune and seeks to betray your cause This is indeed the com mon temper of the Grecian people— hey envy good fortune and hate power greater than their own If in this state of our affairs after we have lost 400 vessels by shipwreck 300 more be sent away to make a voyage round the Peloponnese our enemies will become a match for us But let us keep our whole fleet in one body and it will be dangerous for them to venture on an attack as they will certainly be no match for us then Besides while our sea and land forces advance together the fleet and army can each help the other but if they be parted no aid will come either from you to the fleet or from the fleet to you Only order your own matters well and trouble not to inquire concerning the enemy where they will fight or what they will do or how many they are Surely they can manage their own concerns without us as we can ours without them If the Lacedaemonians come out against the Persians to battle they will scarce repair the disaster which has befallen them now

37 Xerxes replied Achaemenes your counsel pleases me well and I will do as you say But Demaratus advised what he thought best—only his judgment was not so good as yours

Never will I believe that he does not wish well to my cause, for that is disproved both by his former counsels, and also by the circumstances of the case A citizen does indeed envy any fellow citizen who is more lucky than himself and often hates him secretly, if such a man be called on for counsel he will not give his best thoughts, unless indeed he be a man of very exalted virtue, and such are but rarely found But a friend of another country delights in the good fortune of his foreign bond friend, and will give him when asked the best advice in his power Therefore I warn all men to abstain henceforth from speaking ill of Demaratus who is my bond friend

238 When Xerxes had thus spoken, he proceeded to pass through the slain, and finding the body of Leonidas whom he knew to have been the Lacedaemonian king and captain, he ordered that the head should be struck off and the trunk fastened to a cross This proves to me most clearly what is plain also in many other ways,—namely that King Xerxes was more angry with Leonidas, while he was still in life than with any other mortal Otherwise he would not have used his body so shamefully For the Persians usually honour those who show themselves valiant in fight more highly than any nation that I know They, however, to whom the orders were given, obeyed the commands of the king

239 I return now to a point in my history, which at the time I left incomplete The Lacedaemonians were the first of the Greeks to hear of the king s design against their country and it was at this time that they sent to consult the Delphic oracle, and received the answer of which I spoke a while ago The discovery was made to them in a very strange way Demaratus, the son of Ariston after he took refuge with the Medes was not, in my judgment which is supported by probability, a well wisher to the Lacedaemonians It may be questioned, therefore, whether he did what I am about to mention from good will or from insolent triumph It happened that he was at Susa at the time when Xerxes determined to lead his army into Greece and in this way becoming acquainted with his design, he resolved to send tidings of it to Sparta So as there was no other way of

it for there was nothing they had so much at heart as the salvation of Greece and they knew that if they quarrelled among themselves about the command Greece would be brou ht to ruin Herein they judged rightly for internal strife is a thin as much worse than war carried on by a united people as war it elf is worse than peace The Athenians therefore being o persuaded did not push their claims but waived them so long as they were in such great need of aid from the other Greeks And they afterwards showed their motive for at the time when the Persians had been driven from Greece and were now threat ened by the Greeks in their own country they took occasion of the insolence of Pausanias to deprive the Lacedaemonians of their leadership This however happened afterwards [1]

4 At the present time the Greeks on their arrival at Arte misium when they saw the number of the ships which lay at anchor near Aphetae and the abundance of troops everywhere feeling disappointed that matters had gone with the barbarians so far otherwise than they had expected and full of alarm at what they saw be an to speak of drawing back from Arte misium towards the inner parts of their country So when the Euboeans heard what was in debate they went to Eurybiades and besought him to wait a few days while they removed their children and their slaves to a place of safety But as they found that they prevailed nothing they left him and went to Themis tocles the Athenian commander to whom they gave a bribe of thirty talents on his promise that the fleet hould remain and risk a battle in defence of Euboea

5 And Themistocles succeeded in detaining the fleet in the way which I will now relate He made over to Eurybiades fi e talents out of the thirty paid him which he gave as if they came from himself and having in this way gained over the admiral he addressed himself to Adeimantus the son of Ocytus the Corinthian leader who was the only remonstrant now and wh still threatened to ail away from Artemisium and not wait f r the other captains Addressing himself to this man Themistocles said with an oath You forsake us? By no means! I will pay

[1] P obably in 477 B.C

you better for remaining than the Mede would for leaving your friends"—and straightway he sent on board the ship of Adeimantus a present of three talents of silver So these two captains were won by gifts, and came over to the views of Themistocles, who was thereby enabled to gratify the wishes of the Euboeans He likewise made his own gain on the occasion for he kept the rest of the money, and no one knew of it The commanders who took the gifts thought that the sums were furnished by Athens, and had been sent to be used in this way

6 Thus it came to pass that the Greeks stayed at Euboea and there gave battle to the enemy Now the battle was on this wise The barbarians reached Aphetae early in the afternoon, and then saw (as they had previously heard reported) that a fleet of Greek ships, weak in number, lay at Artemisium At once they were eager to engage, fearing that the Greeks would fly, and hoping to capture them before they should get away They did not however think it wise to make straight for the Greek station, lest the enemy should see them as they bore down, and betake themselves to flight immediately in which case night might close in before they came up with the fugitives and so they might get clean off and make their escape from them, whereas the Persians were minded not to let even a torch bearer slip through their hands

7 They therefore contrived a plan which was the following They detached 200 of their ships from the rest and—to prevent the enemy from seeing them start—sent them round outside the island of Sciathos, to make the circuit of Euboea by Caphareus and Geraestus and so to reach the Euripus By this plan they thought to enclose the Greeks on every side, for the ships detached would block up the only way by which they could retreat, while the others would press upon them in front With these designs therefore they dispatched the two hundred ships, while they themselves waited since they did not mean to attack the Greeks upon that day, or until they knew, by signal, of the arrival of the detachment which had been ordered to sail round Euboea Meanwhile they made a muster of the other shi Aphetae

8 Now the Persians had with them a man named Scyllias a native of Scione who was the most expert diver of his dav At the time of the shipwreck off Mount Pelion he had recovered for the Persians a great part of what they lost and at the same time he had taken care to obtain for himself a good share of the tre sure He had for some time been wishing to go over to the Greeks but no good opportunity had offered till now when the Persians were making the muster of their ships In what way he contrived to reach the Greeks I am not able to say for certain I marvel much if the tale that is commonly told be true It is said he dived into the sea at Aphetae and did not once come to the surface till he reached Artemisium a distance of nearly ten miles Now many things are related of this man which are plainly false but some of the storie seem to be true My own opinion is that on this occasion he made the passage to Artemisium in a boat

However this might be Scyllias no sooner reached Artemisium than he gave the Greek captains a full account of the damage done by the storm and likewise told them of the ships nt to make the circuit of Euboea

9 So the Greeks on receiving these tidin s held a council whereat after much debate it was resolved that they should stay quiet for the present where they were and remain at their moorings but that after midnight they should put out to sea and encounter the ships which were on their way round the island Later in the day when they found that no one meddled with them they formed a new plan which was to wait till near evening and then sail out against the main body of the barbarians for the purpose of trying the r mode of fighting and skill in manoeuvring

10 When the Persian commanders and crews saw the Greeks thus boldly sailing towards them with their few ships they thought them possessed with madness and went out to meet them expectin (as indeed seemed likely enough) that they would tak all their vessels with the greatest ea e The Greek ships were so few and their own so far outnumbered them and sailed so much better that they resolved eeing their advantage

to encompass their foe on every side And now such of the Ionians as wished well to the Grecian cause and served in the Persian fleet unwillingly, seeing their countrymen surrounded, were sorely distressed, for they felt sure that not one of them would ever make his escape, so poor an opinion had they of the strength of the Greeks On the other hand, such as saw with pleasure the attack on Greece, now vied eagerly with each other which should be the first to make prize of an Athenian ship, and thereby to secure himself a rich reward from the king For through both the hosts none were so much talked of as the Athenians

11 The Greeks, at a signal, brought the sterns of their ships together into a small compass, and turned their prows on every side towards the barbarians, after which, at a second signal, although inclosed within a narrow space, and closely pressed upon by the foe, yet they fell bravely to work, and captured thirty ships of the barbarians, at the same time taking prisoner Philaon, the son of Chersis, and brother of Gorgus, king of Salamis, a man of much repute in the fleet The first who made prize of a ship of the enemy was Lycomedes the son of Aeschreas, an Athenian, who afterwards received the prize for valour Victory however was still doubtful when night came on, and put a stop to the combat The Greeks sailed back to Artemisium and the barbarians to Aphetae, much surprised at the result, which was far other than they had looked for In this battle only one of the Greeks who fought on the side of the king deserted and joined his countrymen This was Antidorus of Lemnos whom the Athenians rewarded for his desertion by the present of a piece of land in Salamis

12 Evening had barely closed in when a heavy rain, it was about midsummer, began to fall, which continued the whole night, with terrible thunderings and lightnings from Mount Pelion the bodies of the slain and the broken pieces of the damaged ships were drifted in the direction of Aphetae, and floated about the prows of the vessels there, disturbing the action of the oars The barbarians hearing the storm were greatly dismayed, expecting certainly to perish, as they had fallen into such a mul

titude of misfortunes For before they were well recovered from the tempest and the wreck of their ves els off Mount Pelion they had been surprised by a sea fight which had taxed all their *strength* and now the sea fight was scarcely over when they were exposed to floods of rain and the rush of swollen streams into the sea and violent thunderings

13 If howeve they who lay at Aphetae passed a comfort less night far worse were the sufferings of those who had been sent to make the circuit of Euboea in as much as the storm fell on them out at sea whereby the issue was indeed calamitous They were sailing along near the Hollows of Euboea when the wind began to rise and the rain to pour overpowered by the force of the gale and driven they knew not whither at the last they fell upon rocks Heaven so contriving in order that the Persian fleet might not greatly exceed the Greek but be brought nearly to its level This squadron therefore was entirely lost about the Hollows of Euboea

14 The barbarians at Aphetae were glad when day dawned and remained in quiet at their station content if they might en joy a little peace after so many sufferings Meanwhile there came to the aid of the Greeks a reinforcement of fifty three ships from Attica Their arrival and the news which reached Artemisium about the same time of the complete destruction by the storm of the ships sent to sail round Euboea greatly cheered the spirits of the Greek sailors So they waited again till the same hour as the day before and once more putting out to ea attacked the enemy This time they fell in with some Cilician vessels which they sank when night came on and they with drew to Artemisium

15 The third day was now come and the captains of the bar barians ashamed that so small a number of ships should harass heir fleet and afraid of the anger of Xerxes instead of waiting for the others to begin the battle wei hed anchor them else and advanced against the Greeks about the hour of noon with

It is mo e p b bl th t they had bee guardi g th s th m l f th straits of E b a d th t they br ght the ws f th st rms d stru tion of th P rsia s.

shouts encouraging one another Now it happened that these sea fights took place on the very same days with the combats at Thermopylae,[3] and as the aim of the struggle was in the one case to maintain the pass, so in the other it was to defend the Euripus While the Greeks, therefore, exhorted one another not to let the barbarians burst in upon Greece, these latter shouted to their fellows to destroy the Grecian fleet, and get possession of the channel

16 And now the fleet of Xerxes advanced in good order to the attack, while the Greeks on their side remained quite motionless at Artemisium The Persians therefore spread themselves, and came forward in a half moon, seeking to encircle the Greeks on all sides, and thereby prevent them from escaping When they saw this, the Greeks sailed out to meet their assailants, and the battle forthwith began In this engagement the two fleets contended with no clear advantage to either, for the armament of Xerxes injured itself by its own greatness, the vessels falling into disorder, and often running foul of one another, yet still they did not give way but made a stout fight, since the crews felt it would indeed be a disgrace to turn and fly from a fleet so inferior in number The Greeks therefore suffered much, both in ships and men but the barbarians experienced a far larger loss of each So the fleets separated after such a combat as I have described

17 On the side of Xerxes the Egyptians distinguished themselves above all the combatants for besides performing many other noble deeds they took five vessels from the Greeks with their crews on board On the side of the Greeks the Athenians bore off the meed of valour and among them the most distinguished was Clinias the son of Alcibiades who served at his own

[3] The relation of the battle of Thermopylae to Artemisium depends on this statement If it is true Leonidas was still trying to block the Persians at the pass on the final day at Thermopylae if Athenian sources concealed from Herodotus the fact that the Greek fleet withdrew one day earlier Leonidas was simply fighting a rear guard action to enable the allies to escape since the Persian fleet could easily land troops behind him

harge with 200 men on board a vessel which he had him elf furnished

18 The two fleets on separating hastened very gladly to their anchorage grounds The Greeks indeed when the battle was over became masters of the bodies of the slain and the wrecks of the vessels but they had been o roughly handled especially the Athenians one half of whose vessels had suffered damage that they determined to break up from their station and withdraw to the inner parts of their country

19 Then Themistocles who thou ht that if the Ionian and Carian ships could be detached from the barbarian fleet the Greeks might be well able to defeat the rest called the captains together They met upon the sea shore where the Euboeans were now assembling their flocks and herds and here Themis tocles told them he thought that he knew of a plan whereby he could detach from the king those who were of most worth amon his allies This was all that he disclosed to them of his plan at that time Meanwhile looking to the circumstances in which they were he advised them to slaughter as many of the Euboean cattle as they lil ed—for it v as b tter (he said) that their own troops should enjoy them than the enemy—and to give orders to their men to kindle the fires as usual With regard to the retreat he said that he would take upon himself to watch the proper mo ment and would manage matters so that they should return to Greece without loss These words pleased the captain so they had the fires lighted and began the slaughter of the cattle

20 The Euboeans until now had made light of the oracle of Bacis as though it had been void of all significancy and had neither removed their goods from the island nor yet taken them into their strong places as they would most certainly have done if they had believed that war was approaching By this neglect they had brought their affairs into the very greate t danger Now the oracle of which I speak ran as follows

When o er the main shall be thrown a byblus yoke by a stranger
Be thou ware and drive from Euboea the goats loud bleating

of accusation against the Ionians who would thereupon be dis trusted and would not be allowed to take part in the sea fights

3 Shortly after the cutting of the inscriptions a man of Histiaea went in a merchant ship to Aphetae and told the Per sians that the Greeks had fled from Artemisium Disbelieving his report the Persians kept the man a prisoner while they sent some of their fastest vessels to see what had happened These brought back word how matters stood whereupon at sunrise the whole fleet advanced together in a body and sailed to Artemis ium where they remained til' midday after which they went on to Histiaea The city fell into their hands immediately and they shortly overran the various villages upon the coast in the district of Hellopia which was part of the Histiaean territory

24 It was while they were at this station that a herald reached them from Xerxes whom he had sent after making the following dispositions with re pect to the bodies of those who fell at Thermopylae Of the 20 000 who had been slain on the Persian side he left 1 000 upon the field while he buried the rest in trenches and these he carefully filled up with earth and hid with foliage that the sailors might not see any signs of them The herald on reaching Histiaea caused the whole force to be llected together and poke thus to them Comrades King Xerxes gives permission to all who please to quit their post and ee how he fights with the senseless men who think to over throw his armies

5 No ooner had these words been uttered than it became difficult to get a boat so great was the number of tho e who de si ed to see the sight Such as went crossed the strait and passing among the heaps of dead in this way viewed the spectacle Many Helots were included in the slain but every one imagined that the bodies were all either Lacedaemonians or The pians However no one was deceived by what Xerxes had done with his own dead It was indeed most truly a laughable device—on the one side 1 000 men were seen lying about the field on the other 4 000 crowded together in one spot This day then was given up to sight seeing on the next the seamen embarked on board their

the alarm spread to the army which was seized with such a panic that the Phocians killed 4 000 of them and became mas ters of their dead bodies and shields Of the shields one half were sent as an offering to the temple at Abae the other half were deposited at Delphi while from the tenth part of the booty gained in the battle were made the gigantic figures which stand round the tripod in front of the Delphic shrine and likewise the figures of the same size and character at Abae

28 Besides this slau hter of the Thessalian foot when it was blockading them the Phocians had dealt a blow to their horse upon its invading their territory from which they had never recovered There is a pass near the city of Hyampolis where the Phocians having dug a broad trench filled up the void with empty wine jars after which they covered the place with mould so that the ground all looked alike and then awaited the coming of the Thessalians These thinking to destroy the Phocians at one sweep rushed rapidly forward and became entangled in the wine jars which broke the legs of their horses

29 The Thessalians had therefore a double cause of quarrel with the Phocians when they dispatched the herald above men tioned who thus delivered his message At length acknowledge men of Phocis that you may not think to match with us In times past when it pleased us to hold with the Greeks we had always the advantage over you and now our influence is such with the Barbarian that if we choose it you will lo e your country and (what is even worse) you will be sold as slaves However thou h we can now do with you exactly as we like we are willing to forget our wrongs Quit them with a payment of fifty talents of silver and we undertake to ward off the evils which threaten your country

30 Such was t e message which the Thessalians sent The Phocians were the only people in these parts who had not es pou ed the cau e of the Medes and it is my deliberate opinion that the motive which swayed them was none other—neither more nor les —than their hatred of the Thes alians for had the Thessalians declared in favour of the Greeks I bel eve that the men of Phocis would have joined the Median side As it wa

when the message arrived the Phocians made answer They would not pay anything—it was open to them equally with the Thessalians to make common cause with the Medes if they only chose so to do—but they would never of their own free will become traitors to Greece

31 On the return of this answer the Thessalians, full of wrath against the Phocians offered themselves as guides to the barbarian army and led them forth from Trachinia into Doris In this place there is a narrow tongue of Dorian territory about four miles across interposed between Malis and Phocis it is the tract in ancient times called Dryopis and the land of which it is a part, is the mother-country of the Dorians in the Peloponnese This territory the barbarians did not plunder for the inhabitants had espoused their side and besides the Thessalians wished that they should be spared

32 From Doris they marched forward into Phocis but here the inhabitants did not fall into their power for some of them had taken refuge in the high grounds of Parnassus—one summit of which called Tithorea, standing quite by itself, not far from the city of Neon is well fitted to give shelter to a large body of men and had now received a number of the Phocians with their movables while the greater portion had fled to the country of the Ozolian Locrians and placed their goods in the city called Amphissa which lies above the Crissaean plain The land of Phocis however, was entirely overrun, for the Thessalians led the Persian army through the whole of it and wherever they went the country was wasted with fire and sword, the cities and even the temples being wilfully set alight by the troops

33 The march of the army lay along the valley of the Cephissus, and here they ravaged far and wide burning the towns of Drymus, Charadra Erochus Tethronium, Amphicaea, Neon, Pedieis, Triteis, Elateia Hyampolis, Parapotamii, and Abae At the last named place there was a temple of Apollo, very rich, and adorned with a vast number of treasures and offerings There was likewise an oracle there in those days, as indeed there is at present This temple the Persians plundered and burnt

here they captured a number of the Phocians before they could reach the hills and caused the death of some of their women by mass rape

34 After passing Parapotamii *the barbarians marched to* Panopeis and now the army separated into two bodies whereof one which was the more numerous and the stronger of the two marched under Xerxes himself towards Athens entering Boeotia by the country of the Orchomenians The Boeotians had one and all embraced the cause of the Medes and their towns were in the possession of Macedonian garrisons whom Alexander had sen there to make it manifest to Xerxes that the Boeotians were on the Median side Such then was the road followed by one division of the barbarians

35 The other division took guides and proceeded towards the temple of Delphi keeping Mount Parnassus on their right hand They too laid waste such parts of Phocis as they passed through burning the city of the Panopeans together with those of the Daulians and of the Aeolidae This body had been detached *from the rest of the army and made to march in this* direction for the purpose of plundering the Delphian temple and conveying to King Xerxes the riches which were there laid up For Xerxes as I am informed was better acquainted with what there was worthy of note at Delphi than even with what he had left in his own house so many of those about him were continually describing the treasures—more especially the offerings made by Croesus the son of Alyattes

36 Now when the Delphians heard what danger they were in great fear fell on them In their terror they consulted the oracle concerning the holy treasures and inquired if they should bury them in the ground or carry them away to some other country The god in reply bade them leave the treasures untouched He was able he said without help to protect his own So the Delphians when they received this answer began to think about *saving themselves And first of all they sent their* women and children across the gulf into Achaea after which the greater number of them climbed up into the tops of Parnassus and placed their goods for safety in the Corycian cave while

some effected their escape to Amphissa in Locris. In this way all the Delphians quitted the city, except sixty men, and the prophet.

37. When the barbarian assailants drew near and were in sight of the place, the prophet, who was named Aceratus, beheld, in front of the temple, a portion of the sacred armour, which it was not lawful for any mortal hand to touch, lying upon the ground, removed from the inner shrine where it was wont to hang. Then went he and told the prodigy to the Delphians who had remained behind. Meanwhile the enemy pressed forward briskly, and had reached the shrine of Athena Pronaia, when they were overtaken by other prodigies still more wonderful than the first. Truly it was marvel enough, when warlike harness was seen lying outside the temple, removed there by no power but its own; what followed, however, exceeded in strangeness all prodigies that had ever been seen before. The barbarians had just reached in their advance the temple of Athena Pronaia, when a storm of thunder burst suddenly over their heads—at the same time two crags split off from Mount Parnassus, and rolled down upon them with a loud noise, crushing vast numbers beneath their weight—while from the temple of Athena there went up the war-cry and the shout of victory.

38. All these things together struck terror into the barbarians, who forthwith turned and fled. The Delphians, seeing this, came down from their hiding-places, and smote them with a great slaughter, from which such as escaped fled straight into Boeotia. These men, on their return, declared (as I am told) that besides the marvels mentioned above, they witnessed also other supernatural sights. Two armed warriors, they said, of a stature more than human, pursued after their flying ranks, pressing them close and slaying them.

39. These men, the Delphians[4] maintain, were two Heroes belonging to the place—by name Phylacus and Autonous—each of whom has a sacred precinct near the temple; one, that of Phylacus, hard by the road which runs above the temple of

The whole story is obviously a temple legend told priests

Pronaia the other that of Autonous near the Castalian pring at the foot of the peak called Hyampeia The blocks of stone which fell from Parnassus might still be seen in my day they lay in the precinc of Pronaia where they stopped after rolling through the host of the barbarians Thus was this body of men forced to retire from the temple

40 Meanwhile the Grecian fleet which had left Artemisium proceeded to Salamis at the request of the Athenians and there cast anchor The Athenians had begged them to take up this position in order that they might convey their women and children out of Attica and further might deliberate upon the course which it now behoved them to follow Disappointed in the hopes which they had previously entertained they were about to hold a council concerning the present posture of their affairs For they had looked to see the Peloponnesians drawn up in full force to resist the enemy in Boeotia but found nothin of what they had expected nay they learnt that the Gre ks of those parts only concerning themselves about their own safety were building a wall across the Isthmus and intended to guard the Peloponnese and let the rest of Greece take its chance These tidings caused them to make the request whereof I spoke that the combined fleet should anchor at Salamis

41 So while the rest of the fleet lay to off this island the Athenians cast anchor along their own coast Immediately upon their arrival proclamation was made that every Athenian should save his children and household as he best could whereupon some ent their families to Aegina some to Salamis but the greater number to Troezen This removal was made with all possible haste partly from a desire to obey the advice of the oracle but still more for another reason The Athenians say that they have in their acropolis a huge serpent which lives in the temp e and is the guardian of the whole place Nor do they only say this but as if the serpent really dwelt there every month they lay out its food which consists of a honey cake Up to this time the honey-cake had always been consumed but now it remained untouched So the priestess told the people what had happened whereupon they left Athens the more readily since

they believed that the goddess had already abandoned the citadel As soon as all was removed the Athenians sailed back to their station

42 And now the remainder of the Grecian sea force, hearing that the fleet which had been at Artemisium was come to Salamis, joined it at that island from Troezen—orders having been issued previously that the ships should muster at Pogon the port of the Troezenians The vessels collected were many more in number than those which had fought at Artemisium and were furnished by more cities The admiral was the same who had commanded before, Eurybiades the son of Eurycleides who was a Spartan, but not of the family of the kings the city, however which sent by far the greatest number of ships and the best sailers, was Athens

43 Now these were the nations who composed the Grecian fleet From the Peloponnese the following—the Lacedaemonians with sixteen ships the Corinthians with the same number as at Artemisium the Sicyonians with fifteen the Epidaurians with ten, the Troezenians with five and the Hermionians with three These were Dorians and Macedonians all of them (except those from Hermione) and had emigrated last from Erineus Pindus and Dryopis The Hermionians were Dryopes of the race which Heracles and the Malians drove out of the land now called Doris Such were the Peloponnesian nations

44 From the mainland of Greece beyond the Peloponnese, came the Athenians with 180 ships, a greater number than that furnished by any other people and these were now manned wholly by themselves for the Plataeans did not serve on board the Athenian ships at Salamis, owing to the following reason When the Greeks, on their withdrawal from Artemisium, arrived off Chalcis, the Plataeans disembarked upon the opposite shore of Boeotia, and set to work to remove their households, whereby it happened that they were left behind (The Athenians, when the region which is now called Greece was held by the Pelasgi, were Pelasgians, and bore the name of Cranaans, but under their king Cecrops, they were called Cecropidae, when Erechtheus got the sovereignty, they changed their name to Athe-

nians and when Ion the son of Xuthus became their general they were named after him Ionians)

45 The Megarians served with the same number of ships as at Artemisium the Ambraciots came with seven the Leucadians (who were Dorians from Corinth) with three

46 Of the islanders the Aeginetans furnished thirty ships they had a larger number equipped but some were kept back to guard their own coasts and only thirty which however were their best sailers took part in the fight at Salamis (The Aeginetans are Dorians from Epidaurus their island was called formerly Oenone) The Chalcideans came next in order they furnished the twenty ships with which they had served at Artemisium The Eretrians likewise furnished their seven These races are Ionian Ceos gave its old number the Ceans are Ionians from Attica Naxos furnished four thi detachment like *those from the other islands had been sent by the citizens at* home to join the Medes but they made light of the orders given them and joined the Greeks at the instigation of Democritus a citizen of good report who was at that time captain of a trireme The Naxians are Ionians of the Athenian stock The Styreans served with the same ships as before the Cythnians contributed one and likewise a fifty oared ship—these two nations are Dryopians the Seriphians Siphnians and Melians also served they were the only *islanders* who had not *given* earth and water to the Barbarian

47 All these nations dwelt inside the river Acheron and the country inhabited by the Thesprotians for that people borders on the Ambraciots and Leucadians who are the most remote of all those by whom the fleet was furnished From the countries beyond there was only one people which gave help to the Greeks in their danger This was the people of Croton who contributed a single ship under the command of Phayllus a man who had thrice carried off the prize at the Pythian games The Crotoniats are by descent Achaeans

48 Most of the allies came with triremes but the Melian Siphnians and Seriphians brought fifty oared ships The Melians who draw their race from Lacedaemon furnished two the

Siphnians and Seriphians who are Ionians of the Athenian stock, one each The whole number of the ships, without counting the fifty-oared ships, was 378 [1]

49 When the captains from these various nations were come together at Salamis, a council of war was summoned and Eurybiades proposed that any one who liked to advise should say which place seemed to him the fittest amongst those still in the possession of the Greeks, to be the scene of a naval combat Attica he said, was not to be thought of now but he desired their counsel as to the remainder The speakers mostly advised, that the fleet should sail away to the Isthmus and there give battle in defence of the Peloponnese and they urged as a reason for this, that if they were worsted in a sea fight at Salamis they would be shut up in an island where they could get no help but if they were beaten near the Isthmus they could escape to their homes

50 As the captains from the Peloponnese were thus advising, there came an Athenian to the camp who brought word that the barbarians had entered Attica and were ravaging and burning everything For the division of the army under Xerxes was just arrived at Athens from its march through Boeotia, where it had burnt Thespiae and Plataea—both which cities were forsaken by their inhabitants who had fled to the Peloponnese—and now it was laying waste all the possessions of the Athenians Thespiae and Plataea had been burnt by the Persians, because they knew from the Thebans that neither of those cities had espoused their side

51 Since the passage of the Hellespont and the commencement of the march upon Greece a space of four months had gone by, one while the army made the crossing, and delayed about the region of the Hellespont, and three while they proceeded thence to Attica, which they entered in the archonship of Calliades They found the city forsaken a few people only remained in the temple, either keepers of the treasures, or men of the poorer sort These persons having fortified the acropolis wi

[1] The number produced by adding the several contingents toget not 378, but 366

planks and boards held out against the enemy It was in some measure their poverty which had prevented them from seeking shelter in Salamis but there was likewise another reason which in part induced them to remain They imagined themselves to have discovered the true meaning of the oracle uttered by the priestess which promised The wooden wall should never be taken The wooden wall they thought did not mean the ships but the place where they had taken refuge

52 The Persians encamped upon the hill over against the citadel which is called Ares hill by the Athenians and began the siege of the place attacking the Greeks with arrows whereto pieces of lighted tow were attached which they shot at the barricade And now those who were within the citadel found themselves in a most woeful case for their wooden rampart betrayed them still however they continued to resist It was in vain that the Pisistratidae came to them and offered terms of surrender—they stoutly refused all parley and among their other modes of defence rolled down huge masses of stone upon the barbarians as they were mounting up to the gates so that Xerxes was for a long time very greatly perplexed and could not contrive any way to take them

53 At last however in the midst of these many difficulties the barbarians made discovery of an access For verily the oracle had spoken truth and it was fated that the whole mainland of Attica should fall beneath the sway of the Persians Right in front of the Acropolis but behind the gates and the common ascent—where no watch was kept and no one would have thought it possible that any foot of man could climb—a few soldiers mounted from the sanctuary of Aglaurus Cecrops daughter notwithstanding the steepness of the precipice As soon as the Athenians saw them upon the summit some threw themselves headlong from the wall and so perished while others fled for refuge to the inner part of the temple The Persians rushed to the gates and opened them after which they massacred the suppliants When all were slain they plundered the temple and fired every part of the Acropolis

54 Xerxes thus completely master of Athens dispatched a

horseman to Susa with a message to Artabanus, informing him of his success hitherto The day after he collected together all the Athenian exiles who had come into Greece in his train and bade them go up into the citadel and there offer sacrifice after their own fashion I know not whether he had had a dream which bade him give this order or whether he felt some remorse on account of having set the temple on fire However this may have been the exiles were not slow to obey the command given them

55 I will now explain why I have made mention of this circumstance there is a temple of Erechtheus the earth born as he is called in this citadel containing within it an olive tree and a salt water pool The tale goes among the Athenians, that they were placed there as witnesses by Poseidon and Athena, when they had their contention about the country Now this olive tree had been burnt with the rest of the temple when the barbarians took the place But when the Athenians whom the king had commanded to offer sacrifice, went up into the temple for the purpose, they found a fresh shoot, a foot and one half in length, thrown out from the old trunk Such at least was the account which these persons gave

56 Meanwhile at Salamis the Greeks no sooner heard what had befallen the Athenian citadel, than they fell into such alarm that some of the captains did not even wait for the council to come to a vote, but embarked hastily on board their vessels, and hoisted sail as though they would take to flight immediately The rest, who stayed at the council board, came to a vote that the fleet should give battle at the Isthmus Night now drew on, and the captains, dispersing from the meeting, proceeded on board their respective ships

57 Themistocles, as he entered his own vessel, was met by Mnesiphilus, an Athenian, who asked him what the council had resolved to do On learning that the resolve was to stand away for the Isthmus, and there give battle on behalf of the Peloponnese, Mnesiphilus exclaimed, "If these men shall sail away from Salamis, you will have no fight at all for the one fatherland, for they will all scatter themselves to their own homes, and nei

Eurybiades nor any one else will be able to hinder them or to stop the breaking up of the armament Thus will Greece be brought to ruin through evil counsels But hurry now and if there be any possible way seek to unsettle these resolves—perhaps you might persuade Eurybiades to change his mind and continue here

58 The suggestion greatly pleased Themistocles and without answering a word *he went straight to the vessel of Eurybiades* Arrived there he let him know that he wanted to speak with him on a matter touching the public service So Eurybiades bade him come on board and say whatever he wished Then Themistocles seating himself at his side went over all the arguments which he had heard from Mnesiphilus pretending as if they were his own and added to them many new ones besides until at last he persuaded Eurybiades by his importunity to quit his ship and again collect the captains to council

59 As soon as they were come and before Eurybiades had opened to them his purpose in assembling them together Themistocles as men do when they are very anxious spoke much to them whereupon the Corinthian captain Adeimantus the son of Ocytus observed Themistocles at the games they who start too soon are scourged True rejoined the other in his excuse but they who wait too late are not crowned

60 Thus he gave the Corinthian at this time a mild answer and towards Eurybiades himself he did not now use any of those arguments which he had urged before or say aught of the allies betaking themselves to flight if once they broke up from Salamis it would have been ungraceful for him when the confederates were present to make accusation against any but he had recourse to quite a new sort of reasoning and addressed him as follows

With you it rests Eurybiades to save Greece if you will only listen to me and give the enemy battle here rather than yield to the advice of those among us who would have the fleet withdrawn to the Isthmus Hear now I beseech you and judge between the two courses At the Isthmus you will fight in an open sea which is greatly to our disadvantage since our ships

are heavier and fewer in number than the enemy's, and further, you will in any case lose Salamis, Megara and Aegina, even if all the rest goes well with us. The land and sea force of the Persians will advance together, and your retreat will but draw them towards the Peloponnese, and so bring all Greece into peril. If, on the other hand, you do as I advise, these are the advantages which you will secure: in the first place, as we shall fight in a narrow sea with few ships against many, if the war follows the common course we shall gain a great victory; for to fight in a narrow space is favourable to us—in an open sea, to them. Again, Salamis will in this case be preserved, where we have placed our wives and children. Nay, that very point by which you set most store is secured as much by this course as by the other, for whether we fight here or at the Isthmus, we shall equally give battle in defence of the Peloponnese. Assuredly you will not do wisely to draw the Persians upon that region. For if things turn out as I anticipate and we beat them by sea, then we shall have kept your Isthmus free from the barbarians, and they will have advanced no further than Attica, but from thence have fled back in disorder; and we shall, moreover, have saved Megara, Aegina, and Salamis itself, where an oracle has said that we are to overcome our enemies. When men counsel reasonably, reasonable success ensues; but when in their counsels they reject reason, God does not choose to follow the wanderings of human fancies."

61. When Themistocles had thus spoken, Adeimantus the Corinthian again attacked him, and bade him be silent, since he was a man without a city; at the same time, he called on Eurybiades not to put the question at the instance of one who had no country, and urged that Themistocles should show of what state he was envoy, before he gave his voice with the rest. This reproach he made, because the city of Athens had been taken, and was in the hands of the barbarians. Hereupon Themistocles spake many bitter things against Adeimantus and the Corinthians generally, and for proof that he had a country, reminded the captains, that with 200 ships at his command, all fully manned for battle, he had both city and territory as good

theirs since there was no Grecian state which could resist his men if they were to make a descent

62 After this declaration he turned to Eurybiades and addressing him with greater warmth and earnestness If you stay here he said and behave like a brave man all will be well—if not you will bring Greece to ruin For the whole fortune of the war depend on our ships Be persuaded by my words If not we will take our families on board and go just as we are to Siris in Italy which is ours from of old and which the prophecies declare we are to colonise some day or other You then when you have lost allies like us will hereafter call to mind what I have now aid

63 At these words of Themistocles Eurybiades changed his determination principally as I believe because he feared that if he withdrew the fleet to the Isthmus the Athenians would sail away and knew that without the Athenians the rest of their ships could be no match for the fleet of the enemy He therefore decided to remain and give battle at Salamis

64 And now the different chiefs notwithstanding their skirmish of words on learning the decision of Eurybiades at once made ready for the fight Morning broke and just as the sun rose the shock of an earthquake was felt both on shore and at sea whereupon the Greeks resolved to approach the gods with prayer and likewise to send and invite the Aeacids to their aid And this they did with as much speed as they had resolved on it Prayers were offered to all the gods and Telamon and Ajax were invoked at once from Salamis while a ship was sent to Aegina to fetch Aeacus himself and the other Aeacids

65 *The following is a tale which was told by Dicaeus the son* of Theocydes an Athenian who was at this time an exile and had gained a good report among the Medes He declared that fter the army of Xerxes had in the absence of the Athenians wasted Attica he chanced to be with Demaratus the Lacedaemonian in the Thriasian plain and that while there he saw a cloud of dust advancing from Eleusis such as a host of 30 000 men might raise As he and his companion were wondering who the men from whom the dust came could possibly be a sound

of voices reached his ear, and he thought that he recognised the mystic hymn to Iacchus. Now Demaratus was unacquainted with the rites of Eleusis, and so he inquired of Dicaeus what the voices were saying. Dicaeus answered, "Demaratus, beyond a doubt some mighty calamity is about to befall the king's army! For it is manifest, inasmuch as Attica is deserted by its inhabitants, that the sound which we have heard is an unearthly one, and is now upon its way from Eleusis to aid the Athenians and their confederates. If it descends upon the Peloponnese, danger will threaten the king himself and his land army; if it moves towards the ships at Salamis, it will go hard but the king's fleet there suffers destruction. Every year the Athenians celebrate this feast to the Mother and the Maiden, and all who wish, whether they be Athenians or any other Greeks, are initiated. The sound you hear is the Iacchus-song which is wont to be sung at the festival." "Hush now," rejoined the other, "and tell no man of this matter. For if your words be brought to the king's ear, you will assuredly lose your head because of them, neither I nor any man living can then save you. Hold your peace therefore. The gods will see to the king's army." Thus Demaratus counselled him, and they looked and saw the dust, from which the sound arose, become a cloud, and the cloud rise up into the air and sail away to Salamis, making for the station of the Grecian fleet. Then they knew that it was the fleet of Xerxes which would suffer destruction. Such was the tale told by Dicaeus the son of Theocydes, and he appealed for its truth to Demaratus and other eye-witnesses.

66. The men belonging to the fleet of Xerxes, after they had seen the Spartan dead at Thermopylae, and crossed the channel from Trachis to Histiaea, waited there for three days, and then sailing down through the Euripus, in three more came to Phalerum. In my judgment, the Persian forces both by land and sea when they invaded Attica, were not less numerous than they had been on their arrival at Sepias and Thermopylae. For against the Persian loss in the storm and at Thermopylae, and again in the sea-fights off Artemisium, I set the various nations which since joined the king—as the Malians, the Dorians, the

crians and the Boeotians—each serving in full force in his army except the last who did not number in their ranks either the Thespians or the Plataeans and together with these the Carystians the Andrians the Tenians and the other people of the islands who all fought on this side except the five states already mentioned For as the Persians penetrated further into Greece they were joined continually by fresh nations

67 Reinforced by the contingents of all these various states except Paros the barbarians reached Athens As for the Parians they tarried at Cythnus waiting to see how the war would go The rest of the sea forces came safe to Phalerum where they were visited by Xerxes who had conceived a desire to go aboard and learn the wishes of the fleet So he came and sat in a seat of honour and the sovereigns of the nations and the captains of the ships were sent for to appear before him and as they arrived took their seats according to the rank assigned them by the king In the first seat sat the king of Sidon after him the king of Tyre then the rest in their order When the whole had taken their places one after another and were set down in orderly array Xerxes to try them sent Mardonius and questioned each whether a sea fight should be risked or no

68 Mardonius accordingly went round the entire assemblage beginning with the Sidonian monarch and asked this question to which all gave the same answer advising to engage the Greeks except only Artemisia who spoke as follows

Say to the king Mardonius that these are my words to him I was not the least brave of those who fought at Euboea nor were my achievements there among the meanest it is my right therefore O my lord to tell you plainly what I think to be most for your advantage now This then is my advice Spare your ships and do not risk a battle for these people are as much superior to your people in seamanship as men to women What so great need is there for you to incur hazard at sea? Are you not master of Athens for which you undertook the expedition? Is not Greece subject to you? Not a soul now resists your advance They who once resisted were handled even as they deserved Now learn how I expect that affairs will go with your

adversaries. If you are not over hasty to engage with them by sea, but keep your fleet near the land, then whether you abide as you are or march forward towards the Peloponnese, you will easily accomplish all for which you came hither. The Greeks cannot hold out against you very long; you will soon part them asunder and scatter them to their several homes. In the island where they lie, I hear they have no food in store; nor is it likely, if your land force begins its march towards the Peloponnese, that they will remain quietly where they are—at least such as come from that region. Of a surety they will not greatly trouble themselves to give battle on behalf of the Athenians. On the other hand, if you are hasty to fight, I tremble lest the defeat of your sea force bring harm likewise to your land army. This, too, you should remember, O King; good masters are apt to have bad servants, and bad masters good ones. Now, as you are the best of men, your servants must needs be a sorry set. These Egyptians, Cyprians, Cilicians, and Pamphylians, who are counted in the number of subject allies, of how little service are they to you!"

69. As Artemisia spoke, they who wished her well were greatly troubled concerning her words, thinking that she would suffer some hurt at the king's hands, because she exhorted him not to risk a battle; they, on the other hand, who disliked and envied her, favoured as she was by the king above all the rest of the allies, rejoiced at her declaration, expecting that her life would be the forfeit. But Xerxes, when the words of the several speakers were reported to him, was pleased beyond all others with the reply of Artemisia; and whereas, even before this, he had always esteemed her much, he now praised her more than ever. Nevertheless, he gave orders that the advice of the greater number should be followed; for he thought that at Euboea the fleet had not done its best, because he himself was not there to see—whereas this time he resolved that he would be an eye-witness of the combat.

70. Orders were now given to stand out to sea, and the ships proceeded towards Salamis, and took up the stations to which they were directed, without let or hindrance from the enemy.

The day however was too far spent for them to begin the battle since night already approached so they prepared to engage upon the morrow The Greeks meanwhile were in great distress and alarm more especially those of the Peloponnese who were troubled that they had been kept at Salamis to fight on behalf of the Athenian territory and feared that if they should suffer defeat they would be pent up and besieged in an island while their own country was left unprotected

1 The ame night the land army of the barbarians began its march towards the Peloponnese where however all that was possible had been done to prevent the enemy from forcing an entry by land As soon as ever news reached the Peloponnese *of the death of Leonidas and his companions at Thermopylae* the inhabitants flocked together from the various cities and encamped at the Isthmus under the command of Cleombrotus son of Anaxandridas and brother of Leonidas Here their first care was to block up the Scironian way after which it was de termined in council to build a wall across the Isthmus As the number assembled amounted to many tens of thousands and there was not one who did not give himself to the work it wa soon finished Stones bricks timber baskets filled full of sand were used in the building and not a moment was lost by those who gave their aid for they laboured without ceasing either by night or day

72 Now the nations who gave their aid and who had flocked in full force to the Isthmus were the followin the Lacedaemonians all the tribes of the Arcadians the Eleans the Corinthians the Sicyonians the Epidaurians the Phliasians the Troezenians and the Hermionians These all gave their aid being greatly alarmed at the danger which threatened Greece But the other inhabitants of the Peloponnese took no part in the matter though the Olympic and Carneian festivals were now over

73 Seven nations inhabit the Peloponnese Two of them are aboriginal and still continue in the regions where they dwelt at the first the Arcadians and the Cynurians A third that of the Achaeans has never left the Peloponnese but has been dis-

the Thespians were admitting persons to citizenship Themis tocles made him a Thespian and a rich man to boot The ship brought Sicinnus to the Persian fleet and there he delivered his mes age to the leaders in these words

The Athenian commander has sent me to you without the knowledge of the other Greeks He is a well wisher to the king s cause and would rather success should attend on you than on his countrymen wherefore he bids me tell you that fear has seized the Greek s and they are meditating a hasty flight Now then it is open to you to achieve the best feat you ever accomplished if only you hinder their escaping They no lon er agree among themselves so that they will not now make any resistance—in deed you may see a fight already begun between such as favour and such as oppose your cause The messenger when he had thus expressed himself departed and was seen no more

76 Then the captains believing all that the messenger had said proceeded to land a large body of Persian troops on the islet of Psyttaleia which lies between Salamis and the main land after which about the hour of midnight they advanced their western wing towards Salamis so as to inclose the Greeks *At the same time the force stationed about Ceos and Cynosura* moved forward and filled the whole strait as far as Munychia with their ships This advance was made to prevent the Greeks from escaping by flight and to block them up in Salamis where it was thought that vengeance might be taken upon them for the battles fought near Artemisium The Persian troops were landed on the islet of Psyttaleia because as soon as the battle began the men and wrecks were likely to be drifted thither as the isle lay in the very path of the coming fight and they would thus be able to save their own men and destroy those of the enemy All these movements were made in silence that the Greeks might have no knowledge of them and they occupied the whole night so that the men had no time to get their sleep

77 I cannot say that there is no truth in prophecies or feel inclined to call in question those which speak with clearness, when I think of the following

When they shall bridge with their ships to the sacred strand of Artemis
Girt with the golden falchion, and eke to marine Cynosura,
Mad hope swelling their hearts at the downfall of beautiful Athens—
Then shall godlike Right extinguish haughty Presumption,
Insult's furious offspring, who thinketh to overthrow all things.
Brass with brass shall mingle, and Ares with blood shall empurple
Ocean's waves. Then—then shall the day of Greece's freedom
Come from Victory fair, and Cronus' son all-seeing.

When I look to this, and perceive how clearly Bacis spoke, I neither venture myself to say anything against prophecies, nor do I approve of others impugning them.

78. Meanwhile, among the captains at Salamis, the strife of words grew fierce. As yet they did not know that they were encompassed, but imagined that the barbarians remained in the same places where they had seen them the day before.

79. In the midst of their contention, Aristides, the son of Lysimachus, who had crossed from Aegina, arrived in Salamis. He was an Athenian, and had been ostracised by the commonalty;¹ yet I believe, from what I have heard concerning his character, that there was not in all Athens a man so worthy or so just as he. He now came to the council, and standing outside, called for Themistocles. Now Themistocles was not his friend, but his most determined enemy. However, under the pressure of the great dangers impending, Aristides forgot their feud, and called Themistocles out of the council, since he wished to confer with him. He had heard before his arrival of the impatience of the Peloponnesians to withdraw the fleet to the Isthmus. As soon therefore as Themistocles came forth, Aristides addressed him in these words, "Our rivalry at all times, and especially at

¹ Aristides had been ostracised through the influence of Themistocles, three years earlier, 483 B.C. When Xerxes was in Thessaly, all exiles whose banishment was only for a term of years, were recalled, Themistocles himself moving the decree for the purpose.

the present season ought to be a struggle which of us shall most advantage our country Let me then say to you that so far as regards the departure of the Peloponnesians from this place much talk and little will be found precisely alike I have seen with my own eyes that which I now report that however much the Corinthians or Eurybiades himself may wish it they cannot now retreat for we are inclosed on every side by the enemy Go in to them and make this known

80 Your advice is excellent answered the other and your tidings are also good That which I earnestly desired to happen your eyes have beheld accomplished Know that what the Medes have now done was at my instance for it was necessary as our men would not fight here at their own free will to make them fight whether they would or no But come now as you have brought the good news go in and tell it For if I speak to them they will think it a feigned tale and will not believe that the barbarians have inclosed us around Therefore you go to them and inform them how matters stand If they believe you it will be for the best but if otherwise it will not harm For it is impossible that they should now flee away if we are indeed shut in on all sides as you say

81 Then Aristides entered the assembly and spoke to the captains he had come he told them from Aegina and had but barely escaped the blockading vessels—the Greek fleet was entirely inclosed by the ships of Xerxes—and he advised them to get themselves in readiness to resist the foe Having said so much he withdrew And now another contest arose for the greater part of the captains would not believe the tidings

8 But while they still doubted a Tenian trireme commanded by Panaetius the son of Sosimenes deserted from the Persians and joined the Greeks bringing full intelligence For this reason the Tenians were inscribed upon the tripod at Delphi among those who overthrew the barbarians With this ship which deserted to their side at Salamis and the Lemnian vessel which came over before at Artemisium the Greek fleet was brought to the full number of 380 ships otherwise it fell short by two of that amount.

83. The Greeks now, not doubting what the Tenians told them, made ready for the coming fight. At the dawn of day, all the men at arms were assembled together, and speeches were made to them, of which the best was that of Themistocles, who throughout contrasted what was noble with what was base, and bade them, in all that came within the range of man's nature and constitution, always to make choice of the nobler part. Having thus wound up his discourse, he told them to go at once on board their ships, which they accordingly did; and about this time the trireme, that had been sent to Aegina for the Aeacidae, returned, whereupon the Greeks put to sea with all their fleet.

84. The fleet had scarce left the land when they were attacked by the barbarians. At once most of the Greeks began to back water, and were about touching the shore, when Ameinias of Pallene, one of the Athenian captains, darted forth in front of the line, and charged a ship of the enemy. The two vessels became entangled, and could not separate, whereupon the rest of the fleet came up to help Ameinias, and engaged with the Persians. Such is the account which the Athenians give of the way in which the battle began; but the Aeginetans maintain that the vessel which had been to Aegina for the Aeacidae, was the one that brought on the fight. It is also reported, that a phantom in the form of a woman appeared to the Greeks, and, in a voice that was heard from end to end of the fleet, cheered them on to the fight; first, however, rebuking them, and saying, "Strange men, how long are you going to back water?"

85. Against the Athenians, who held the western extremity of the line towards Eleusis, were placed the Phoenicians; against the Lacedaemonians, whose station was eastward towards the Piraeus, the Ionians. Of these last a few only followed the advice of Themistocles, to fight backwardly; the greater number did far otherwise. I could mention here the names of many captains who took vessels from the Greeks, but I shall pass over all excepting Theomestor the son of Androdamus, and Phylacus the son of Histiaeus, both Samians. I show this preference to them, inasmuch as for this service Theomestor was made tyrant of Samos by the Persians, while Phylacus was enrolled among

king s benefactors and presented with a large estate in land In the Persian tongue the king s benefactors are called Orosangs

86 Far the greater number of the Persian ships engaged in this battle were disabled—either by the Athenians or by the Aeginetans For as the Greeks fought in order and kept their line while the barbarians were in confusion and had no plan in anything that they did the issue of the battle could scarce be other than it was Yet the Persians fought far more bravely here than at Euboea and indeed surpassed themselves each did his utmost through fear of Xerxes for each thought that the king s eye was upon himself

87 What part the several nations whether Greek or barbarian took in the combat I am not able to say for certain Artemisia however I know distinguished herself in such a way as raised her even higher than she stood before in the esteem of the king For after confusion had spread throughout the whole of the king s fleet and her ship was closely pursued by an Athenian trireme she having no way to fly since in front of her were a number of friendly vessels and she was nearest of all the Persians to the enemy resolved on a measure which in fact proved her safety Pressed by the Athenian pursuer she bore straight against one of the ships of her own party a Calyndian which had Damasithymus the Calyndian king himself on board I cannot say whether she had had any quarrel with the man while the fleet was at the Hellespont or no—neither can I decide whether she of set purpose attacked his vessel or whether it merely chanced that the Calyndian ship came in her way—but certain it is that she bore down upon his vessel and sank it and that thereby she had the good fortune to procure herself a double advantage For the commander of the Athenian trireme when he saw her bear down on one of the enemy s fleet thought immediately that her vessel was a Greek or else had deserted from the Persians and was now fighting on the Greek side he therefore gave up the chase and turned away to attack other

88 Thus in the first place she saved her life by the action and was enabled to get clear off from the battle while further it fell out that in the very act of doing the king an injury she

raised herself to a greater height than ever in his esteem For as Xerxes beheld the fight, he remarked (it is said) the destruction of the vessel, whereupon the bystanders observed to him, "Do you see master, how well Artemisia fights, and how she has just sunk a ship of the enemy?" Then Xerxes asked if it were really Artemisia's doing and they answered, "Certainly, for they knew her ensign while all made sure that the sunken vessel belonged to the opposite side Every thing, it is said, conspired to prosper the queen—it was especially fortunate for her, that *not one of those on board the Calyndian ship survived to be* come her accuser Xerxes they say, in reply to the remarks made to him, observed, My men have behaved like women, and my women like men!'

89 There fell in this combat Ariabignes, one of the chief commanders of the fleet, who was son of Darius and brother of Xerxes, and with him perished a vast number of men of high repute, Persians, Medes, and allies Of the Greeks there died only a few for as they were able to swim, all those that were not slain outright by the enemy escaped from the sinking vessels and swam across to Salamis But on the side of the barbarians more perished by drowning than in any other way, since they did not know how to swim The great destruction took place when the ships which had been first engaged began to fly, for they who were stationed in the rear, anxious to display their valour before the eyes of the king, made every effort to force their way to the front, and thus became entangled with such of *their own vessels as were retreating*

90 In this confusion the following event occurred certain Phoenicians belonging to the ships which had thus perished made their appearance before the king, and laid the blame of their loss on the Ionians, declaring that they were traitors, and had wilfully destroyed the vessels But the upshot of this com plaint was, that the Ionian captains escaped the death whi threatened them, while their Phoenician accusers received de as their reward For it happened that, exactly as they spo Samothracian vessel bore down on an Athenian and sank was attacked and crippled immediately by one of the Ae

squadron Now the Samothracians were expert with the javelin and aimed their weapons so well that they cleared the deck of the vessel which had disabled their own after which they sprang on board and took it This saved the Ionians Xerxes when he saw the exploit turned fiercely on the Phoenicians (he was ready in his extreme vexation to find fault with any one) and ordered their heads to be cut off to prevent them he said from casting the blame of their own misconduct upon braver men During the whole time of the battle Xerxes sat at the base of the hill called Aegaleos over against Salamis and whenever he saw any of his own captains perform any worthy exploit he inquired concerning him and the man s name was taken down by his scribes together with the names of his father and his city Ariaramnes too a Persian who was a friend of the Ionians and present at the time whereof I speak had a share in bringing about the punishment of the Phoenicians

91 When the rout of the barbarians began and they sought to make their escape to Phalerum the Aeginetans awaiting them in the channel performed exploits worthy to be recorded Through the whole of the confused struggle the Athenians employed themselves in destroying such ships as either made resistance or fled to shore while the Aeginetans dealt with those which endeavoured to escape down the straits so that the Persian vessels were no sooner clear of the Athenians than straightway they fell into the hands of the Aeginetan squadron

92 It chanced here that there was a meeting between the ship of Themistocles which was hastening in pursuit of the enemy and that of Polycritus son of Crius the Aeginetan which had just charged a Sidonian trireme The Sidonian vessel was the same that captured the Aeginetan guard ship off Sciathus which had Pytheas the son of Ischenous on board—that Pytheas I mean who fell covered with wounds and whom the Sidonians kept on board their ship from admiration of his gallantry This man afterwards returned in safety to Aegina for when the Sidonian vessel with its Persian crew fell into the hands of the Greeks he was still found on board Polycritus no sooner saw the Athenian trireme than knowing at once whose vessel it was,

as he observed that it bore the ensign of the admiral, he shouted to Themistocles jeeringly, and asked him in a tone of reproach, if the Aeginetans did not show themselves rare friends to the Mede.[a] At the same time, while he thus reproached Themistocles, Polycritus bore straight down on the Sidonian. Such of the barbarian vessels as escaped from the battle fled to Phalerum, and there sheltered themselves under the protection of the land army.

93. The Greeks who gained the greatest glory of all in the sea fight of Salamis were the Aeginetans, and after them the Athenians. The individuals of most distinction were Polycritus the Aeginetan, and two Athenians, Eumenes of Anagyrus, and Ameinias of Pallene; the latter of whom had pressed Artemisia so hard. And assuredly, if he had known that the vessel carried Artemisia on board, he would never have given over the chase till he had either succeeded in taking her, or else been taken himself. For the Athenian captains had received special orders touching the queen, and moreover a reward of 10,000 drachmas had been proclaimed for any one who should make her prisoner; since there was great indignation felt that a woman should appear in arms against Athens. However, as I said before, she escaped; and so did some others whose ships survived the engagement; and these were all now assembled at the port of Phalerum.

94. The Athenians say that Adeimantus, the Corinthian commander, at the moment when the two fleets joined battle, was seized with fear, and being beyond measure alarmed, spread his sails, and hasted to fly away; on which the other Corinthians, seeing their leader's ship in full flight, sailed off likewise. They had reached in their flight that part of the coast of Salamis where stands the temple of Athena Sciras, when they met a light bark, a very strange apparition: it was never discovered that any one had sent it to them, and till it appeared they were altogether ignorant how the battle was going. That there was something beyond nature in the matter they judged from this, that

[a] Polycritus undoubtedly spoke with special reference to the charge Medism brought against his father (vi. 50).

when the men in the bark drew near to their ships they addressed them saying Adeimantus while you play the traitor's part by withdrawing all these ships and flying away from the fight the Greeks whom you deserted are defeating their foes as completely as they ever wished in their prayers Adeimantus however would not believe what the men said whereupon they told him He might take them with him as hostages and put them to death if he did not find the Greeks winning Then Adeimantus put about both he and those who were with him and they rejoined the fleet when the victory was already gained Such is the tale which the Athenians tell concerning them of Corinth these latter however do not allow its truth[9] On the contrary they declare that they were among those who distinguished themselves most in the fight And the rest of Greece bears witness in their favour

95 In the midst of the confusion Aristides the son of Lysimachus the Athenian of whom I lately spoke as a man of the greatest excellence performed the following service He took a number of the Athenian heavy armed troops who had previously been stationed along the shore of Salamis and landing with them on the islet of Psyttaleia slew all the Persians by whom it was occupied

96 As soon as the sea fight was ended[10] the Greeks drew together to Salamis all the wrecks that were to be found in that quarter and prepared themselves for another engagement supposing that the king would renew the fight with the vessels which still remained to him Many of the wrecks had been carried away by a westerly wind to the coast of Attica where they were thrown upon the strip of shore called Colias Thus not only were the prophecies of Bacis and Musaeus concerning this battle fulfilled completely but likewise by the place to

[9] Th e ca be d pt th t th t l wa alt g th r f l f th e tal m h h d feel g t ly t d m c cul t aga st th e m s

[10] Th d c pt f th b ttl f S l m l A chyl s (P 359-438) th acc t f y w t ss d c mb ts t m t l) s h kd primary pl e am g th ec d f th t m

which the wrecks were drifted, the prediction of Lysistratus, an Athenian soothsayer, uttered many years before these events, and quite forgotten at the time by all the Greeks, was fully accomplished The words were

Then shall the sight of the oars fill Colian dames with amazement

Now this must have happened as soon as the king was departed

97 Xerxes, when he saw the extent of his loss, began to be afraid lest the Greeks might be counselled by the Ionians, or without their advice might determine, to sail straight to the Hellespont and break down the bridges there in which case he would be blocked up in Europe, and run great risk of perishing He therefore made up his mind to fly, but as he wished to hide his purpose alike from the Greeks and from his own people, he set to work to carry a mound across the channel to Salamis,[11] and at the same time began fastening a number of Phoenician merchant ships together, to serve at once for a bridge and a wall He likewise made many warlike preparations, as if he were about to engage the Greeks once more at sea Now, when these things were seen, all grew fully persuaded that the king was bent on remaining, and intended to push the war in good earnest Mardonius, however, was in no respect deceived, for long acquaintance enabled him to read all the king's thoughts Meanwhile, Xerxes, though engaged in this way, sent off a messenger to carry intelligence of his misfortune to Persia

98 Nothing mortal travels so fast as these Persian messengers The entire plan is a Persian invention, and this is the method of it Along the whole line of road there are men (they say) stationed with horses, in number equal to the number of days which the journey takes, allowing a man and horse to each day, and these men will not be hindered from accomplishing at their best speed the distance which they have to go, either b snow, or rain, or heat, or by the darkness of night The fi rider delivers his despatch to the second, and the second p

[11] Other authors place this project be ore and not after the bat

it to the third and so it is borne from hand to hand along the whole line like the light in the torch race which the Greeks celebrate to Hephaestus The Persians give the riding post in this manner the name of angareion

99 At Susa on the arrival of the first message which said that Xerxes was master of Athens such was the delight of the Persians who had remained behind that they forthwith strewed all the streets with myrtle boughs and burnt incense and fell to feasting and merriment In like manner when the second message reached them so sore was their dismay that they all with one accord rent their garments and cried aloud and wept and wailed without stint They laid the blame of the disaster on Mardonius and their grief on the occasion was less on account of the damage done to their ships than owing to the alarm which they felt about the safety of the king Hence their trouble did not cease till Xerxes himself by his arrival put an end to their fears

100 And now Mardonius perceiving that Xerxes took the defeat of his fleet greatly to heart and suspecting that he had made up his mind to leave Athens and fly away began to think of the likelihood of his being visited with punishment for having persuaded the king to undertake the war He therefore considered that it would be the best thing for him to adventure further and either become the conqueror of Greece—which was the result he rather expected—or else die gloriously after aspiring to a noble achievement So with these thoughts in his mind he said one day to the king

Do not grieve master or take so greatly to heart your late loss Our hopes hang not altogether on the fate of a few planks but on our brave steeds and horsemen These fellows whom you imagine to have quite conquered us will not venture—no not one of them—to come ashore and contend with our land army—nor will the Greeks who are upon the mainland fight our troops such as did so have received their punishment If you please we may at once attack the Peloponnese if you would rather wait awhile that too is in our power Only be not disheartened For it is not possible that the Greeks can avoid being brought

to account, alike for this and for their former injuries, nor can they any how escape being your slaves. You should therefore do as I have said. If, however, your mind is made up, and you are resolved to retreat and lead away your army, listen to the counsel which, in that case, I have to offer. Make not the Persians, O King, a laughing-stock to the Greeks. If your affairs have succeeded ill, it has not been by their fault; you cannot say that your Persians have ever shown themselves cowards. What matters it if Phoenicians and Egyptians, Cyprians and Cilicians have misbehaved? Their misconduct touches not us. Since then your Persians are without fault, be advised by me. Depart home, if you wish, and take with you the bulk of your army; but first let me choose out 300,000 troops, and let it be my task to bring Greece beneath your sway."

101. Xerxes, when he heard these words, felt a sense of joy and delight, like a man who is relieved from care. Answering Mardonius, therefore, that he would consider his counsel, and let him know which course he might prefer, Xerxes proceeded to consult with the chief men among the Persians; and because Artemisia on the former occasion had shown herself the only person who knew what was best to be done, he was pleased to summon her to advise him now. As soon as she arrived, he put forth all the rest, both councillors and body-guards, and said to her, "Mardonius wishes me to stay and attack the Peloponnese. My Persians, he says, and my other land forces, are not to blame for the disasters which have befallen our arms; and of this he declares they would very gladly give me the proof. He therefore exhorts me, either to stay and act as I have said, or to let him choose out 300,000 of my troops—wherewith he undertakes to reduce Greece beneath my sway—while I myself retire with the rest of my forces, and withdraw into my own country. You, therefore, as you counselled me so wisely to decline the sea-fight, now also advise me in this matter, and say, which course I ought to take for my own good."

102. Thus did the king ask Artemisia's counsel, and the following are the words wherewith she answered him. "It is a hard thing, O King, to give the best possible advice to one who asks

our counsel Nevertheless as your affairs now stand it seems to me that you will do right to return home As for Mardonius if he prefers to remain and undertakes to do as he has said leave him behind by all means with the troops which he desires If his design succeeds and he subdues the Greeks as he promises yours is the conquest master for your slaves will have accomplished it If on the other hand affairs run counter to his wishes we can suffer no great loss so long as you are safe and your house is in no danger The Greeks too while you live and your house flourishes must be prepared to fight full many a battle for their freedom whereas if Mardonius fall it matters nothing—they will have gained but a poor triumph—a victory over one of your slaves! Remember also you go home having gained the purpose of your expedition for you have burnt Athens!

103 The advice of Artemisia pleased Xerxes well for she had exactly uttered his own thoughts I for my part do not believe that he would have remained had all his counsellors both men and women united to urge his stay so great was the alarm that he felt As it was he gave praise to Artemisia and entrusted certain of his children to her care ordering her to convey them to Ephesus for he had been accompanied on the expedition by some of his bastard sons

104 He likewise sent away at this time one of the principal of his eunuchs a man named Hermotimus a Pedasian who was bidden to take charge of these sons Now the Pedasians inhabit the region above Halicarnassus and it is related of them that in their country the following circumstance happens When a mischance is about to befall any of their neighbours within a certain time the priestess of Athena in their city grows a long beard This has already taken place on two occasions

105 The Hermotimus of whom I spoke above was as I said a Pedasian and he of all men whom we know took the most cruel vengeance on the person who had done him an injury He had been made a prisoner of war and when his captors sold him he was bought by a certain Panionius a native of Chios who made his living by a most nefarious traffic. Whenever he could

get any boys of unusual beauty he castrated them, and carrying them to Sardis or Ephesus, sold them for large sums of money For the barbarians value eunuchs more than others, since they regard them as more trustworthy Many were the slaves that Panionius who made his living by the practice, had thus treated, and among them was this Hermotimus of whom I have here made mention However he was not without his share of good fortune for after a while he was sent from Sardis together with other gifts as a present to the king Nor was it long before he came to be esteemed by Xerxes more highly than all his eunuchs

106 When the king was on his way to Athens with the Persian army and abode for a time at Sardis Hermotimus happened to make a journey upon business into Mysia and there, in a district which is called Atarneus but belongs to Chios he chanced to fall in with Panionius Recognising him at once, he entered into a long and friendly talk with him, wherein he counted up the numerous blessings he enjoyed through his means, and promised him all manner of favours in return, if he would bring his household to Sardis and live there Panionius was overjoyed, and accepting the offer made *him* came presently, and brought with him his wife and children Then Hermotimus when he had got Panionius and all his family into his power, addressed him in these words, "You, who make a living by viler deeds than any one else in the whole world, what wrong to you or yours had I or any of mine done that you should have made me nothing and no longer a man? Surely you thought that the gods took no note of your crimes But they in their justice have delivered you, the doer of unrighteousness, into my hands, and now you cannot complain of the vengeance which I am resolved to take on you"

After these reproaches, Hermotimus commanded the four sons of Panionius to be brought, and forced the father to castrate them with his own hand Unable to resist, he did as Hermotimus required, and then his sons were made to treat him in the self same way So in this way there came to Panionius requital at the hands of Hermotimus

107 Xerxes, after charging Artemisia to convey his sons safe

to Ephesus sent for Mardonius and bade him choose from all his army such men as he wished and see that he made his achievements answer to his promises During this day he did no more but no sooner was night come than he i sued his orders and at once the captains of the ships left Phalerum and bore away for the Helle pont each making all the peed he could and hurrying to guard the bridges against the king s return On their way as they sailed by Zoster where certain narrow points of land project into the sea they took the cliffs for vessels and fled far away in alarm Discovering their mistake however after a time they joined company once more and proceeded upon their voyage

108 Next day th Greeks seeing the land force of the barbarians encamped in the sam place thought that their ships must still be lying at Phalerum and expecting another attack from that quarter made preparations to defend themselves Soon however news came that the ships were all departed and gone away whereupon it was instantly resolved to make sail in pursuit They went as far as Andros but eeing nothing of the Persian fleet they stopped at that place and held a council of war At this council Themistocles ad ised that the Greeks should follow on through the islands still pressing the pursuit and making all haste to the Hellespont there to break down the bridges Eurybiades however delivered a contrary opinion If he said the Greeks should break down the bridges it would be the worst thing that could possibly happen for Greece The Per ian supposing that his retreat were cut off and he were compelled to remain in Europe would be sure never to give them any peace Ina tion on his part would ruin all his affair and leave him no chance of ever getting back to Asia—nay would even cause his army to perish by famine whereas if he be tirred himself and acted vigorously it was likely that the whole of Europe would in course of time become subject to him ince by degrees the various towns and tribes would either fall before his arms or else agree to terms of submission and in this way his troops would find food sufficient for them ince

each year the Greek harvest would be theirs As it was the Persian because he had lost the sea fight intended evidently to remain no longer in Europe The Greeks ought to let him depart and when he was gone from among them and had returned into his own country then would be the time for them to contend with him for the possession of that

The other captains of the Peloponnesians declared themselves of the same mind

109 Whereupon Themistocles finding that the majority was against him and that he could not persuade them to push on to the Hellespont changed round and addressing himself to the Athenians who of all the allies were the most nettled at the enemy's escape and who eagerly desired if the other Greeks would not stir to sail on by themselves to the Hellespont and break the bridges spoke as follows

"I have often myself witnessed occasions, and I have heard of many more from others where men who had been conquered by an enemy having been driven quite to desperation, have renewed the fight and retrieved their former disasters We have now had the great good luck to save both ourselves and all Greece by the repulse of this vast cloud of men let us then be content and not press them too hard, now that they have begun to fly Be sure we have not done this by our own might It is the work of gods and heroes, who were jealous that one man should be king at once of Europe and of Asia—more especially a man like this, unholy and presumptuous—a man who esteems alike things sacred and things profane who has cast down and burnt the very images of the gods themselves, who even caused the sea to be scourged with rods and commanded fetters to be thrown into it At present all is well with us—let us then abide in Greece, and look to ourselves and to our families The barbarian is clean gone—we have driven him off—let each now repair to his own house and sow his land diligently In the spring we will take ship and sail to the Hellespont and to Ionia"

All this Themistocles said in the hope of establishing a claim upon the king for he wanted to have a safe retreat in case any

mischance should befall him at Athens which indeed came to pass afterwards [1]

110 At present however he dissembled and the Athenians were persuaded by his words For they were ready now to do whatever he advised since th y had always esteemed him a wise man and he had lately proved himself most truly wise and well judging Accordingly they came in to his views whereupon he lost no time in sending messengers on board a light bark to the king choosing for this purpose men whom he could trust to keep his instructions secret even although they should be put to every kind of torture Among them was the house slave Sicin nus the same whom he had made use of previously When the men reached Attica all the others stayed with the boat but Sicinnus went up to the king and spake to him as follows I am ent to you by Themistocles the son of Neocles who is the leader of the Athenians and the wisest and bravest man of all the allies to bear you this message Themistocles the Athenian anxious to render you a service has restrained the Greeks who were impatient to pursue your ships and to break up the bridges at the Hellespont Now therefore return home at your leisure The messengers when they had performed their errand sailed back to the fleet

111 And the Greeks having resolved that they would neither proceed further in pursuit of the barbarians nor push forward to the Hellespont and destroy the passage laid siege to Andros intending to take the town by storm For Themistocles had re quired the Andrians to pay down a sum of money and they had refused being the first of all the islanders who did so To his declaration that the money must needs be paid as the Athenians had brought with them two mighty gods—Persuasion and Ne cessity they replied that Athens might well be a great and glorious city since she was blest with such excellent gods but they were wretchedly poor stinted for land and cursed with

[1] According to Th cydid (i. 137) Th mist l s d d t ally h m credit w th th P si ns f p ev tin th d tructio f th bridg b t it is difficult t im gi him lo king f rw d t this t m t s h a c tingency exil

two unprofitable gods who always dwelt with them, and would never quit their island, Poverty and Helplessness These were the gods of the Andrians and therefore they would not pay the money For the power of Athens could not possibly be stronger than their inability This reply, coupled with the refusal to pay the sum required caused their city to be besieged by the Greeks

112 Meanwhile Themistocles, who never ceased his pursuit of gain [13] sent threatening messages to the other islanders with demands for different sums, employing the same messengers and the same words as he had used towards the Andrians "If," he said, they did not send him the amount required, he would bring the Greek fleet upon them, and besiege them till he took their cities By this means he collected large sums from the Carystians and the Parians, who, when they heard that Andros was already besieged, and that Themistocles was the best esteemed of all the captains, sent the money through fear Whether any of the other islanders did the like, I cannot say for certain, but I think some did besides those I have mentioned However, the Carystians though they complied, were not spared any the more, but Themistocles was softened by the Parians gift, and therefore they received no visit from the army In this way it was that Themistocles, during his stay at Andros, obtained money from the islanders unbeknown to the other captains

113 King Xerxes and his army waited but a few days after the sea fight, and then withdrew into Boeotia by the road which they had followed on their advance It was the wish of Mardonius to escort the king a part of the way, and as the time of year was no longer suitable for carrying on war, he thought it best to winter in Thessaly, and wait for the spring before he attempted the Peloponnese After the army was come into Thessaly, Mardonius made choice of the troops that were to stay with him, and, first of all he took the whole body called the Immortals, except only their leader Hydarnes, who refused to quit the person of the king Next, he chose the Persians who

[13] Charges of this kind against Themistocles may be partially justified but the primary purpose was to exact war indemnities to pay the crews of the fleet

wore breastplates and 1 000 picked horse likewise the Medes the Sacans the Bactrians and the Indians foot and hor e equally These nations he took entire from the rest of the allies he culled a few men taking such as were either remarkable for their appearance or else such as had performed to his knowl edge some valiant deed The Persians furnished him with the greatest number of troops men who were adorned with chains and armlets Next to them were the Medes who in number equalled the Persians but in valour fell short of them The whole army reckoning the horsemen with the rest amounted to 300 000 men

114 At the time when Mardonius was making choice of his troops and Xerxes still continued in Thessaly the Lacedaemo nians received a message from the Delphic oracle bidding them seek satisfaction at the hands of Xerxes for the death of Leoni das and take whatever he chose to give them So the Spartans sent a herald with all speed into Thessaly who arrived while the entire Persian army was still there This man being brought be- fore the king spoke as follows Kin of the Medes the Lace- daemonians and the Heracleids of Sparta require of you the satisfaction due for bloodshed because you slew their king who fell f ghting for Greece

Xerxes laughed and for a long time said not a word At last however he pointed to Mardonius who was standing by him and aid Mardonius here shall give them the satisfaction they deserve to get And the herald accepted the answer and forth with went his way

115 Xerxes after this left Mardonius in Thessaly and marched away himself at his best speed toward the Helle pont In forty five days he reached the place of passage where he ar rived with carce a fraction so to speak of his former army All along their line of march in every country where they chanced to be his soldiers seized and devoured whatever corn they could find belonging to the inhabitants while if no corn was to be found they gathered the grass that grew in the fields and tripped the trees whether cultivated or wild alike of the r bark and of their leaves and so fed themselves They left nothin

anywhere, so hard were they pressed by hunger Plague too and dysentery attacked the troops while still upon their march, and greatly thinned their ranks Many died others fell sick and were left behind in the different cities that lay upon the route, the inhabitants being strictly charged by Xerxes to tend and feed them Of these some remained in Thessaly others in Macedon *others again in Siris of Paeonia Here Xerxes on his march* into Greece had left the sacred car and steeds of Zeus which upon his return he was unable to recover, for the Paeonians had *disposed of them to the Thracians and, when Xerxes demanded* them back, they said that the Thracian tribes who dwelt about the sources of the Strymon had stolen the mares as they pastured

116 Here too a Thracian chieftain, king of the Bisaltians and of Crestonia did a monstrous deed He had refused to become the willing slave of Xerxes, and had fled before him into the heights of Rhodope, at the same time forbidding his sons to take part in the expedition against Greece But they, either because they cared little for his orders, or because they wished greatly to see the war, joined the army of Xerxes At this time they had all returned home to him—the number of the men was six—quite safe and sound But their father took them, and punished their offence by plucking out their eyes from the sockets Such was the treatment which these men received

117 The Persians, having journeyed through Thrace and reached the passage, entered their ships hastily and crossed the Hellespont to Abydos The bridges were not found stretched across the strait, since a storm had broken and dispersed them At Abydos the troops halted, and obtaining more abundant provision than they had yet got upon their march, they fed without stint, from which cause, added to the change in their water, great numbers of those who had hitherto escaped perished The remainder, together with Xerxes himself, came safe to Sardis

118 There is likewise another tale told of the return of the king It is said that when Xerxes on his way from Athens arrived at Eion upon the Strymon, he gave up travelling by land, and intrusting Hydarnes with the conduct of his forces to the

Hellespont embarked himself on board a Phoenician ship and so crossed into Asia On his voyage the ship was assailed by a strong wind blowing from the mouth of the Strymon which caused the sea to run high As the storm increased and the ship laboured heavily because of the number of the Persians who had come in the king s train and who now crowded the deck Xerxes was seized with fear and called out to the helmsman in a loud voice asking him if there were any means whereby they might escape the danger No means master the helmsman answered unless we could be quit of these too numerous passengers Xerxes they say on hearing this addressed the Persians as follows Men of Persia now is the time for you to show what love you bear your king My safety as it seems depends wholly upon you So the king spoke and the Persians instantly made obeisance and then leaped over into the sea Thus was the ship lightened and Xerxes got safe to Asia As soon as he had reached the shore he sent for the helmsman and gave him a golden crown because he had preserved the life of the king but because he had caused the death of a number of Persians he ordered his head to be struck from his shoulders

119 Such is the other account which is given of the return of Xerxes but to me it seems quite unworthy of belief alike in other respects and in what relates to the Persians For had the helmsman made any such speech to Xerxes I suppose there is not one man in 10 000 who will doubt that this is the course which the king would have followed he would have made the men upon the ship s deck who were not only Persians but Persians of the very highest rank quit their place and go down below and would have cast into the sea an equal number of the rowers who were Phoenicians But the truth is that the king as I have already said returned into Asia by the same road as the rest of the army

120 I will add a strong proof of this It is certain that Xerxes on his way back from Greece passed through Abdera where he made a contract of friendship with the inhabitants and presented them with a golden scimitar and a tiara broidered with gold The Abderites declare (but I put no faith in this part of

their story) that from the time of the king's leaving Athens, he *never once loosed his girdle till he came to their city*, since it was not till then that he felt himself in safety Now Abdera is nearer to the Hellespont than Eion and the Strymon, where Xerxes, according to the other tale, took ship

121 Meanwhile the Greeks finding that they could not capture Andros, sailed away to Carystus, and wasted the lands of the Carystians, after which they returned to Salamis Arrived here they proceeded, before entering on any other matter, to make choice of the first fruits which should be set apart as offerings to the gods These consisted of various gifts among them were three Phoenician triremes, one of which was dedicated at the Isthmus, where it continued to my day another at Sunium, and the third at Salamis itself, which was devoted to Ajax This done, they made a division of the booty and sent away the first fruits to Delphi Thereof was made the statue, holding in its hand the beak of a ship, which is eighteen feet high, and which stands in the same place with the golden one of Alexander the Macedonian

122 After the first fruits had been sent to Delphi, the Greeks made inquiry of the god, in the name of their whole body, if he had received his full share of the spoils and was satisfied therewith The god made answer that all the other Greeks had paid him his full due, except only the Aeginetans, on them he had still a claim for the prize of valour which they had gained at Salamis So the Aeginetans when they heard this dedicated the three golden stars which stand on the top of a bronze mast, in the corner near the bowl offered by Croesus

123 When the spoils had been divided, the Greeks sailed to the Isthmus, where a prize of valour was to be awarded to the man who, of all the Greeks, had shown the most merit during the war When the chiefs were all come, they met at the altar of Poseidon, and took the ballots wherewith they were to give their votes for the first and for the second in merit Then each man gave himself the first vote since each considered that he was himself the worthiest, but the second votes were given chiefly to Themistocles In this way, while the others received but one—

vote apiece Themistocles had for the second prize a large majority of the suffrages

124 Envy however hindered the chiefs from coming to a decision and they all sailed away to their homes without making any award Nevertheless Themistocles was regarded everywhere as by far the wisest man of all the Greeks and the whole country rang with his fame As the chiefs who fought at Salamis notwithstandin that he was really entitled to the prize had withheld his honour from him he went without delay to Lacedaemon in the hope that he would be honoured there And the Lacedaemonians received him hand omely and paid him great respect The prize of valour indeed which was a crown of olive they gave to Eurybiades but Themistocles was given a crown of olive too as the prize of wisdom and dexterity He was likewise pre ented with the most beautiful chariot that could be found in Sparta and after receiving abundant praises wa upon his departure escorted as far as the borders of Tegea by the 300 picked Spartans who are called the Knights Never was it known either before or ince that the Spartans escorted a man out of their city

125 On the return of Themistocles to Athens Timodemus of Aphidnae who was one of his enemies but otherwise a man of no repute became so maddened with envy that he openly ra l'd a air t h m and reproaching him with his journey to Sparta said It was n t hi own merit that had won him honour from he men of Lacedaemon but the fame of Athens his country Then Themistocles eein that Timodemus repeated th s phra e uncea in ly replied Thus tands the case friend I h d never got this honour from the Spartans had I been a Belbinite—nor you had you been an Athenian!

126 Artabazus the son of Pharnaces a man whom the Persians had always held in much esteem but who after the affair of Plataea rose still hi her in their opinion e corted King Xerxe as far as the strait with 60 000 of the cho en troops of Mardonius When the king was safe in Asia Artabazus set out upon hi return and on arriving near Pallene and find n that Mardonius had gone into winter quarters in Thessaly and Macedonia and was in no hurry for him to join the camp he thought

it his duty, as the Potidaeans had just revolted, to occupy himself in reducing them to slavery. For as soon as the king had passed beyond their territory, and the Persian fleet had made its hasty flight from Salamis, the Potidaeans revolted from the barbarians openly; as likewise did all the other inhabitants of that peninsula.

127. Artabazus, therefore, laid siege to Potidaea, and having a suspicion that the Olynthians were likely to revolt shortly, he besieged their city also. Now Olynthus was at that time held by the Bottiaeans, who had been driven from the parts about the Thermaic gulf by the Macedonians. Artabazus took the city, and having so done, led out all the inhabitants to a marsh in the neighbourhood, and there slew them. After this he delivered the place into the hands of the people called Chalcideans, having first appointed Critobulus of Torone to be governor. Such was the way in which the Chalcideans got Olynthus.

128. When this town had fallen, Artabazus pressed the siege of Potidaea all the more unremittingly, and was pushing his operations with vigour, when Timoxenus, captain of the Scionaeans, entered into a plot to betray the town to him. How the matter was managed at first, I cannot pretend to say, for no account has come down to us: but at the last this is what happened. Whenever Timoxenus wished to send a letter to Artabazus, or Artabazus to send one to Timoxenus, the letter was written on a strip of paper, and rolled round the notched end of an arrow shaft; the feathers were then put on over the paper, and the arrow thus prepared was shot to some place agreed upon. But after a while the plot of Timoxenus to betray Potidaea was discovered in this way. Artabazus, on one occasion, shot off his arrow, intending to send it to the accustomed place, but missing his mark, hit one of the Potidaeans in the shoulder. A crowd gathered about the wounded man, as commonly happens in war; and when the arrow was pulled out, they noticed the paper, and straightway carried it to the captains, who were present from the various cities of the peninsula. The captains read the letter, and finding who the traitor was, nevertheless resolved, out of regard for the city of Scione, that as they did not wish the Scionaeans to be thenceforth branded with the name of

traitors they would not bring against him any charge of treachery Such accordingly was the mode in which this plot was discovered

129 After Artabazus had continued the siege for three months it happened that there was an unusual ebb of the tide which lasted a long while So when the barbarians saw that what had been sea was now no more than a swamp they determined to push across it into Pallene And now the troops had already made good two fifths of their passage and three fifths still remained before they could reach Pallene when the tide came in with a very high flood higher than had ever been seen before as the inhabitants of those parts declare though high floods are by no means uncommon All who were not able to swim perished immediately the rest were slain by the Potidaeans who bore down upon them in their sailing vessels The Potidaeans say that what caused this swell and flood and so brought about the disaster of the Persians which ensued therefrom was the profanation by the very men now destroyed in the sea of the temple and image of Poseidon situated in their suburb And in this th y *seem to me to say well* *Artabazus afterwards led away the remainder of his army* and joined Mardonius in Thessaly Thus fared it with the Persians who escorted the king to the strait

130 As for that part of the fleet of Xerxes which had survived the battle when it had made good its escape from Salam s to the coast of Asia and conveyed the king with his army across th strait from the Chersonese to Abydos it passed the winter at Cyme On the fir t approach of spring there was an early muster of the ships at Samo where some of them indeed had remained throu hout the winter Most of the men at arms who erved on board were Persians or else Medes and the command of the fleet had been taken by Mardontes the son of Ba aeus and Artayntes the son of Artachaeus while there was likewise a hird commander Ithamitres the nephew of Artaynte wh m his uncle had advanced to the post Further west than Sam however they did not venture to proceed for they remembered what a defeat they had suffered and there was no one to compel them to approach any nearer to Greece They therefore remained at Samos and kept watch over Ionia to hinder it from

breaking into revolt The whole number of their ships including those furnished by the Ionians, was 300 It did not enter into their thoughts that the Greeks would proceed against Ionia, on the contrary they supposed that the defence of their own country would content them more especially as they had not pursued the Persian fleet when it fled from Salamis, but had so readily given up the chase They despaired, however, altogether of gaining any success by sea themselves, though by land they thought that Mardonius was quite sure of victory So they remained at Samos and took counsel together, if by any means they might harass the enemy at the same time that they waited eagerly to hear how matters would proceed with Mardonius

131 The approach of spring, and the knowledge that Mardonius was in Thessaly roused the Greeks from inaction Their land force indeed was not yet come together but the fleet consisting of 110 ships, proceeded to Aegina under the command of Leotychides This Leotychides, who was both general and admiral was the son of Menares the son of Agesilaus, the son of Hippocratides, the son of Leotychides, the son of Anaxilaus, the son of Archidamus the son of Anaxandrides, the son of Theopompus, the son of Nicander, the son of Charillus, the son of Eunomus, the son of Polydectes, the son of Prytanis, the son of Euryphon, the son of Procles, the son of Aristodemus, the son of Aristomachus, the son of Cleodaeus, the son of Hyllus the son of Heracles He belonged to the younger branch of the royal house All his ancestors except the seven next in the above list to himself had been kings of Sparta The Athenian vessels were commanded by Xanthippus the son of Ariphron

132 When the whole fleet was collected together at Aegina, ambassadors from Ionia arrived at the Greek station, they had but just come from paying a visit to Sparta, where they had been entreating the Lacedaemonians to undertake the deliverance of their native land One of these ambassadors was Herodotus, the son of Basileides Originally they were seven in number, and the whole seven had conspired to slay Strattis the tyrant of Chios, one, however, of those engaged in the plot betrayed the enterprise, and the conspiracy being in this way discove Herodotus and the remaining five, quitted Chios, an

straight to Sparta whence they had now proceeded to Aegina their object being to beseech the Greeks that they would pass over to Ionia It was not however without difficulty that they were induced to advance even so far as Delos All beyond that seemed to the Greeks full of danger the places were quite unknown to them and to their fancy swarmed with Persian troops as for Samos it appeared to them as far off as the Pillars of Heracles Thus it came to pass that at the very same time the barbarians were hindered by their fears from venturing any further west than Samos and the prayers of the Chians failed to induce the Greeks to advance any further east than Delos Terror guarded the mid region

133 The Greek fleet was now on its way to Delos but Mardonius still abode in his winter-quarters in Thessaly When he was about to leave them he despatched a man named Mys of Europus to go and consult the different oracles giving him orders to put questions everywhere to all the oracles whereof he found it possible to make trial What it was that he wanted to know when he gave Mys these orders I am not able to say for no account has reached me of the matter but for my own part I suppose that he sent to inquire concerning the business which he had in hand and not for any other purpose

134 Mys it is certain went to Lebadeia and by the payment of a sum of money induced one of the inhabitants to go down to Trophonius he likewise visited Abae of the Phocians and there consulted the god while at Thebes to which place he went first of all he not only got access to Apollo Ismenius (of whom inquiry is made by means of victims according to the custom practised also at Olympia) but likewise prevailed on a man who was not a Theban but a foreigner to pass the night in the temple of Amphiaraus No Theban can lawfully consult this oracle for the following reason Amphiaraus by an oracle gave the Thebans their choice to have him for their prophet or for their helper in war he bade them elect between the two and forego either one or the other so they chose rather to have him for their helper On this account it is unlawful for a Theban to sleep in his temple

135 One thing which the Thebans declare to have happened

at this time is to me very surprising Mys of Europus, they say, after he had gone about to all the oracles, came at last to the sacred precinct of Apollo Ptous The place itself bears the name of Ptoum it is in the country of the Thebans and is situated on the mountain side overlooking Lake Copais, only a very little way from the town called Acraephia Here Mys arrived, and entered the temple followed by three Theban citizens—picked men whom the state had appointed to take down whatever answer the god might give No sooner was he entered than the prophet delivered him an oracle, but in a foreign tongue, so that his Theban attendants were astonished, hearing a strange language when they expected Greek, and did not know what to do Mys, however the European snatched from their hands the tablet which they had brought with them, and wrote down what the prophet uttered The reply, he told them, was in the Carian dialect After this, Mys departed and returned to Thessaly

136 Mardonius, when he had read the answers given by the oracles sent next an envoy to Athens This was Alexander, the son of Amyntas a Macedonian, of whom he made choice for two reasons Alexander was connected with the Persians by family ties, for Gygaea, who was the daughter of Amyntas, and sister to Alexander himself was married to Bubares, a Persian, and by him had a son, Amyntas of Asia who was named after his mother's father, and enjoyed the revenues of Alabanda, a large city of Phrygia, which had been assigned him by the King Alexander was likewise (and of this too Mardonius was well aware), both by services which he had rendered, and by formal compact of friendship, connected with Athens Mardonius therefore thought that, by sending him, he would be most likely to gain over the Athenians to the Persian side He had heard that they were a numerous and a warlike people, and he knew that the disasters which had befallen the Persians by sea were mainly their work, he therefore expected that, if he could form alliance with them, he would easily get the mastery of the sea (as indeed he would have done, beyond a doubt), while by land he believed that he was already greatly superior and so he thought by this alliance to make sure of overcoming the Greeks Pe[illegible] too the oracles leant this way, and counselled him to

Athens his friend so that it may have been in obedience to them tnat he sent the embassy

137 This Alexander was descended in the seventh degree from Perdiccas who obtained the sovereignty over the Mace donians in the way which I will now relate Three brothers descendants of Temenus fled from Argos to the Illyrians their names were Gauanes Aeropus and Perdiccas From Illyria they went across to Upper Macedonia where they came to a certain town called Lebaea There they hired themselves out to serve the king in different employs one tended the horses another looked after the cows while Perdiccas who was the youngest took charge of the smaller cattle In those early times poverty was not confined to the people kings themselves were poor and so here it was the king s wife who cooked the victuals Now whe ever she baked the bread she always observed that the loaf of the labouring boy Perdiccas swelled to double its natural size So the queen finding this never to fail spoke of it to her hu band Directly that it came to his ears the thought truck him that it was a miracle and boded something of no mall mo ment He therefore sent for the three labourers and told them to begone out of his dominions They said that they had a right to their wages if he would pay them what was due they were quite willing to go Now it happened that the sun was shining down the chimney into the room where they were and the king hearing them talk of wages lost his wits and said There are the wages which you deserve take that—I give it you and pointed as he spoke to the sunshine The two elder brothers Gauanes and Aeropus stood a hast at the reply and did noth ing but the boy who had a knife in his hand made a mark with it round the sunshine on the floor of the room and said O King we accept your payment Then he received the l ht of the un three times into his bosom and so went away and his b others went with him

138 When they were gone one of those who sat by told the king what the youngest of the three had done and hinted that he must have had some meaning in accepting the wa es given Then th king when he heard what had happened was angry and sent horsemen after the youths to slay them Now there is a

river in Macedonia to which the descendants of these Argives offer sacrifice as their saviour This stream swelled so much as soon as the sons of Temenus were safe across, that the horsemen found it impossible to follow So the brothers escaped into another part of Macedonia, and took up their abode near the place called the Gardens of Midas son of Gordias In these gardens there are roses which grow of themselves so sweet that no others can come near them and with blossoms that have as many as sixty petals apiece It was here according to the Macedonians that Silenus was made a prisoner Above the gardens stands a mountain called Bermius which is so cold that none can reach the top Here the brothers made their abode and from this place by degrees they conquered all Macedonia

139 From the Perdiccas, of whom we have here spoken Alexander was descended in the following way Alexander was the son of Amyntas, Amyntas of Alcetas the father of Alcetas was Aeropus of Aeropus, Philip of Philip, Argaeus of Argaeus, Perdiccas, the first sovereign Such was the descent of Alexander

140 When Alexander reached Athens as the ambassador of Mardonius, he spoke as follows

'O men of Athens these be the words of Mardonius The king has sent a message to me saying "All the trespasses which the Athenians have committed against me I freely forgive Now then Mardonius, thus act towards them Restore to them their territory and let them choose for themselves whatever land they like besides, and let them dwell therein as a free people Build up likewise all their temples which I burned if on these terms they will consent to enter into a league with me" Such are the orders which I have received, and which I must needs obey unless there be a hindrance on your part And now I say to you,—why are you so mad as to levy war against the king whom you cannot possibly overcome, or even resist for ever? You have seen the multitude and the bravery of the host of Xerxes, you know also how large a power remains with me in your land, suppose then you should get the better of us and defeat this army—a thing whereof you will not, if you are entertain the least hope—what follows even then

with a still greater force? Do not because you would fain match yourselves with the king consent to lose your country and live in constant danger of your lives Rather agree to make peace which you can now do without any tarnish to your honour since the king invites you to it Continue free and make an alliance with us without fraud or deceit

These are the words O Athenians which Mardonius has bid me speak to you For my own part I will say nothing of the good will I bear your nation since you have not now for the first time to become acquainted with it But I will add my entreaties also and beseech you to give ear to Mardonius for I see clearly that it is impossible for you to go on for ever contending against Xerxes If that had appeared to me possible I would not now have come hither the bearer of such a message But the king s power surpasses that of man and his arm reaches far If then you do not hasten to conclude a peace when such fair terms are offered you I tremble to think of what you will have to endure—you who of all the allies lie most directly in the path of danger whose land will always be the chief battle ground of the contending powers and who will therefore constantly have to suffer alone Hearken then I pray you to Mardonius Surely it is no small matter that the Great King chooses you out from all the rest of the Greeks to offer you forgiveness of the wrongs you have done him and to propose himself as your friend and ally

141 Such were the words of Alexander Now the Lacedaemonians *when tidings reached them that Alexander had gone to* Athens to bring about a league between the Athenians and the barbarians and when at the same time they called to mind the prophecies which declared that the Dorian race should one day be driven from the Peloponnese by the Medes and the Athenians were exceedingly afraid lest the Athenians might consent to the alliance with Persia They therefore lost no time in sending envoys to Athens and it so happened that these envoys were given their audience at the same time with Alexander for the Athenians had waited and made delays because they felt sure that the Lacedaemonians would hear that an ambassador had come to them from the Persians and as soon as they heard it

would with all speed send an embassy They contrived matters therefore of set purpose, so that the Lacedaemonians might hear them deliver their sentiments on the occasion

142 As soon as Alexander had finished speaking, the ambassadors from Sparta took the word and said, 'We are sent here by the Lacedaemonians to beg of you not to do a new thing in Greece nor agree to the terms which are offered you by the barbarian Such conduct on the part of any of the Greeks were alike unjust and dishonourable but in you it would be worse than in others for divers reasons It was by you that this war was kindled at the first among us—our wishes were in no way considered the contest began for your territory—now the fate of Greece is involved in it Besides, it were surely an intolerable thing that the Athenians who have always hitherto been known as a nation to which many men owed their freedom, should now become the means of bringing all other Greeks into slavery We feel however, for the heavy calamities which press on you—the loss of your harvest these two years and the ruin in which your homes have lain for so long a time We offer you, therefore on the part of the Lacedaemonians and the allies, sustenance for your women and for the unwarlike portion of your households so long as the war endures Do not be seduced by Alexander the Macedonian, who softens down the rough words of Mardonius He does as is natural for him to do—a tyrant himself, he helps forward a tyrant's cause But you Athenians, should do differently at least if you be truly wise, for you should know that with barbarians there is neither faith nor truth

143 Thus the envoys spoke After which the Athenians returned this answer to Alexander, 'We know, as well as you do, that the power of the Mede is many times greater than our own we did not need to have that cast in our teeth Nevertheless we cling so to freedom that we shall offer what resistance we may Seek not to persuade us into making terms with the barbarian—say what you will, you will never gain our assent Return rather at once, and tell Mardonius that our answer to him is this, 'So long as the sun keeps his present course, we will never join alliance with Xerxes Nay, we shall oppose him unceasingly, trusting in the aid of those gods and heroes whom he has lightly

esteemed who e houses and whose images he has burnt with fire And come not again to us with words like these nor think ing to do us a s rvice persu de us to unholy actions You are the guest and friend of our nation—we would not that you hould receive hurt at our hands

144 Such was the answer which the Athenians gave to Alex ander To the Spartan envoys they said It was natural no doubt that the Lacedaemonians shou d be afraid we might make terms with the barbarian but nevertheless it was a base fear in men who knew so well of what temper and spirit we are Not all the gold that the whole earth contains—not the fairest and most fertile of all lands—would bribe us to take part with the Medes and help them to enslave our countrymen Even could we have brought ourselves to such a thin there are many very powerful motives which would now make it impossible The first and chief of these is the burning and destruction of our temples and the images of our gods which forces us to make no terms with their destroyer but rather to pursue him with our resentment to the uttermost Again there is our common brotherhood with the Greeks our common language the altars and the sacrifices of which we all partake the common character which we bear—did the Athenians betray all these of a truth it would not be well Know then now if you have not known it before that while one *Athenian remains alive we will never join alliance with Xerxes* We thank you however for your forethought on our behalf and for your wish to give our families sustenance now that ruin has fallen on us—the kindness is complete on your part but for ourselves we will endure as we may and not be burdensome to you Such then is our resolve Be it your care with all speed to lead out your troops for if we surmise aright the barbarian will not wait long before invading our territory but will et out so soon as he learns our answer to be that we will do none of those things which he requires of us Now then is the time for us before he enters Attica to go ourselves into Boeotia and give him battle

When the Athenians had thus spoken the ambassadors from Sparta departed and returned to their own country

The Ninth Book, Entitled

CALLIOPE

1 Mardonius, when Alexander upon his return made known to him the answer of the Athenians, forthwith broke up from Thessaly, and led his army with all speed against Athens, forcing the several nations through whose land he passed to furnish him with additional troops The chief men of Thessaly, far from repenting of the part which they had taken in the war hitherto, urged on the Persians to the attack more earnestly than ever Thorax of Larissa in particular, who had helped to escort Xerxes on his flight to Asia, now openly encouraged Mardonius in his march upon Greece

2 When the army reached Boeotia, the Thebans sought to induce Mardonius to make a halt "He would not," they told him, "find anywhere a more convenient place in which to pitch his camp, and their advice to him was, that he should go no further, but fix himself there, and thence take measures to subdue all Greece without striking a blow If the Greeks, who had held together hitherto, still continued united among themselves, it would be difficult for the whole world to overcome them by force of arms But if you will do as we advise," they went on to say, 'you may easily obtain the direction of all their counsels Send presents to the men of most weight in the several states, and by so doing you will sow division among them After that, it will be a light task, with the help of such as side with you, to bring under all your adversaries"

3 Such was the advice of the Thebans but Mardonius did not follow it A strong desire of taking Athens a second time

possessed him in part arising from his inborn stubbornness in part from a wish to inform the king at Sardis by fire signals along the islands that he was master of the place However he did not on his arrival in Attica find the Athenians in their country—they had again withdrawn some to their ships but the greater part to Salamis—and he only gained possession of a deserted town It was ten months after the taking of the city by he king that Mardonius came against it for the second time

4 Mardonius being now in Athens sent an envoy to Salamis one Murychides a Hellespontine Greek to offer the Athenians once more the same terms which had been conveyed to them by Alexander The reason for his sending a second time though knew beforehand their unfriendly feelings towards him was that he hoped when they saw the whole land of Attica conquered and in his power their stubbornness would begin to give way On this account therefore he dispatched Murychides to Salamis

5 Now when Murychides came before the council and delivered his message one of the councillors named Lycidas gave it as his opinion that the best course would be to admit the proposals brought by Murychides and lay them before the assembly of the people This he stated to be his opinion perhaps because he had been bribed by Mardonius or it may be because that course really appeared to him the most expedient However the Athenians both those in the council and those who stood without when they heard of the advice were full of wrath and forthwith surrounded Lycidas and stoned him to death As for Murychides the Hellespontine Greek him they sent away unharmed Now there was a stir in the island about Lycidas and the Athenian women learned what had happened Then each exhorted her fellow and one brought another to take part in the deed and they all flocked of their own accord to the house of Lycidas and stoned to death his wife and his children

6 The circumstances under which the Athenians had sought refuge in Salamis were the following So long as any hope remained that a Peloponnesian army would come to give them aid they remained in Attica but when it appeared that the allies

were slack and slow to move, while the invader was reported to be pressing forward and to have already entered Boeotia, then they proceeded to remove their goods and chattels from the mainland, and themselves again crossed the strait to Salamis At the same time they *sent ambassadors to Lacedaemon*, who were to reproach the Lacedaemonians for having allowed the barbarian to advance into Attica instead of joining them and going out to meet him in Boeotia They were likewise to remind the Lacedaemonians of the offers by which the Persian had sought to win Athens over to his side, and to warn them, that if no aid came from Sparta, the Athenians must consult for their own safety

7 The truth was, the Lacedaemonians were keeping holiday at that time for it was the feast of the Hyacinthia, and they thought nothing of so much moment as to perform the service of the god They were also engaged in building their wall across the Isthmus, which was now so far advanced that the battlements had begun to be placed upon it

When the envoys of the Athenians, accompanied by ambassa*dors from Megara and Plataea, reached Lacedaemon, they came* before the Ephors, and spoke as follows

"The Athenians have sent us to you to say the King of the Medes offers to give us back our country, and wishes to conclude an alliance with us on fair and equal terms, without fraud or deceit He is willing likewise to bestow on us another country besides our own, and bids us choose any land that we like But we, because we reverenced Hellenic Zeus, and thought it a shameful act to betray Greece, instead of consenting to these terms, refused them, notwithstanding that we have been wronged and deserted by the other Greeks, and are fully aware that it is far more for our advantage to make peace with the Persian, than to prolong the war with him Still we shall not, of our own free will, consent to any terms of peace Thus do we, in all our dealings with the Greeks, avoid what is base and counterfeit while contrariwise, you, who but now were so full of fear lest we should make terms with the enemy, having learned of what temper we are, and assured yourselves that we shall not prove

traitors to our country having brought moreover your wall across the Isthmus to an advanced state cease altogether to have any care for us You agreed with us to go out and meet the *Persian in Boeotia but when the time came you were false to* your word and looked on while the barbarian host advanced into Attica At this time therefore the Athenians are angered with you and justly for you have not done what was right They bid you however make haste to send forth your army that we may even yet meet Mardonius in Attica Now that Boeotia is lost to us the best place for the fight within our country will be the plain of Thria

8 The Ephors when they had heard this speech delayed their answer till the morrow and when the morrow came till the day following And thus they acted for ten days continually putting off the ambassadors from one day to the next Meanwhile the Peloponnesians generally were labouring with great zeal at the wall and the work nearly approached completion I can give no other reason for the conduct of the Lacedaemonians in showing themselves so anxious at the time when Alexander came that the Athenians should not join the Medes and now being quite careless about it except that at that former time the wall across the Isthmus was not complete and they worked at it in great fear of the Persians whereas now the bulwark had been raised and so they imagined that they had no further need of the Athenians

9 At last the ambassadors got an answer and the troops marched forth from Sparta under the following circumstances[1] The last audience had been fixed for the ambassadors when the very day before it was to be given a certain Tegean named Chileus a man who had more influence at Sparta than any other foreigner learning from the Ephors exactly what the Athenians had said addressed these word to them The case stand thus Ephors If the Athenians are not our friends but league themselves with the barbarians however strong our wall acro s the Is hmus may be there will be doors enough and wide enough

[1] H d tu u t is deq t th k y t th l l y is p b bly th a re ment of A g s with M d nius d g ri Spa t f k.

open too, by which the Persian may gain entrance to the Peloponnese Grant their request then, before they make any fresh resolve, which may bring Greece to ruin "

10 Such was the counsel which Chileus gave and the Ephors, taking the advice into consideration, determined forthwith, without speaking a word to the ambassadors from the three cities, to dispatch to the Isthmus a body of 5,000 Spartans, and accordingly they sent them forth the same night, appointing to each Spartan a retinue of seven Helots, and giving the command of the expedition to Pausanias the son of Cleombrotus The chief power belonged of rights at this time to Pleistarchus, the son of Leonidas but as he was still a child, Pausanias, his cousin, was regent in his room For the father of Pausanias, Cleombrotus, the son of Anaxandridas, no longer lived, he had died a short time after bringing back from the Isthmus the troops who had been employed in building the wall A prodigy had caused him to bring his army home, for while he was offering sacrifice to know if he should march out against the Persian, the sun was suddenly darkened in mid sky[2] Pausanias took with him, as joint leader of the army, Euryanax, the son of Dorieus, a member of his own family

11 The army accordingly had marched out from Sparta with Pausanias while the ambassadors, when day came, appeared before the Ephors, knowing nothing of the march of the troops, and purposing themselves to leave Sparta forthwith, and return each man to his own country They therefore addressed the Ephors in these words, 'Lacedaemonians, as you do not stir from home, but keep the Hyacinthian festival, and amuse yourselves, deserting the cause of your confederates, the Athenians, whom your behaviour wrongs, and who have no other allies, will make such terms with the Persians as they shall find possible Now when terms are once made, it is plain that, having become the King s allies, we shall march with the barbarians whithersoever they choose to lead Then at length you will perceive what the consequences will be to yourselves " When the envoys had spoken, the Ephors declared to them with an oath, "Our troop

[2] A partial eclipse October 2 480 B C

must be at Oresteum by this time on their march against the strangers (The Spartans say strangers for barbarians) At his the ambassadors quite ignorant of what had happened questioned them concerning their meaning and when by much questioning they had discovered the tru h they were greatly astonished and forthwith set off at their best speed to overtake the Spartan army At the same time a body of 5 000 Lacedaemonian Perioeci all picked men and fully armed set forth from Sparta in the company of the ambassadors

1 So these troops marched in haste towards the Isthmus Meanwhile the Argives who had promised Mardonius that they would stop the Spartans from crossing their borders as soon as they learned that Pausanias with his army had started from Sparta took the swiftest courier they could find and sent him off to Attica The message which he delivered on his arrival at Athens was the following Mardonius he said the Argives have sent me to tell you that the Lacedaemonian youth are gone forth from the city and that the Argives are too weak to hinder them Take good heed therefore to yourself at this time Aft r this without a word more he returned home

13 When Mardonius learned that the Spartans were on the march he no longer cared to remain in Attica Hitherto he had kept quiet wishing to see what the Athenians would do and had neither ravaged their territory nor done it any the least harm for till now he had cherished the hope that the Athenians would come to terms with him As however he found that his persuasions were of no avail and as their whole policy was now clear to him he determined to withdraw from Attica before Pausanias with his army reached the Isthmus first however he resolved to burn Athens and to cast down and level with the ground whatever remained standing of the walls temples and other buildings His reason for retreating was that Attica was not a country where hor e could act with advantage and further *that if he suffered defeat in a battle no way of escape* was open to him except through defiles where a handful of troops might stop all his army So he determined to withdraw

to Thebes, and give the Greeks battle in the neighbourhood of a friendly city, and on ground well suited for cavalry

14 After he had quitted Attica and was already upon his march, news reached him that a body of 1 000 Lacedaemonians, distinct from the army of Pausanias, and sent on in advance, had arrived in the Megarid When he heard it wishing, if possible, to destroy this detachment first, Mardonius considered with himself how he might compass their ruin With a sudden change of march he made for Megara while the horse, pushing on in advance, entered and ravaged the Megarid (Here was the furthest point in Europe towards the setting sun to which this Persian army ever penetrated)

15 After this Mardonius received another message whereby he learned that the forces of the Greeks were collected together at the Isthmus which tidings caused him to draw back, and leave Attica by the way of Deceleia The chief magistrates of the Boeotians had sent for some of the neighbours of the Asopians, and these persons served as guides to the army, and led them first to Sphendale, and from thence to Tanagra, where Mardonius rested a night after which, upon the morrow, he bent his course to Scolus, which brought him into the territory of the Thebans And now, although the Thebans had espoused the cause of the Medes, yet Mardonius cut down all the trees in these parts, not however from any enmity towards the Thebans, but on account of his own urgent needs, for he wanted a rampart to protect his army from attack, and he likewise desired to have a place of refuge, whither his troops might flee, in case the battle should go contrary to his wishes His army at this time lay on the Asopus, and stretched from Erythrae, along by Hysiae, to the territory of the Plataeans The wall however was not made to extend so far, but formed a square of about a mile each way

While the barbarians were employed in this work, a certain citizen of Thebes, Attaginus by name, the son of Phrynon, having made great preparations, gave a banquet, and invited Mardonius together with fifty of the noblest Persians Now the

banquet was held at Thebes and all the guests who were invited came to it

16 What follows was recounted to me by Thersander a native of Orchomenus a man of the first rank in that city Thersander told me that he was himself among those invited to the feast and that besides the Persians fifty Thebans were asked and the two nations were not arranged separately but a Persian and a Theban were set side by side upon each couch After the feast was ended and the drinking had begun the Persian who shared Thersander s couch addressed him in the Greek tongue and inquired of him from what city he came He answered that he was of Orchomenus whereupon the other said Since you have eaten with me at one table and poured libation from one cup I would fain leave with you a memorial of the belief I hold—the rather that you may have timely warning yourself and so be able to provide for your own safety Do you see these Persians here feasting and the army which we left encamped yonder by the river side? Yet a little while and of all this number you will behold but a few surviving!

As he spoke the Persian let fall a flood of tears whereon Thersander who was astonished at his words replied Surely you should say all this to Mardonius and the Persians who are next him in honour The other rejoined Dear friend it is not possible for man to avert that which God has decreed shall happen No one believes warnings however true Many of us Persians know our danger but we are constrained by necessity to do as our leader bids us Verily it is the sorest of all human ills to abound in knowledge and yet have no power over action All this I heard myself from Thersander the Orchomenian who told me further that he mentioned what had happened to other persons before the battle was fought at Plataea

17 When Mardonius formerly held his camp in Boeotia all the Greeks of those parts who were friendly to the Medes sent troops to join his army and these troops accompanied him in his attack upon Athens The Phocians alone abstained and took no part in the invasion for though they had espoused the Median cause warmly it was very much against their will and

only because they were compelled so to do However, a few days after the arrival of the Persian army at Thebes, 1,000 of their heavy armed soldiers came up, under the command of Harmocydes, one of their most distinguished citizens No sooner had these troops reached Thebes, than some horsemen came to them from Mardonius, with orders that they should take up a position upon the plain, away from the rest of the army The Phocians did so, and forthwith the entire Persian cavalry drew nigh to them whereupon there went a rumour through the whole of the Greek force encamped with the Medes, that Mardonius was about to destroy the Phocians with missiles The same conviction ran through the Phocian troops themselves, and Harmocydes their leader, addressed them thus with words of encouragement "Phocians," said he, it is plain that these men have resolved beforehand to take our lives, because of the accusations of the Thessalians, as I imagine Now, then, is the time for you all to show yourselves brave men It s better to die fighting and defending our lives than tamely to allow them to slay us in this shameful fashion Let them learn that they are barbarians, and that the men whose death they have plotted, are Greeks "

18 Thus Harmocydes spoke, and the Persian horse, having encircled the Phocians, charged towards them, as if about to deal out death, with bows bent, and arrows ready to be let fly, nay, here and there some did even discharge their weapons But the Phocians stood firm, drawing together, and closing their ranks as much as possible whereupon the horse suddenly wheeled round, and rode off I cannot say with certainty whether they came, at the prayer of the Thessalians, to destroy the Phocians, but seeing them prepared to stand on their defence, and fearing to suffer damage at their hands, on that account beat a retreat, having orders from Mardonius so to act, or whether his sole intent was to try the temper of the Phocians and see whether they had any courage or no However this may have been, when the horsemen retired, Mardonius sent a herald to the Phocians, saying, "Fear not, Phocians, you have shown yourselves valiant men, much unlike the report I had heard of

you Now therefore be forward in the coming war You will not readily outdo either the king or myself in services Thus ended the affair of the Phocians

19 The Lacedaemonians when they reached the Isthmus pitched their camp there and the other Peloponnesians who had embraced the better side hearing or else seeing that they were upon the march thought it not right to remain behind when the Spartans were going forth to the war So the Peloponnesians went out in one body from the Isthmus the victims being favourable for setting forth and marched as far as Eleusis where again they offered sacrifices and finding the omens still encouraging advanced further At Eleusis they were joined by the Athenians who had come across from Salamis and now accompanied the main army On reaching Erythrae in Boeotia they learnt that the barbarians were encamped upon the Asopus wherefore they themselves after considering how they should act disposed their forces opposite to the enemy upon the slopes of Mount Cithaeron

20 Mardonius when he saw that the Greeks would not come down into the plain sent all his cavalry under Masistius (or Macistius as the Greeks call him) to attack them where they were Now Masistius was a man of much repute among the Persians and rode a Nisaean charger with a golden bit and otherwise magnificently caparisoned So the horse advanced against the Greeks and made attacks upon them in divisions doing them great damage at each charge and insulting them by calling them women

21 It chanced that the Megarians were drawn up in the position most open to attack and where the ground offered the best approach to the cavalry Finding themselves therefore hard pressed by the assaults upon their ranks they sent a herald to the Greek leaders who came and said to them This is the message of the Megarians We cannot brothers in arms continue to resist the Persian horse in that post which we have occupied from the first if we are left without assistance Hitherto although hard pressed we have held out against them firmly and courageously Now however if you do not send

others to take our place, we warn you that we shall quit our post" Such were the words of the herald Pausanias, when he heard them, inquired among his troops if there were any who would volunteer to take the post and so relieve the Megarians Of the rest none were willing to go, whereupon the Athenians offered themselves and a body of picked men, 300 in number, commanded by Olympiodorus, the son of Lampo, undertook the service

22 Selecting, to accompany them, the whole body of archers, these men relieved the Megarians, and occupied a post which all the other Greeks collected at Erythrae had shrunk from holding After the struggle had continued for a while, it came to an end on this wise As the barbarians continued charging in divisions, the horse of Masistius, which was in front of the others, received an arrow in his flank, the pain of which caused him to rear and throw his rider Immediately the Athenians rushed upon Masistius as he lay, caught his horse, and when he himself made resistance, slew him At first, however, they were not able to take his life, for his armour hindered them He had on a breastplate formed of golden scales, with a scarlet tunic covering it Thus the blows all falling upon his breastplate took no effect, till one of the soldiers, perceiving the reason, drove his weapon into his eye and so slew him All this took place without any of the other horsemen seeing it they had neither observed their leader fall from his horse, nor beheld him slain for he fell as they wheeled round and prepared for another charge, so that they were quite ignorant of what had happened When, however, they halted, and found that there was no one to marshal their line, Masistius was missed, and instantly his soldiers, understanding what must have befallen him, with loud cheers charged the enemy in one mass, hoping to recover the dead body

23 So when the Athenians saw, that instead of coming up in squadrons, the whole mass of the horse was about to charge them at once, they called out to the other troops to make haste to their aid While the rest of the infantry, however, was moving to their assistance, the contest waxed fierce about the dead body of Masistius The 300, so long as they fought by themselves, had

greatly the worse of the encounter and were forced to retire and yield up the body to the enemy but when the other troops approached the Persian horse could no longer hold their ground but fled without carrying off the body having incurred in the attempt a further loss of several of their number They therefore retired about 400 yards and consulted with each other what was best to be done Being without a leader it seemed to them the fittest course to return to Mardonius

24 When the horse reached the camp Mardonius and all the Persian army made great lamentation for Masistius They shaved off all the hair from their own heads and cut the manes from their war horses and their pack animals while hey vented their grief in such loud cries that all Boeotia re ounded with the lamour because they had lost the man who next to Mardonius was held in the greatest esteem both by the king and by the Persians generally So the barbarians after their own fashion paid honours to the dead Masistius

25 The Greeks on the other hand were greatly emboldened by what had happened seeing that they had not only stood their ground a ainst the attacks of the horse but had even compelled them to beat a retreat They therefore placed the dead body of Masistius upon a cart and paraded it along the ranks of the army Now the body was a sight well deservin to be gazed upon being remarkable both for stature and for beauty and it was to top the soldiers from leaving their ranks to look at it that they resolved to carry it round After this the Greeks determined to quit the high ground and go nearer Plataea as the land there eemed far more suitable for an encampment than the country about Erythrae particularly becau e it was better upplied with water To this place therefore and more especially to a pring head which was called Gargaphia they considered that it would be best for them to remove after which they might once more encamp in their order So they took their arms and proceeded along the slopes of Cithaeron past Hysiae to the territory of the Plataeans and here they drew themselves up nation by nation clo e by the fountain Gargaphia and the sacred precinct of

the Hero Androcrates partly along some hillocks of no great height, and partly upon the level of the plain

26 Here, in the marshalling of the nations, a fierce battle of words arose between the Athenians and the Tegeans, both of whom claimed to have one of the wings assigned to them On each side were brought forward the deeds which they had done whether in earlier or in later times and first the Tegeans urged their claim as follows

'This post has always been considered our right, and not the right of any of the other allies, in all the expeditions which have been entered into conjointly by the Peloponnesians, both anciently and in later times Ever since the Heracleidae made their attempt, after the death of Eurystheus, to return by force of arms into the Peloponnese, this custom has been observed It was then that the right became ours, and this was the way in which we gained it When, in company with the Achaeans and Ionians who then dwelt in the Peloponnese, we marched out to the Isthmus, and pitched our camp over against the invaders, then, the tale goes, that Hyllus made a proclamation, It needs not to imperil two armies in a general battle, rather let one be chosen from the Peloponnesian ranks, whomsoever they deem the bravest, and let him engage with me in single combat on such terms as shall be agreed upon ' The saying pleased the Peloponnesians, and oaths were sworn to the effect following, 'If Hyllus conquer the Peloponnesian champion, the Heracleidae shall return to their inheritance, if, on the other hand, he be conquered, the Heracleidae shall withdraw, lead back their army, and engage for the next hundred years to make no further endeavours to force their return ' Hereupon Echemus, the son of Aeropus and grandson of Phegeus, who was our leader and king, offered himself, and was preferred before all his brothers in arms as champion, engaged in single combat with Hyllus, and slew him upon the spot For this exploit we were rewarded by the Peloponnesians of that day with many goodly privileges, which we have ever since enjoyed, and, among the rest, we obtained the right of holding the leading post in one wing, when

ever a joint expedition goes forth beyond our borders With you then O Lacedaemonians we do not claim to compete choose you which wing you please we yield and grant you the preference but we maintain that the command of the other wing belongs of right to us now no less than formerly Moreover set aside this exploit which we have related and still our title to the chief post is better than that of the Athenians witness the many glorious fights in which we have been engaged against yourselves O Spartans as well as those which we have maintained with others We have therefore more right to this place than they for they have performed no exploits to be compared to ours whether we look to earlier or to later times

27 Thus spoke the Tegeans and the Athenians replied as follows We are not ignorant that our forces were gathered here not for the purpose of speech making but for battle against the barbarian Yet as the Tegeans have been pleased to bring into debate the exploits performed by our two nations alike in earlier and in late times we have no choice but to set before you the grounds on which we claim it as our heritage deserved by our unchanging bravery to be preferred above Arcadians In the first place then those very Heracleidae whose leader they boast to have slain at the Isthmus and whom the other Greeks would not receive when they asked a refuge from the bondage wherewith they were threatened by the people of Mycenae were given a shelter by us and we brought down the insolence of Eurystheus and helped to gain the victory over those who were at that time lords of the Peloponnese Again when the Argives led their troops with Polynices against Thebes and were slain and refused burial it is our boast that we went out against the Cadmeians recovered the bodies and buried them at Eleusis in our own territory Another noble deed of ours was that against the Amazons when they came from their seats upon the Thermodon and poured their hosts into Attica and in the Trojan war too we were not a whit behind any of the Greeks But what boots it to speak of these ancient matters? A nation which was brave in those days might have grown cowardly since and a nation of cowards then might now be

valiant Enough therefore of our ancient achievements Had we performed no other exploit than that at Marathon—though in truth we have performed exploits as many and as noble as any of the Greeks—yet had we performed no other we should deserve this privilege and many a one beside There we stood alone and singly fought with the Persians nay and venturing on so dangerous a cast we overcame the enemy and conquered on that day forty six nations Does not this one achievement suffice to make good our title to the post we claim? Nevertheless, Lacedaemonians, as to strive concerning place at such a time as this is not right we are ready to do as you command and to take our station at whatever part of the line and face whatever nation you think most expedient Wheresoever you place us it will be our endeavour to behave as brave men Only declare your will and we shall at once obey you

28 Such was the reply of the Athenians and forthwith all the Lacedaemonian troops cried out with one voice that the Athenians were worthier to have the left wing than the Arcadians In this way were the Tegeans overcome and the post was assigned to the Athenians

When this matter had been arranged the Greek army, which was in part composed of those who came at the first, in part of such as had flocked in from day to day, drew up in the following order 10 000 Lacedaemonian troops held the right wing, 5 000 of whom were Spartans and these 5,000 were attended by a body of 35,000 Helots, who were only lightly armed—seven Helots to each Spartan The place next to themselves the Spartans gave to the Tegeans, on account of their courage and of the esteem in which they held them They were all fully armed, and numbered 1,500 men Next in order came the Corinthians 5 000 strong, and with them Pausanias had placed, at their request, the band of 300 which had come from Potidaea in *Pallene* The Arcadians of *Orchomenus, in number 600*, came next, then the Sicyonians 3,000, then the Epidaurians, 800, then the Troezenians, 1 000 then the Lepreats, 00, the Mycenaeans and Tirynthians, 400 the Phliasians, 1,000, the Hermionians, 300, the Eretrians and Styreans, 600 the Chal

cideans 400 and the Ambraciots 500 After these came the Leucadians and Anactorians who numbered 800 the Paleans of Cephallenia 200 the Aeginetans 500 the Megarians 3 000 and the Plataeans 600 Last of all but first at their extremity of the line were the Athenians who to the number of 8 000 occupied the left wing under the command of Aristides the son of Lysimachus

9 All these except the Helots—seven of whom as I said attended each Spartan—were heavy armed troops and they amounted to 38 700 men This was the number of Hoplites or heavy armed soldiers which was brought together against the barbarian The light armed troops consisted of the 35 000 ranged with the Spartans seven in attendance upon each who were all well equipped for war and of 34 500 others belonging to the Lacedaemonians and the rest of the Greeks at the rate (nearly) of one li ht to one heavy armed Thus the entire number of the light armed was 69 500

30 Th Greek army therefore which mustered at Plataea counting light armed as well as heavy armed was but 1 800 men short of 110 000 and this amount was exactly made up by the Thespians who were present in the camp for 1 800 Thespians being the whole number left were likewise with the army but he e men were without arms Such was the array of the Greek troops when they took post on the Asopus

31 The barbarians under Mardonius when the mourning for Masistius was at an end and they learned that the Greeks were in the Plataean territory moved likewise towards the river Asopus which flows in those parts [3] On their arrival Mardonius marshalled them against the Greeks in the following order Against the Lacedaemonians he posted his Persians and as the Persians were far more numerous he drew them up with their ranks deeper than common and also extended their front so that part faced the Tege ns and here he took care to choose out the best troops to face the Lacedaemonians whilst against

H d t cc t f th l ttle f Plataea f ll f d tails b t th gaps i the arr ti and th impossibility of identifying som f the places mak th p bl m f rec tru ti difficult.

the Tegeans he arrayed those on whom he could not so much depend This was done at the suggestion and by the advice of the Thebans Next to the Persians he placed the Medes, facing the Corinthians, Potidaeans, Orchomenians, and Sicyonians, then the Bactrians, facing the Epidaurians, Troezenians, Lepreats, Tirynthians Mycenaeans, and Phliasians, after them the Indians, facing the Hermionians, Eretrians, Styreans, and Chalcideans, then the Sacans, facing the Ambraciots, Anactorians, Leucadians Paleans, and Aeginetans, last of all, facing the Athenians, the Plataeans, and the Megarians, he placed the troops of the Boeotians, Locrians, Malians, and Thessalians, and also the thousand Phocians The whole nation of the Phocians had not joined the Medes on the contrary there were some who had gathered themselves into bands about Parnassus, and made expeditions from thence, whereby they distressed Mardonius and the Greeks who sided with them, and so did good service to the Grecian cause Besides those mentioned above, Mardonius likewise arrayed against the Athenians the Macedonians and the tribes dwelling about Thessaly

32 I have named here the greatest of the nations which were marshalled by Mardonius on this occasion, all those of most renown and account Mixed with these, however, were men of divers other peoples, as Phrygians, Thracians, Mysians, Paeonians, and the like, Ethiopians again, and Egyptians, both of the Hermotybian and Calasirian races, whose weapon is the sword, and who are the only fighting men in that country These persons had formerly served on board the fleet of Xerxes, but Mardonius disembarked them before he left Phalerum, in the land force which Xerxes brought to Athens there were no Egyptians The number of the barbarians, as I have already mentioned, was 300,000 that of the Greeks who had made alliance with Mardonius is known to none, for they were never counted I should guess that they mustered nearly 50,000 strong The troops thus marshalled were all foot soldiers As for the horse, it was drawn up by itself

33 When the marshalling of Mardonius' troops by nations and by battalions was ended, the two armies proceeded on the

next day to offer sacrifice The Grecian sacrifice was offered by Tisamenus the on of Antiochus who accompanied the army as sooth ayer he was an Elean and belonged to the Clytiad branch of the Iamidae but had been admitted among their own citizens by the Lacedaemonians Now his admis ion among them was on this wise Tisamenus had gone to Delphi to consult the god concernin his lack of offspring when it was declared to him by the priestess that he would win five very glorious com bats Misunderstanding the oracle and imagining that he was to win combats in the games Tisamenus at once applied himself to the practice of gymnastics He trained him elf for the Pentathlon and on contending at Olympia came within a little of winning it for he was successful in everything except the wrestling match which was carried off by Hieronymus the Andrian Hereon the Lacedaemonians perceived that the com bats of which the oracle spoke were not combats in the games but battles they therefore sought to induce Tisamenus to hire out his ser ces to them in order that they might join him with their Heracleid kings in the conduct of their wars He however when he saw that they set great store by his friendship forth with raised his price and told them if they would receive him among their citizens and give him equal rights with the rest he was willing to do as they desired but on no other terms would they ever gain his consent The Spartans when they heard this at first thou ht it monstrous and ceased to implore his aid Afterwards however when the fearful danger of the Per ian war hun over their heads they sent for him and agreed to his terms but Tisamenus now perceiving them so changed declared he could no longer be content with what he had asked before they must likewise make his brother Hagias a Spartan with the same rights as him elf

34 In a ting thus he did but follow the example once set by Melampus a least if kingship may be compared with citizen ship For when the women of Argos were seized with madness and the Argives would have hired Melampus to come from Pylos and heal them of their disease he demanded as his reward one-half of the kingdom but as the Argives disdained to stoop to

this, they left him and went their way Afterwards, however, when many more of their women were seized, they brought themselves to agree to his terms and accordingly they went again to him and said they were content to give what he required Hereon Melampus, seeing them so changed, raised his demand, and told them that unless they would give his brother Bias one third of the kingdom likewise, he would not do as they wished So, as the Argives were in a strait, they consented even to this

35 In like manner the Spartans, as they were in great need of Tisamenus, yielded everything and Tisamenus the Elean, having in this way become a Spartan citizen afterwards, in the capacity of soothsayer, helped the Spartans to gain five very glorious combats He and his brother were the only men whom the Spartans ever admitted to citizenship The five combats were these following The first was the combat at Plataea, the second, that near Tegea, against the Tegeans and the Argives, the third, that at Dipaeeis, against all the Arcadians excepting those of Mantinea, the fourth, that at the Isthmus, against the Messenians, and the fifth, that at Tanagra, against the Athenians and the Argives The battle here fought was the last of all the five

36 The Spartans had now brought Tisamenus with them to the Plataean territory, where he acted as soothsayer for the Greeks He found the victims favourable, if the Greeks stood on the defensive, but not if they began the battle or crossed the river Asopus

37 With Mardonius also, who was very eager to begin the battle, the victims were not favourable for so doing, but he likewise found they bode him well, if he was content to stand on his defence He too had made use of the Grecian rites, for Hegesistratus, an Elean, and the most renowned of the Telliads, was his soothsayer This man had once been taken captive by the Spartans, who, considering that he had done them many grievous injuries, laid him in bonds, with the intent to put him to death Thereupon Hegesistratus, finding himself in so sore a case, since not only was his life in danger, but he knew that he

would have to suffer torments of many kinds before hi death Hegesistratus I say did a deed for which no words suffice He had been set with one foot in the stocks which were of wood but bound with iron bands and in this condition received from without an iron implement wherewith he contrived to accomplish the most courageous deed upon record Calculating how much of his foot he would be able to draw through the hole he cut off the front portion with his own hand and then as he was guarded by watchmen forced a way through the wall of his prison and made his escape to Tegea t avelling during the night but in the daytime stealing into the woods and staying there In this way though the Lacedaemonians went out in full force to search for him he nevertheless escaped and arrived the third evening at Tegea So the Spartans wer amazed at the man s endurance when they saw on the ground the piece which he had cut off his foot and yet for all their seeking could not find him anywhere Hegesistratus having thus escaped the Lacedaemonians took refuge in Tegea for the Tegeans at that time were ill friends with the Lacedaemonians When his wound was healed he procured himself a wooden foot and became an open enemy to Sparta At the last however this enmity brought him to trouble for the Spartans took him captive as he was exercising his office in Zacynthus and forthwith put him to death But the e things happened some while after the fight at Plataea At present he was serving Mardonius on the Asopus having been hired at no inconsiderable price and here he offered sacrifice with a right good will in part from his hatred of the Lacedaemonians in part for profit

38 So when the victims did not allow either the Persians or their Greek allies to begin the battle—these Greeks had their own soothsayer in the per on of Hippomachus a Leucadian—and when soldiers continued to pour into the opposite camp and *the numbers on the Greek side to increase continually* Timagenidas the son of Herpys a Theban advised Mardonius to keep a watch on the passes of Cithaeron telling him how supplies of men kept flocking in day after day and assuring him that he might cut off large numbers

39 It was eight days after the two armies first encamped opposite to one another when this advice was given by Timagenidas Mardonius seeing it to be good as soon as evening came, sent his cavalry to that pass of Mount Cithaeron, which opens out upon Plataea, a pass called by the Boeotians the Three Heads, but called the Oak Heads by the Athenians The horse sent on this errand did not make the movement in vain They came upon a body of 500 pack animals which were just entering the plain, bringing provisions to the Greek camp from the Peloponnese, with a number of men driving them Seeing this prey in their power the Persians set upon them and slaughtered them, sparing none neither man nor beast till at last, when they had had enough of slaying, they secured such as were left, and bore them off to the camp to Mardonius

40 After this they waited again for two days more neither army wishing to begin the fight The barbarians indeed advanced as far as the Asopus, and endeavoured to tempt the Greeks to cross, but neither side actually passed the stream Still the cavalry of Mardonius harassed and annoyed the Greeks incessantly, for the Thebans, who were zealous in the cause of the Medes, pressed the war forward with all eagerness, and often led the charge till the lines met, when the Medes and Persians took their place, and displayed, many of them, uncommon valour

41 For ten days nothing was done more than this but on the eleventh day from the time when the two hosts first took station, one over against the other, near Plataea—the number of the Greeks being now much greater than it was at the first, and Mardonius being impatient of the delay—there was a conference held between Mardonius, son of Gobryas, and Artabazus, son of Pharnaces, a man who was esteemed by Xerxes more than almost any of the Persians At this consultation the following were the opinions delivered Artabazus thought it would be best for them to break up from their quarters as soon as possible, and withdraw the whole army to the fortified town of Thebes, where they had abundant stores of corn for themselves, and of fodder for their beasts of burden There, he said, they had only to sit

quiet and the war might be brought to an end on this wise Coined gold was plentiful in the camp and uncoined gold too they had silver moreover in great abundance and drinking cups Let them not spare to take of these and distribute them amon the Greeks e pecially among the leaders in the several cities it would not be long before the Greeks gave up their liberty with out risking another battle for it Thus the opinion of Artabazus agreed with that of the Thebans for he too had more foresight than some Mardonius on the other hand expressed himself with more fierceness and obstinacy and was utterly disinclined to yield Their army he said was vastly superior to that of the Greeks and they had best engage at once and not wait till greater numbers were gathered against them As for Hegesistratus and his victims they should let them pass unheeded not seekin to force them to be favourable but according to the old Persian custom hastening to join battle

4 When Mardonius had thus declared his sentiments no one ventured to disagree and accordingly his opinion prevailed for it was to him and not to Artabazus that the king had given the command of the army

Mardonius now sent for the captains of the squadrons and the leaders of the Greeks in his service and asked them if they knew of any prophecy which sa d that the Persians were to be destroyed in Greece All were silent ome because they did not know the prophecies but others who knew them full well because they did not think it afe to peak out So Mardonius when none answered said Since you know of no such oracle or do not dare to speak of it I who know it well will my elf declare it to you There is an oracle which says that the Persians shall come into Greece sack the temple at Delphi and when they have so done perish one and all Now we as we are aware of the prediction will neither go against the temple nor make any attempt to sack it we therefore shall not perish for this trespass Rejoice then thus far all who are well wishers to the Persians and doubt not we shall get the better of the Greeks When he had so spoken he further ordered them to prepare

themselves, and to put all in readiness for a battle upon the morrow

43 As for the oracle of which Mardonius spoke, and which he referred to the Persians it did not I am well assured, mean them, but the Illyrians and the Enchelean host There are, however, some verses of Bacis which did speak of this battle

By Thermodon s stream and the grass clad banks of Asopus,
See where gather the Grecians and hark to the foreigners war shout—
There in death shall lie ere fate or Lachesis doomed him
Many a bow bearing Mede when the day of calamity cometh

These verses, and some others like them which Musaeus wrote, referred, I well know, to the Persians The river Thermodon flows between Tanagra and Glisas

44 After Mardonius had put his question about the prophecies, and spoken the above words of encouragement, night drew on apace, and on both sides the watches were set As soon then as there was silence throughout the camp, the night being now well advanced, and the men seeming to be in their deepest sleep, Alexander, the son of Amyntas, king and leader of the Macedonians, rode up on horseback to the Athenian outposts, and desired to speak with the generals Hereupon, while the greater part continued on guard, some of the watch ran to the chiefs, and told them a horseman had come from the Median camp who would not say a word, except that he wished to speak with the generals, of whom he mentioned the names

45 They at once, hearing this, made haste to the outpost, where they found Alexander, who addressed them as follows, "Men of Athens, that which I am about to say I trust to your honour, and I charge you to keep it secret from all excepting Pausanias, if you would not bring me to destruction Had I not greatly at heart the common welfare of Greece, I should not have come to tell you, but I am myself a Greek by descent, and I would not willingly see Greece exchange freedom for slavery

Know then that Mardonius and his army cannot obtain favour able omens had it not been for this they would have fought with you long ago Now however they have determined to let the victims pass unheeded and as soon as day dawns to engage in battle Mardonius I imagine is afraid that if he delays you will increase in number Make ready then to receive him Should he however still defer the combat do you abide where you are for his provisions will not hold out many more days If you prosper in this war forget not to do something for my freedom consider the risk I have run out of zeal for the Greek cause to acquaint you with what Mardonius intends and to save you from being surpri ed by the barbarians I am Alexan der of Macedon As soon as he had said this Alexander rode ba k to the camp and eturned to the station assigned him

46 Meanwhile the Athenian generals hastened to the right wing and told Pausanias all that they had learnt from Alexan der Hereupon Pausanias who no sooner heard the intention of the Persians than he was struck with fear addressed the gen erals and said Since the battle is to come with tomorrow s dawn it were well that you Athenians should stand oppo ed to the Persians and we Spartans to the Boeotians and the other Greeks for you know the Medes and their manner of fight since you have already fought with them once at Marathon but we are quite ignorant and without any experience of their war fare While however there is not a Spartan here present who has ever fought against a Mede of the Boeotians and Thes salians we have had experience Take then your arms and march over to our post upon the right while we supply your place in the left wing

47 Both sides agreeing hereto at the dawn of day th Spartans and Athenians changed places But the movement was perceived by the Boeotians and they gave notice of it to Mar donius who at once on hearing what had been done made a change in the disposition of his own forces and brought the Persians to face the Lacedaemonians Then Pausanias finding that his design was discovered led back his Spartans to th

right wing, and Mardonius, seeing this, replaced his Persians upon the left of his army

48 When the troops again occupied their former posts, Mardonius sent a herald to the Spartans, who spoke as follows, "Lacedaemonians in these parts the men say that you are the bravest of mankind, and admire you because you never turn your backs in flight or quit your ranks, but always stand firm, and either die at your posts or else destroy your adversaries But in all this which they say concerning you there is not one word of truth for now have we seen you, before battle was joined or our two hosts had come to blows flying and leaving your posts, wishing the Athenians to make the first trial of our arms, and taking your own station against our slaves Surely these are not the deeds of brave men Much do we find ourselves deceived in you for we believed the reports of you that reached our ears and expected that you would send a herald with a challenge to us, proposing to fight by yourselves against our division of native Persians We for our part were ready to have agreed to this but you have made us no such offer—nay, you seem rather to shrink from meeting us However, as no challenge of this kind comes from you to us, we send a challenge to you Why should not you on the part of the Greeks, as you are thought to be the bravest of all, and we on the part of the barbarians, fight a battle with equal numbers on both sides? Then, if it seems good to the others to fight likewise, let them engage afterwards, but if not, if they are content that we should fight on behalf of all, let us so do and whichever side wins the battle, let them win it for their whole army"

49 When the herald had thus spoken, he waited a while, but as no one made him any answer, he went back, and told Mardonius what had happened Mardonius was full of joy thereat and so puffed up by the empty victory, that he at once gave orders to his horse to charge the Greek line Then the horsemen drew near, and with their javelins and their arrows—for though horsemen they used the bow—sorely distressed the Greek troops, which could not bring them to close combat The foun

Amompharetus the only man unwilling to retreat either in their own army or in that of the Tegeans the Athenians on their side did as follows Knowing that it was the Spartan temper to say one thing and do another they remained quiet in their station until the army began to retreat when they dispatched a horse man to see whether the Spartans really meant to set forth or whether after all they had no intention of moving The horseman was also to ask Pausanias what he wished the Athenians to do

55 The herald on his arrival found the Lacedaemonians drawn up in their old position and their leaders quarrelling with one another Pausanias and Euryanax had gone on urging Amompharetus not to endanger the lives of his men by staying behind while the others drew off but without succeeding in per suading him until at last the dispute had waxed hot between them just at the moment when the Athenian herald arrived At this point Amompharetus who was still disputing took up with both his hands a vast rock and placed it at the feet of Pau sanias saying With this pebble I give my vote not to run away from the stran ers (By strangers he meant barbarians) Pausanias in reply called him a fool and a madman and turn ing to the Athenian herald who had made the inquiries with which he was charged bade him tell his countrymen how he was occupied and ask them to approach nearer and retreat or not according to the movements of the Spartans

56 So the herald went back to the Athenians and the Spartans continued to dispute till morning began to dawn upon them Then Pausanias who as yet had not moved gave the signal for retreat expectin (and rightly as the event proved) that *Amompharetus when he saw the re t of the Lacedaemo*nians in motion would be unwilling to be left behind No sooner was the signal given than all the army except the Pitanates be gan their march and retreated along the line of the hills the Tegeans accompanying them The Athenians likewise set off in good order but proceeded by a different way from the Lace daemonians For while the latter clung to the hilly ground and the skirts of Mount Cithaeron on account of the fear which they

entertained of the enemy's horse, the former betook themselves to the low country and marched through the plain

57 As for Amompharetus, at first he did not believe that Pausanias would really dare to leave him behind, he therefore remained firm in his resolve to keep his men at their post, when, however, Pausanias and his troops were now some way off Amompharetus, thinking himself forsaken in good earnest, ordered his band to take their arms, and led them at a walk towards the main army Now the army was waiting for them at a distance of about a mile, having halted upon the river Moloeis at a place called Argiopius, where stands a temple dedicated to *Eleusinian Demeter They had stopped here, that, in case* Amompharetus and his band should refuse to quit the spot where they were drawn up, and should really not stir from it, they might have it in their power to move back and lend them assistance Amompharetus, however, and his companions rejoined the main body, and at the same time the whole mass of the barbarian cavalry arrived and began to press hard upon them The horsemen had followed their usual practice and ridden up to the Greek camp, when they discovered that the place, where the Greeks had been posted hitherto, was deserted Hereupon they pushed forward without stopping, and as soon as they overtook the enemy, pressed heavily on them

58 Mardonius, when he heard that the Greeks had retired under cover of the night, and beheld the place, where they had been stationed, empty, called to him Thorax of Larissa, and his brethren, Eurypylus and Thrasideius, and said, 'O sons of Aleuas, what will you say now, when you see yonder place empty? Why, you who dwell in their neighbourhood, told me the Lacedaemonians never fled from battle, but were brave beyond all the rest of mankind Lately, however, you yourselves beheld them change their place in the line, and here, as all may see, they have run away during the night Verily, when their turn came to fight with those, who are of a truth the bravest warriors in all the world, they showed plainly enough, that they are men of no worth, who have distinguished themselves among

Greeks—men likewise of no worth at all However I can readily excuse you who knowing nothing of the Persians praised these men from your acquaintance with certain exploits of theirs but I marvel all the more at Artabazus that he should have been afrai of the Lacedaemonians and have therefore given us so dastardly a counsel bidding us as he did break up our camp and remove to Thebes and there allow ourselves to be besieged by the Greeks advice whereof I shall take care to inform the king But of this hereafter Now we must not allow them to escape us but must pursue after them till we overtake them and then we must exact vengeance for all the wron s which have been suffered at their hands by the Persians

59 When he had so spoken he crossed the Asopus and led the Persians forward at a run directly upon the track of the Greeks whom he believed to be in actual flight He could not see the Athenians for as they had taken the way of the plain they were hidden from his sight by the hills he therefore led on his troops against the Lacedaemonians and the Tegeans only When the commanders of the other divisions of the barbarians saw the Persians pursuing the Greeks so hastily they all forth with seized their standards and hurried after at their best peed in great disorder and disarray On they went with loud shouts *and in a wild rout thinking to swallow up the runaways*

60 Meanwhile Pausanias had sent a horseman to the Athenians at the time when the cavalry first fell upon him with this message Men of Athens now that the great struggle has come which is to decide the freedom or the slavery of Greece we two Lacedaemonians and Athenians are deserted by all the other allies who have fled away from us during the past night Nevertheless we are resolved what to do—we must endeavour as best we may to defend ourselves and to aid one another Now had the horse fallen upon you first we ourselves with the Tegeans (who remain faithful to the Greek cau e) would have been bound to render you assistance against them As however the entire body has advanced upon us it is your place to come to our aid sore pressed as we are by the enemy Should you yourselves be so straitened that you cannot come at least

send us your archers, and be sure you will earn our gratitude We acknowledge that throughout this whole war there has been no zeal to be compared to yours—we therefore doubt not that you will do us this service "

61 The Athenians, as soon as they received this message, were anxious to go to the aid of the Spartans, and to help them to the uttermost of their power but, as they were upon the march, the Greeks on the king s side, whose place in the line had been opposite theirs, fell upon them, and so harassed them by their attacks that it was not possible for them to give the succour they desired Accordingly the Lacedaemonians, and the Tegeans—whom nothing could induce to quit their side—were left alone to resist the Persians Including the light armed, the number of the former was 50,000, while that of the Tegeans was 3 000 Now, therefore, as they were about to engage with Mardonius and the troops under him they made ready to offer sacrifice The victims, however, for some time were not favourable, and during the delay, many fell on the Spartan side, and a still greater number were wounded For the Persians had made a rampart of their wicker shields, and shot from behind them such clouds of arrows, that the Spartans were sorely distressed The victims continued unpropitious till at last Pausanias raised his eyes to the Heraeum of the Plataeans, and calling the goddess to his aid, besought her not to disappoint the hopes of the Greeks

62 As he offered his prayer, the Tegeans, advancing before the rest, rushed forward against the enemy and the Lacedaemonians, who had obtained favourable omens the moment that Pausanias prayed, at length, after their long delay, advanced to the attack, while the Persians, on their side, left shooting, and prepared to meet them And first the combat was at the wicker shields Afterwards, when these were swept down, a fierce contest took place by the side of the temple of Demeter, which lasted long, and ended in a hand to hand struggle The barbarians many times seized hold of the Greek spears and broke them, for in boldness and warlike spirit the Persians were not a whit inferior to the Greeks, but they were without bucklers, un

trained and far below the enemy in respect of skill in arms Sometimes singly sometimes in bodies of ten now fewer and now more in number they dashed forward upon the Spartan ranks and so perished

63 The fight went most against the Greeks where Mardonius *mounted upon a white horse and surrounded by the* bravest of all the Persians the 1 000 picked men fought in person So long as Mardonius was alive this body resisted all attacks and while they defended their own lives struck down no small number of Spartans but after Mardonius fell and the troops with him which were the main strength of the army perished the remainder yielded to the Lacedaemonians and took to flight Their light clothing and want of bucklers were of the greatest hurt to them for they had to contend against men heavily armed while they themselves were without any such defence

64 Then was the warning of the oracle fulfilled and the vengeance which was due to the Spartans for the slaughter of Leonidas was paid them by Mardonius—then too did Pausanias the son of Cleombrotus and grandson of Anaxandridas (I omit to recount his other ancestors since they are the same with those of Leonidas) win a victory exceeding in glory all those to which our knowledge extends Mardonius was slain by Aeimnestus a man famous in Sparta—the same who in the Messenian war which came after the struggle against the Medes fought a battle near Stenyclerus with but 300 men against the whole force of the Messenians and himself perished and the 300 with him

65 The Persians as soon as they were put to flight by the Lacedaemonians ran hastily away without preserving any order and took refuge in their own camp within the wooden defence which they had raised in the Theban territory It is a marvel to me how it came to pass that although the battle was fought quite close to the grove of Demeter yet not a single Persian appears to have died on the sacred soil or even to have set foot upon it while round about the precinct in the unconsecrated ground great numbers perished I imagine—if it is lawful in matters which concern the gods to imagine anything—

that the goddess herself kept them out, because they had burnt her dwelling at Eleusis Such, then, was the issue of this battle

66 Artabazus, the son of Pharnaces, who had disapproved from the first of the king's leaving Mardonius behind him, and had made great endeavours, but all in vain, to dissuade Mardonius from risking a battle, when he found that the latter was bent on acting otherwise than he wished, did as follows He had a force under his orders which was far from inconsiderable, amounting as it did, to nearly 40,000 men Being well aware, therefore, how the battle was likely to go, as soon as the two armies began to fight, he led his soldiers forward in an orderly array, bidding them one and all proceed at the same pace, and follow him with such celerity as they should observe him to use Having issued these commands, he pretended to lead them to the battle But when, advancing before his army, he saw that the Persians were already in flight, instead of keeping the same order he wheeled his troops suddenly round, and beat a retreat, nor did he even seek shelter within the palisade or behind the walls of Thebes, but hurried on into Phocis, wishing to make his way to the Hellespont with all possible speed Such accordingly was the course which these Persians took

67 As for the Greeks upon the king's side, while most of them played the coward purposely, the Boeotians, on the contrary, had a long struggle with the Athenians Those of the Thebans who were attached to the Medes, displayed especially no little zeal far from playing the coward, they fought with such fury that 300 of the best and bravest among them were slain by the Athenians in this passage of arms But at last they too were routed, and fled away—not, however, in the same direction as the Persians and the crowd of allies, who, having taken no part in the battle, ran off without striking a blow—but to the city of Thebes

68 To me it shows very clearly how completely the rest of the barbarians were dependent upon the Persian troops, that here they all fled at once, without ever coming to blows with the enemy, merely because they saw the Persians running away And so it came to pass that the whole army took to flight, ex

cept only the horse both Persian and Boeotian These did good service to the flying foot men by advancing close to the enemy and separating between the Greeks and their own fugitives

69 The victors however pres ed on pursuing and slaying the remnant of the king s army Meantime while the flight continued tidings reached the Greeks who were drawn up round the Heraeum and so were absent from the battle that the fi ht was begun and that Pausanias was gaining the victory Hearing this they rushed forward without any order the Corinthians taking the upper road across the skirts of Cithaeron and the hills which led straight to the temple of Demeter while the Megarians and Phliasians followed the level route through the plain The e last had almost reached the enemy when the Theban horse espied them and observing their disarray dispatched against them the squadron of which Asopodorus the son of Timander was captain Asopodorus charged them with such effect that he left 600 of their number dead upon the plain and pursuing the rest compelled them to seek shelter in Cithaeron So these men perished without honour

70 The Persians and the multitude with them who fled to the wooden fortress were able to ascend into the towers before the Lacedaemonians came up Thus placed they proceeded to stren then the defences as well as they could and when the Lacedaemonians arrived a harp fight took place at the rampart So lon as the Athenians were away the barbarians kept off their assailants and had much the best of the combat since the Lacedaemonians were unskilled in the attack of walled places but on the arrival of the Athenians a more violent assault was made and the wall was for a long time attacked with fury In the end the valour of the Athenians and their perseverance prevailed—they gained the top of the wall and breaking a breach through it enabled the Greeks to pour in The first to enter here were the Tegeans and they it was who plundered the tent of Mardonius where among other booty they found the manger from which his horses ate all mad of solid brass and well worth looking at This manger was given by the Tegeans to the temple of Athena Alea while the remainder of

their booty was brought into the common stock of the Greeks As soon as the wall was broken down, the barbarians no longer kept together in any array, nor was there one among them who thought of making further resistance—in good truth they were all half dead with fright, huddled as so many thousands were *into so narrow and confined a space* With such tameness did they submit to be slaughtered by the Greeks, that of the 300,000 men who composed the army—omitting the 40,000 by whom Artabazus was accompanied in his flight—no more than 3,000 outlived the battle [4] Of the Lacedaemonians from Sparta there perished in this combat ninety one, of the Tegeans sixteen, of the Athenians, fifty two

71 On the side of the barbarians, the greatest courage was manifested, among the foot soldiers, by the Persians, among the horse, by the Sacae, while Mardonius himself, as a man, bore off the palm from the rest Among the Greeks, the Athenians and the Tegeans fought well but the prowess shown by the Lacedaemonians was beyond either Of this I have but one proof to offer, since all the three nations overthrew the force opposed to them, which is, that the Lacedaemonians fought and con quered the best troops The bravest man by far on that day was, in my judgment, Aristodemus—the same who alone escaped from the slaughter of the 300 at Thermopylae, and who on that account had endured disgrace and reproach next to him were Posidonius, Philocyon, and Amompharetus the Spartan The Spartans, however, who took part in the fight, when the question of who had distinguished himself most, came to be talked over among them, decided that Aristodemus, who, on account of the blame which attached to him, had manifestly courted death, and had therefore left his place in the line and behaved like a madman, had done of a truth very notable deeds, but that Po sidonius, who, with no such desire to lose his life, had quitted himself no less gallantly, was by so much a braver man than he

[4] It cannot be doubted that there was an enormous carnage, though this statement exceeds the truth in the number of dead as in the number of the Persian army

[5] Plutarch states that the whole number of Greeks slain was 1 360

Perchance however it was envy that mad them speak after this sort Of those whom I have named above as slain in the battle all ave and except Aristodemus received public hon ours Aristodemus alone had no honours because he courted death for the reason which I have mentioned

7 The e then were the most distinguished of those who fou ht at Plataea As for Callicrates the most beautiful man not among the Spartans only but in the whole Greek camp he was not ki led in the battle for it was while Pausanias was still consulting the victims that as he at in his proper place in the line an arrow truck him on the side While his comrades ad vanced to the fight he was borne out of the ranks very loath to die a he showed by the words which he addres ed to Arimnes tus one of the Plataeans I grieve said he not because I have to die for my country but because I have not lifted my arm against the enemy or done any deed worthy of me much as I have desired to achieve omething

73 The Athenian who is said to have distinguished him elf *the most was Sophanes the son of Eutychides of* Decelean deme The men of this deme once upon a time id a deed which (as the Athenians themselves confess) has ever since been erviceable to them When the Tyndaridae in days of yore in vaded Attica with a mighty army to recover Helen and not being abl to find out whith r she had been carried desolated the d mes at this time they ay the Deceleans (or Decelus *himself according to some) displea ed at the rudeness of The* seus and fearing that the whole territory would suffer discov ered everything to the enemy and even showed them the way to Aphidnae which Titacus a native of the place betrayed into their hands As a reward for this action Sparta has always from that time to the present allowed the Deceleans to be free from all dues and to have seats of honour at their f stivals and hence too *in the war which took place many years after these* events between the Peloponnesians and the Athenians the Lacedaemonians while they laid waste all the rest of Attica spared the lands of the Deceleans [6]

Th s reference is pr bably t a p n g f Decel a in th first y a f the ---

74 Of this canton was Sophanes, the Athenian who most distinguished himself in the battle Two stories are told concerning him according to the one, he wore an iron anchor fastened to the belt which secured his breastplate, by a brazen chain, and this, when he came near the enemy, he threw out, to the intent that, when they made their charge, it might be impossible for him to be driven from his post as soon, however, as the enemy fled, his wont was to take up his anchor and join the pursuit Such, then, is one of the said stories The other, which is contradictory to the first, relates, that Sophanes, instead of having an iron anchor fastened to his breastplate, bore the device of an anchor upon his shield which he never allowed to rest, but made to run round continually

75 Another glorious deed was likewise performed by this same Sophanes At the time when the Athenians were laying siege to Aegina, he took up the challenge of Eurybates the Argive, a winner of the Pentathlon, and slew him The fate of Sophanes in after times was the following he was leader of an Athenian army in conjunction with Leagrus the son of Glaucon, and in a battle with the Edonians near Datum, about the gold mines there, he was slain, after displaying uncommon bravery

76 As soon as the Greeks at Plataea had overthrown the barbarians, a woman came over to them from the enemy She was one of the concubines of Pharandates, the son of Teaspes, a Persian and when she heard that the Persians were all slain and that the Greeks had carried the day, forthwith she adorned herself and her maids with many golden ornaments, and with the bravest of the apparel that she had brought with her and, alighting from her litter, came forward to the Lacedaemonians, ere the work of slaughter was well over When she saw that all the orders were given by Pausanias, with whose name and country she was well acquainted, as she had oftentimes heard tell of them, she knew who he must be wherefore she embraced his knees, and said

"O King of Sparta, save me, a suppliant, from the slavery that awaits the captive Already I am indebted to you for one service —the slaughter of these men, wretches who had no regard either for gods or spirits I am by birth a Coan, the daughter of Hege

toridas son of Antagoras The Persian seized me by force in Cos and kept me against my will

Lady answered Pausanias fear nothing as a suppliant you are safe—and still more if you have spoken truth and Hegetoridas of Cos is your father—for he is bound to me by closer ties of friendship than any other man in those regions

When he had thus spoken Pausanias placed the woman in the charge of some of the Ephors who were present and afterwards sent her to Aegina where she wished to go

77 About the time of this woman s coming the Mantineans arrived upon the field and found that all was over and that it was too late to take any part in the battle Greatly distres ed hereat they declared themselves to de erve a fine as laggards after which learning that a portion of the Medes had fled away under Artabazus they were anxious to go after them as far as Thessaly The Lacedaemonians however would not suffer the pursuit so they returned again to their own land and sent the leaders of their army into banishment Soon after the Mantineans the Eleans likewise arrived and showed the same sorrow after which they too returned home and banished their leaders But enough concerning the e nations

78 There was a man at Plataea among the troops of the Aeginetans whose name was Lampon he was the son of Pytheas and a person of the first rank among his countrymen Now this Lampon went about this same time to Pausanias and coun el ed him to do a deed of exceeding wickedness Son of Cleombrotus he said very earnestly what you have already done is pas ing great and glorious By the favour of heaven you have saved Greece and gained a renown beyond all the Greeks of whom we have any knowledge Now then so finish your work that your own fame may be increased thereby and that henceforth barbarians may fear to commit outrages on the Grecians When Leonidas was slain at Thermopylae Xerxes and Mardonius commanded that he hould be beheaded and crucified You do the like at this time to Mardonius and you will have glory in Sparta and likewise through the whole of Greece For by han ing him upon a cross you will avenge Leonidas who was your father s brother

79 Thus spoke Lampon, thinking to please Pausanias, but Pausanias answered him, "My Aeginetan friend, for your foresight and your friendliness I am much beholden to you but the counsel which you have offered is not good First you lifted me up to the skies, by your praise of my country and my achievement, and then you cast me down to the ground, by bidding me maltreat the dead, and saying that thus I shall raise myself in men's esteem Such doings befit barbarians rather than Greeks, and even in barbarians we detest them On such terms then I could not wish to please the Aeginetans, or those who think as they think—enough for me to gain the approval of my own countrymen, by righteous deeds as well as by righteous words Leonidas, whom you would have me avenge, is, I maintain, abundantly avenged already Surely the countless lives here taken are enough to avenge not him only, but all those who fell at Thermopylae Come not before me again with such a speech, or with such counsel and thank my forbearance that you are not now punished " Then Lampon, having received this answer departed, and went his way

80 After this Pausanias caused proclamation to be made, that no one should lay hands on the booty, but that the Helots should collect it and bring it all to one place So the Helots went and spread themselves through the camp, wherein were found many tents richly adorned with furniture of gold and silver, many couches covered with plates of the same, and many golden bowls, goblets, and other drinking vessels On the carriages were bags containing silver and golden kettles, and the bodies of the slain furnished bracelets and chains, and scimitars with golden ornaments—not to mention embroidered apparel, of which no one made any account The Helots at this time stole many things of much value, which they sold in after times to the Aeginetans however they brought in likewise no small quantity, chiefly such things as it was not possible for them to hide And this was the beginning of the great wealth of the Aeginetans who bought the gold of the Helots as if it had been mere brass

81 When all the booty had been brought together, a tenth of the whole was set apart for the Delphian god, and hence was

made the golden tripod which stands on the bronze serpent with the three heads quite close to the altar Portions were also set apart for the gods of Olympia and of the Isthmus from which were made in the one case a bronze Zeus fifteen feet high and in the other a bronze Poseidon of ten feet After this the rest of the spoil was divided among the soldiers each of whom received less or more according to his deserts and in this way was a distribution made of the Persian concubines of the gold the silver the beasts of burden and all the other valuabl s What special gifts were presented to those who had most distinguished themselves in the battle I do not find mentioned by any one but I should suppose that they must have had some gifts beyond the others As for Pausanias the portion which was set apart for him consisted of ten specimens of each kind of thing—women horses talents camels or whatever else there was in the spoil

8 It is said that the following circumstance happened likewise at this time Xerxes when he fled away out of Greece left his war tent with Mardonius when Pausanias therefore saw the tent with its adornments of gold and silver and its hangings of divers colours he gave commandment to the bakers and the cooks to make him ready a banquet in such fashion as was their wont for Mardonius Then they made ready as they were bidden and Pausanias beholding the couches of gold and silver daintily decked out with their rich covertures and the tables of gold and silver laid and the feast itself prepared with all magnificence was astonished at the good thin s which were et before him and being in a pleasant mood gave commandment to his own followers to make ready a Spartan supper When the suppers were both served and it was apparent how vast a difference lay between the two Pausan as laughed and ent his erv ants to call to him the Greek generals On their coming he pointed to the two boards and said I sent for you O Greeks to how you the folly of this Median captain who when he enjoyed such fare as this must needs come here to rob us of our penury Such it is said were the words of Pausanias to the Grecian generals

83 During many years afterwards, the Plataeans used often to find upon the field of battle concealed treasures of gold, and silver, and other valuables More recently they likewise made discovery of the following the flesh having all fallen away from the bodies of the dead, and their bones having been gathered together into one place, the Plataeans found a skull without any seam, made entirely of a single bone, likewise a jaw, both the upper bone and the under, wherein all the teeth, front and back, were joined together and made of one bone, also, the skeleton of a man not less than eight feet in height

84 The body of Mardonius disappeared the day after the battle, but who it was that stole it away I cannot say with certainty I have heard tell of a number of persons, and those too of many different nations, who are said to have given him burial and I know that many have received large sums on this score from Artontes the son of Mardonius but I cannot discover with any certainty which of them it was who really took the body away and buried it Among others, Dionysophanes, an Ephesian, is rumoured to have been the actual person

85 The Greeks, after sharing the booty upon the field of Plataea, proceeded to bury their own dead, each nation apart from the rest The Lacedaemonians made three graves, in one they buried their youths, among whom were Posidonius, Amompharetus Philocyon, and Callicrates, in another, the rest of the Spartans, and in the third, the Helots Such was their mode of burial The Tegeans buried all their dead in a single grave as likewise did the Athenians theirs, and the Megarians and Phliasians those who were slain by the horse These graves, then, had bodies buried in them as for the other tombs which are to be seen at Plataea, they were raised, as I understand, by the Greeks whose troops took no part in the battle, and who, being ashamed of themselves, erected empty barrows upon the field, to obtain credit with those who should come after them Among others, the Aeginetans have a grave there, which goes by their name, but which, as I learn, was made ten years later by Cleades, the son of Autodicus, a Plataean, at the request of the Aeginetans, whose agent he was

86 After the Greeks had buried their dead at Plataea they presently held a council whereat it was resolved to make war upon Thebes and to require that those who had joined the Medes should be delivered into their hands Two men who had been the chief leaders on the occasion were especially named Timagenidas and Attaginus If the Thebans should refuse to give these men up it was determined to lay siege to their city and never stir from before it till it should surrender After this resolve the army marched upon Thebes and having demanded the men and been refused began the siege laying waste the country all around and making assaults upon the wall in divers place

87 When twenty days were gone by and the violence of the Greeks did not slacken Timagenidas thus addressed his countrymen Men of Thebes since the Greeks have so decreed that they will never desist from the siege till either they take Thebes or we are delivered to them we would not that the land of Boeotia should suffer any longer on our behalf If it be money that they in truth desire and their demand of us be no more than a pretext let money from the treasury of the state be given them for the state and not we alone embraced the cause of the Medes If however they really want our persons and on that account press this siege we are ready to be delivered to them and to stand our trial

The Thebans thought this offer very right and seasonable wherefore they dispatched a herald without any delay to Pausanias and told him they were willing to deliver up the men

88 As soon as an agreement had been concluded upon these terms Attaginus made his escape from the city his sons however were surrendered in his place but Pausanias refused to hold them guilty since children (he said) could have had no part in such an offence The rest of those whom the Thebans gave up had expected to obtain a trial and in that case their trust was to escape by means of bribery but Pausanias afraid of this dismissed at once the whole army of allies and took the men with him to Corinth where he slew them all Such were the events which happened at Plataea and at Thebes

89 Artabazus, the son of Pharnaces, who fled away from Plataea, was soon far sped on his journey When he reached Thessaly, the inhabitants received him hospitably, and made inquiries of him concerning the rest of the army, since they were still altogether ignorant of what had taken place at Plataea whereupon the Persian, knowing well that if he told them the truth, he would run great risk of perishing himself, together with his whole army—for if the facts were once blazoned abroad, all who learned them would be sure to fall upon him—the Persian I say, considering this, as he had before kept all secret from the Phocians, so now answered the Thessalians in the following fashion, I myself Thessalians, am hastening, as you see, into Thrace, and I must use all possible dispatch, as I am sent with this force on special business from the main army Mardonius and his host are close behind me, and may be looked for shortly When he comes, receive him as you have received me, and show him every kindness Be sure you will never hereafter regret it, if you so do ’

With these words he took his departure, and marched his troops at their best speed through Thessaly and Macedon straight upon Thrace, following the inland route which was the *shortest, and, in good truth, using all possible dispatch He him*self succeeded in reaching Byzantium, but a great part of his army perished upon the road—many being cut to pieces by the Thracians, and others dying from hunger and excess of toil From Byzantium Artabazus set sail, and crossed the strait returning into Asia in the manner which has been here described

90 On the same day that the blow was struck at Plataea, another defeat befell the Persians at Mycale in Ionia While the Greek fleet under Leotychides the Lacedaemonian was still lying inactive at Delos, there arrived at that place an embassy from Samos, consisting of three men, Lampon the son of Thrasycles Athenagoras the son of Archestratidas, and Hegesistratus the son of Aristagoras The Samians had sent them secretly, concealing their departure both from the Persians and from their own tyrant Theomestor, the son of Androdamas whom the Persians had made ruler of Samos When the ambassadors came be-

fore the Greek captains Hegesistratus spoke and urged them with many and various arguments saying that the Ionians only needed to see them arrive in order to revolt from the Persians and that th Persians would never abide their coming or if they did it would be to offer them the finest booty that they could anywhere expect to gain while at the same time he made appeal to the gods of their common worship and besought them to de liver from bondage a Grecian race and withal to drive back the barbarians This he said might very easily be done for the Persian ships were bad sailers and far from a match for theirs adding moreover that if there was any suspicion lest the Sam ians intended to deal treacherously they were themselves ready to become host ges and to return on board the ships of their allies to Asia

91 When the Samian stranger continued importunately be seeching him Leotychides either because he wanted an omen or by a mere chance as God guided him asked the man Samian tranger what is your name? Hegesistratus (army leader) answered the other and might have said more but Leotychides stopped him by exclaiming I accept O Samian the omen which your name affords Only before you go back swear to us you and your brother envoys that the Samians will indeed be our warm friends and allies

9 *No sooner had he thus spoken than he proceeded to hurry* forward the business The Samians pledged their faith upon the pot and oaths of all ance were exchanged between them and the Greeks Thi done two of the ambassadors forthwith sailed away as for Hege i tratus Leotychides kept him to accompany hi own fleet for he considered his name to be a good omen The Greeks abode where they were that day and on the morrow sac rificed and found the victims favourable Their soothsayer was Deiphonus the son of Evenius a man of Apollonia—I mean the Apollonia which lies upon the Ionian Gulf

93 A strange thin happened to this man s father Evenius The Apollonians have a flock of sheep sacred to the sun Dur g the daytime the e sheep graze along the banks of the river which flows from Mount Lacmon through their territory and

empties itself into the sea by the port of Oricus, while at night they are guarded by the richest and noblest of the citizens, who are chosen to serve the office, and who keep the watch each for one year Now the Apolloniats set great store by these sheep, on account of an oracle which they received concerning them The place where they are folded at night is a cavern, a long way from the town Here it happened that Evenius, when he was chosen to keep the watch, by some accident fell asleep upon his guard and while he slept, the cave was entered by wolves, which destroyed some sixty of the flock under his care Evenius, when he woke and found what had occurred, kept silence about it and told no one, for he thought to buy other sheep and put them in the place of the slain But the matter came to the ears of the Apolloniats, who forthwith brought Evenius to trial, and condemned him to lose his eyes, because he had gone to sleep upon his post Now when Evenius was blinded, straightway the sheep had no young, and the land ceased to bear its wonted harvests Then the Apolloniats sent to Dodona, and to Delphi and asked the prophets, what had caused the woes which so afflicted them The answer which they received was this, "The woes were come for Evenius, the guardian of the sacred sheep whom the Apolloniats had wrongfully deprived of sight They (the gods) had themselves sent the wolves, nor would they ever cease to exact vengeance for Evenius, till the Apolloniats made him whatever atonement he liked to ask When this was paid, they would likewise give him a gift, which would make many men call him blessed"

94 Such was the tenor of the prophecies The Apolloniats kept them close, but charged some of their citizens to go and make terms with Evenius and these men managed the business for them in the way which I will now describe They found Evenius sitting upon a bench, and, approaching him, they sat down by his side, and began to talk at first they spoke of quite other matters, but in the end they mentioned his misfortune and offered him their condolence Having thus beguiled him, a last they put the question, "What atonement would he desire, if the Apolloniats were willing to make him satisfaction for the

wrongs which they had done to him? Hereupon Evenius who had not heard of the oracle answered If I were given the lands of this man and that— (here he named the two men whom he knew to have the finest farms in Apollonia) and likewise the house of this other— (and here he mentioned the house which he knew to be the handsomest in the town) I would when master of these be quite content and my wrath would cease altogether As soon as Evenius had thus spoken the men who sat by him rejoined Evenius the Apolloniats give you the atonement which you desire according to the bidding of the oracles Then Evenius understood the whole matter and was enra ed that they had deceived him so but the Apolloniats bought the farms from their owners and gave Evenius what he had chosen After this was done straightway Evenius had the gift of prophecy insomuch that he became a famous man in Greece

95 Deiphonus the son of this Evenius had accompanied the Corinthians and was soothsayer as I sa d before to the Greek armament One account however which I have heard declares that he was not really the son of this man but only took the name and then went about Greece and let out his services for hire

96 The Greeks as soon as the victims were favourable put to ea and sailed across from Delos to Samos Arriving off Cal ami a place upon the Samian coast they brought the fleet to an anchor near the temple of Hera which stands there and prepared to engage the Persians by sea These latter however no sooner heard of the approach of the Greeks than dismissing the Phoenician ships they sailed away with the remainder to the main land *For it had been resolved in council not to risk* battle since the Persian fleet was thought to be no match for that of the enemy They fled therefore to the main to be under the protection of their land army which now lay at Mycale and consisted of the troops left behind by Xerxes to keep guard over Ionia This was an army of 60 000 men under the command of Tigranes a Persian of more than common beauty and stature The captains resolved therefore to betake themselves to these

troops for defence, to drag their ships ashore, and to build a rampart around them, which might at once protect the fleet, and serve likewise as a place of refuge for themselves

97 Having so resolved, the commanders put out to sea, and passing the temple of the August Goddesses, arrived at Gaesor and Scolopoeis, which are in the territory of Mycale Here is a temple of Eleusinian Demeter, built by Philistus the son of Pasicles, who came to Asia with Nileus the son of Codrus, when he founded Miletus At this place they drew the ships up on the beach, and surrounded them with a rampart made of stones and trunks of trees, cutting down for this purpose all the fruit trees which grew near, and defending the barrier by means of stakes firmly planted in the ground Here they were prepared either to win a battle or undergo a siege—their thoughts embracing both chances

98 The Greeks, when they understood that the barbarians had fled to the main land were sorely vexed at their escape nor could they determine at first what they should do, whether they should return home, or proceed to the Hellespont In the end, however, they resolved to do neither, but to sail for the continent So they made themselves ready for a sea fight by the preparation of boarding bridges, and what else was necessary, provided with which they sailed to Mycale Now when they came to the place where the camp was they found no one ventured out to meet them, but observed the ships all dragged ashore within the barrier, and a strong land force drawn up in battle array upon the beach, Leotychides therefore sailed along the shore in his ship, keeping as close hauled to the land as possible, and by the voice of a herald thus addressed the Ionians, "Men of Ionia, you who can hear me speak—take heed to what I say for the Persians will not understand a word that I utter When we join battle with them, before aught else, remember Freedom—and next, recollect our watchword, which is Hebe If there be any who hear me not, let those who hear report my words to the others"

In all this Leotychides had the very same design which Themistocles entertained at Artemisium Either the barbar a

would not know what he had said and the Ionians would be persuaded to revolt from them or if his words were reported to the former they would mistrust their Greek soldiers

99 After Leotychides had made this address the Greeks brought their ships to the land and having disembarked arrayed themselves for the battle When the Persians saw them marshalling their array and thought of the advice which had been offered to the Ionians their first act was to disarm the Samians whom they suspected of complicity with the enemy For it had happened lately that a number of the Athenians who lingered in Attica having been made prisoners by the troops of Xerxes were brought to Asia on board the barbarian fleet and these men had been ransomed one and all by the Samians who sent them back to Athens well furnished with provisions for the way On this account as much as on any other the Samians were suspected as men who had paid the ransom of 500 of the king s enemies After disarming them the Persians next dispatched the Milesians to guard the paths which lead up into the heights of Mycale because (they said) the Milesians were well acquainted with that region Their true object however was to remove them to a distance from the camp In this way the Persians sought to secure themselves against such of the Ionians as they thought likely if occasion offered to make rebellion They then joined shield to shield and so made themselves a breastwork against the enemy

100 The Greeks now having finished their preparations began to move towards the barbarians when as they advanced a rumour flew through the host from one end to the other—that the Greeks had fought and conquered the army of Mardonius in Boeotia At the same time a herald s wand was observed lying upon the beach Many things prove to me that the gods take part in the affairs of man How else when the battles of Mycale and Plataea were about to happen on the self same day should such a rumour have reached the Greeks in that region greatly cheering the whole army and making them more eager than before to risk their lives?

101 A strange coincidence too it was that both the battles

should have been fought near a precinct of Eleusinian Demeter The fight at Plataea took place, as I said before, quite close to one of Demeter's temples, and now the battle at Mycale was to be fought hard by another Rightly too did the rumour run, that the Greeks with Pausanias had gained their victory, for the fight at Plataea fell early in the day, whereas that at Mycale was towards evening That the two battles were really fought on the same day of the same month became apparent when inquiries were made a short time afterwards Before the rumour reached them, the Greeks were full of fear, not so much on their own account, as for their countrymen, and for Greece herself, lest she should be worsted in her struggle with Mardonius But when the voice fell on them, their fear vanished, and they charged more vigorously and at a quicker pace So the Greeks and the barbarians rushed with like eagerness to the fray for the Hellespont and the islands formed the prize for which they were about to fight

102 The Athenians, and the force drawn up with them, who formed one half of the army, marched along the shore, where the country was low and level, but the way for the Lacedaemonians and the troops with them, lay across hills and a torrent course Hence, while the Lacedaemonians were effecting their passage round, the Athenians on the other wing had already closed with the enemy So long as the wicker bucklers of the Persians continued standing, they made a stout defence, and had not even the worst of the battle, but when the Athenians, and the allies with them, wishing to make the victory their own, and not share it with the Lacedaemonians, cheered each other on with shouts and attacked them with the utmost fierceness, then at last the face of things became changed For, bursting through the line of shields, and rushing forwards in a body, the Greeks fell upon the Persians who, though they bore the charge and for a long time maintained their ground, yet at length took refuge in their intrenchment Here the Athenians themselves, together with those who followed them in the line of battle the Corinthians, the Sicyonians, and the Troezenians, pressed so closely on the steps of their flying foes, that they entered along with them into

the fortress And now when even their fortress was taken the barbarians no longer offered resistance but fled ha tily away all save only the Persians They still continued to fight in knots of a few men against the Greeks who kept pouring into the in trenchment And here while two of the Persian commanders fled two fell upon the field Artayntes and Ithamitres who were leaders of the fleet escaped Mardontes and the com mander of the land force Tigranes died fighting

103 The Persians till held out when the Lacedaemonians and their part of the army reached the camp and joined in the remainder of the battle The number of Greeks who fell in the struggle here was not small the Sicyonians especially lost many and among the rest Perilaus their general

The Samian who served with the Medes and who although disarmed still r mained in the camp seeing from the very be ginning of the fight that the victory was doubtful did all that lay in their power to render help to the Greeks And the other Ionians likewise beholding their example revolted and attacked the Persians

104 As for the Milesians who had been ordered for the bet ter ecurity of the Persians to guard the mountain paths that in case any accident befell them such as had now happened they might not lack guides to conduct them into the high tracts of Mycale and who had also been removed to hinder them from making an outbreak in the Persian camp they instead of obey ing their orders broke them in every respect For they guided the flying Persians by wrong roads which brought them into the presence of the enemy and at la t they set upon them with their own hands and showed themselves the hottest of their adversaries Ionia therefore on this day revolted a second time from the Persians

105 In this battle the Greeks who behaved with the greatest bravery were the Athenians and among them the palm was borne off by Hermolycus the son of Euthynus a man accom plished in the pancratium[1] This Hermolycus was afterwards

[1] The pancrat m was a co test in which w tli g and boxi g were united.

slain in the war between the Athenians and Carystians He fell in the fight near Cyrnus in the Carystian territory, and was buried in the neighbourhood of Geraestus After the Athenians the most distinguished on the Greek side were the Corinthians the Troezenians and the Sicyonians

106 The Greeks, when they had slaughtered the greater portion of the barbarians, either in the battle or in the rout, set fire to their ships and burnt them, together with the bulwark which had been raised for their defence, first however removing therefrom all the booty, and carrying it down to the beach Besides other plunder, they found here many caskets of money When they had burnt the rampart and the vessels, the Greeks sailed away to Samos, and there took counsel together concerning the Ionians, whom they thought of removing out of Asia Ionia they proposed to abandon to the barbarians, and their doubt was in what part of their own possessions in Greece they should settle its inhabitants For it seemed to them a thing impossible that they should be ever on the watch to guard and protect Ionia, and yet otherwise there could be no hope that the Ionians would escape the vengeance of the Persians Hereupon the Peloponnesian leaders proposed, that the seaport towns of such Greeks as had sided with the Medes should be taken away from them, and made over to the Ionians The Athenians, on the other hand were very unwilling that any removal at all should take place, and disliked the Peloponnesians holding councils concerning their colonists So as they set themselves against the change, the Peloponnesians yielded with a good will Hereupon the Samians, Chians Lesbians, and other islanders, who had helped the Greeks at this time, were received into the league of the allies, and took the oaths, binding themselves to be faithful and not desert the common cause Then the Greeks sailed away to the Hellespont, where they meant to break down the bridges, which they supposed to be still extended across the strait

107 *The barbarians who escaped from the battle—a scanty* remnant—took refuge in the heights of Mycale, whence they made good their retreat to Sardis During the march, Masistes the son of Darius, who had been present at the disaster,

words with Artaynetes the general on whom he showered many *reproaches* He called him among other things *worse than a* woman for the way in which he had exercised his command and said there was no punishment which he did not deserve to suffer for doin the king s house such grievous hurt Now with the Per sians there is no greater insult than to call a man worse than a woman So when Artayntes had borne the reproaches for some while at last he fell in a ra e and drew his scimitar upon Ma sistes to kill him But a certain Halicarnassian Xenagoras by name the son of Praxilaus who stood behind Artayntes at the time seeing him in the act of rushing forward eized him sud denly round the waist and lifting him from his feet dashed him down upon the ground whi h gave time for the pearmen who guard d Masistes to come to his aid By hi conduct here Xena goras gained the favour not of Masistes only but likewi e of Xerxes himself who e brother he had preserved from death and the king rewarded his action by setting him over th whole land of Cilicia Except this nothing happened upon the road and the men continued their march and came all safe to Sardis At Sardis they found the king who had b en there ever since he lost the sea fght and fled from Athens to Asia

108 During the time that Xerxes abode at this place he fell in love with the wife of Masistes who was likewi e staying in the city He therefore sent her messages but failed to win her con ent and he could not dare to use violence out of regard to Masi tes his brother This the woman knew well enough and hence it was that she had the boldness to resist him So Xerxes finding no other way open devised a marriage between his own son Darius and a daughter of this woman and Masistes—think ing that he might b tter obtain his ends if he effected this union Accordingly he betrothed these two persons to one another and after the usual ceremonies were completed took his departure for Susa When he was come there and had received the woman into hi palace as his son s bri e a change came over him and lo i g all lo e for the wife of Masistes he conceived a passion for his son s bride Masistes d ughter And Artaynta—for so was she called—very soon returned his love

109 After a while the thing was discovered in the way which I will now relate Amestris, the wife of Xerxes, had woven with her own hands, a long robe of many colours, and very curious, which she presented to her husband as a gift Xerxes, who was greatly pleased with it, forthwith put it on, and went in it to visit Artaynta, who happened likewise on this day to please him greatly He therefore bade her ask him whatever boon she liked, and promised that whatever it was, he would assuredly grant her request Then Artaynta, who was doomed to suffer calamity together with her whole house, said to him, "Will you indeed give me whatever I like to ask?" So the king, suspecting nothing less than that her choice would fall where it did, pledged his word, and swore to her She then, as soon as she heard his oath, asked boldly for the robe Hereupon Xerxes tried all possible means to avoid the gift, not that he grudged to give it, but because he dreaded Amestris, who already suspected, and would now, he feared, detect his love So he offered her cities instead, and heaps of gold, and an army which should obey no other leader (The last of these is a thoroughly Persian gift) But, as nothing could prevail on Artaynta to change her mind, at the last he gave her the robe Then Artaynta very greatly rejoiced, and she often wore the garment and was proud of it And so it came to the ears of Amestris that the robe had been given to her

110 Now when Amestris learnt the whole matter, she felt no anger against Artaynta, but, looking upon her mother, the wife of Masistes, as the cause of all the mischief, she determined to compass her death She waited, therefore, till her husband gave the great royal banquet, a feast which takes place once every year, in celebration of the king's birthday, tykta the feast is called in the Persian tongue, which in our language may be rendered perfect, and this is the only day in all the year on which the king soaps his head, and distributes gifts to the Persians Amestris waited, accordingly, for this day, and then made request of Xerxes that he would please to give her, as her present, the wife of Masistes But he refused, for it seemed to him shocking and monstrous to give into the power of another a woman, who was not only his brother's wife but was lik

116 The whole district was under the rule of Artayctes one of the king's satraps who was a Persian but a wicked and cruel man At the time when Xerxes was marching against Athens he had craftily possessed himself of the treasures belonging to Protesilaus the son of Iphiclus which were at Elaeus in the Chersonese For at this place is the tomb of Protesilaus surrounded by a sacred precinct and here there was great store of wealth vases of gold and silver works in brass garments and other offerings all which Artayctes made his prey having got the king's consent by thus cunningly addressing him Master there is in this region the house of a Greek who when he attacked your territory met his due reward and perished Give me his house *I pray you that hereafter men may fear to carry* arms against your land

By these words he easily persuaded Xerxes to give him the man's house for there was no suspicion of his design in the king's mind And he could say in a certain sense that Protesilaus *had borne arms against the land of the king because the Per*sians consider all Asia to belong to them and to their king for the time being So when Xerxes allowed his request he brought all the treasures from Elaeus to Sestos and made the sacred land into cornfields and pasture grounds nay more whenever *he paid a visit to Elaeus he polluted the shrine itself by sexual* intercourse It was this Artayctes who was now besieged by the Athenians—and he was but ill prepared for defence since the Greeks had fallen upon him quite unawares nor had he in the least expected their coming

117 When it was now late in the autumn and the siege *still* continued the Athenians began to murmur that they were kept abroad so long and seeing that they were not able to take the place besought their captains to lead them back to their own country But the captains refused to move till either the city had fallen or the Athenian people ordered them to return home So the soldiers patiently bore up against their sufferings

118 Meanwhile those within the walls were reduced to the last straits and forced even to boil the very thongs of their beds for food At last when these too failed them Artayctes and

Oeobazus, with the native Persians, fled away from the place by night, having let themselves down from the wall at the back of the town, where the blockading force was scantiest As soon as day dawned, they of the Chersonese made signals to the Greeks from the walls, and let them know what had happened, at the same time throwing open the gates of their city Hereupon, while some of the Greeks entered the town, others, and those the more numerous body set out in pursuit of the enemy

119 Oeobazus fled into Thrace, but there the Apsinthian Thracians seized him, and offered him after their wonted fashion, to Pleistorus, one of the gods of their country His companions they likewise put to death, but in a different manner As for Artayctes and the troops with him, who had been the last to leave the town, they were overtaken by the Greeks, not far from Aegospotami, and defended themselves stoutly for a time, but were at last either killed or taken prisoners Those whom they made prisoners the Greeks bound with chains and brought with them to Sestos Artayctes and his son were among the number

120 Now the Chersonesites relate, that the following prodigy befell one of the Greeks who guarded the captives He was broiling upon a fire some salted fish, when of a sudden they began to leap and quiver, as if they had been only just caught Hereat the rest of the guards hurried round to look, and were greatly amazed at the sight Artayctes, however, beholding the prodigy, called the man to him, and said, "Fear not, Athenian stranger, because of this marvel It has not appeared on your account, but on mine Protesilaus of Elaeus has sent it to show me, that albeit he is dead and embalmed with salt, he has power from the gods o chast se his injurer Now then I wish to pay my debt to him thus For the riches which I took from his temple, I will fix my fine at 100 talents—while for myself and this boy of mine, I will give the Athenians 200 talents, on condition that they will spare our lives"

Such were the promises of Artayctes, but they failed to persuade Xanthippus For the men of Elaeus, who wished to avenge Protesilaus, entreated that he might be put to death and Xanthippus himself was of the same mind So they led Artayct

the tongue of land where the bridge of Xerxes had been fixed—or according to others to the knoll above the town of Madytus and having nailed him to a board they left him hanging there upon As for the son of Artayctes him they stoned to death before his eye

121 This done they sailed back to Greece carrying with them besides other treasures the shore cables from the bridges of Xerxes which they wished to dedicate in their temples And this was all that took place that year

122 It was the grandfather of this Artayctes one Artembares by name who suggested to the Persians a proposal which they readily embraced and thus urged upon Cyrus Since Zeus they said has overthrown Astyages and given the rule to the Persians and to you chiefly O Cyrus come now let us quit this land wherein we dwell—for it is a scant land and a rugged—and let us choose ourselves some other better country Many such lie around us some nearer some further off if we take one of these men will admire us far more than they do now Who that had the power would not so act? And when shall we have a fairer time than now when we are lords of so many nations and rule all Asia? Then Cyrus who did not greatly esteem the counsel told them they might do so if they liked—but he warned them not to expect in that case to continue rulers but to prepare for being ruled by others—soft countries gave birth to soft men—there was no region which produced very delightful fruits and at the same time men of a warlike spirit So the Persians departed with altered minds confessing that Cyrus was wiser than they and chose rather to dwell in a churlish land and exercise lordship than to cultivate plains and be the slave of others